
PHONOLOGY OF THE SINHALESE INSCRIPTIONS
UP TO THE END OF THE 10th CENTURY A.D.

- by -

P.B.F. Wijeratne, B.A.

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ABSTRACT of THESIS

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The thesis deals with the Phonology of the Sinhalese Inscriptions from the earliest times up to the end of the 10th century A.D.. The material for this study is culled from the Epigraphia Zeylanica and references are given to the various volumes, parts and pages in which the respective Inscriptions occur.

The history of the Sanskrit sounds as recorded in these Inscriptions is traced throughout the centuries.

Firstly that of the vowels - herein are given dates or probable dates of the shortening of original long vowels; of the first appearance in writing of contracted long vowels; of the secondary shortening of these vowels in certain cases; of vowel-modifications due to influence of other vowels in syllables immediately following; of the Influence of the Accent which accounts for many vowel-changes. Two important theories have been advanced:

- (1) compensatory lengthening due to shortening of original double consonants and consonant-groups and the fate of these compensatorily lengthened vowels is discussed.
- (2) criticism of Geiger's theory of 'Vowel-levelling' and counter-arguments are adduced invalidating Geiger's theory.

Secondly the fate of original single consonants is dealt with. It is shown when Sk. c- > s- and Sk. j- > d- (the other initial consonants remain unchanged). Dates or probable dates are given of the voicing of intervocalic unvoiced stops

> -y-, -v- and their final disappearance (and attention is drawn to the insertion of vocalic glides to avoid hiatus); of the change of original single intervocalic cerebrals to -l- and of original -c-, -j- to -d-. The fate of original -y-, -v-, -r-, -l-, -n-, -ṇ-, -m- and the sibilants and h is shown and emphasis laid on the instability in the development of s and h in Sinhalese. The de-aspiration of the Sanskrit aspirates is stressed and Sk- bh- is noted as a striking instance where aspiration is preserved.

Thirdly the fate of the double consonants and consonant-groups of Sanskrit is considered and the date suggested for their shortening in Sinhalese; at the same time, the existence of double consonants and consonant-groups in Sinhalese due to elision of medial vowels is noted.

Emphasis is laid on conservative spellings; on account of these the difficulty arises in deciding whether a word is a loan word or not; consequently it is shown to be either.

Finally, from the evidence of these Inscriptions it is shown that Sinhalese is fundamentally an Eastern language and wherever possible comparison is made with Modern Indian.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Languages

AMg.	=	Ardhamāgadhi
Ap.	=	Apabhraṃśa.
B.	=	Bengali
BSk.	=	Buddhist Sanskrit
D.	=	Dardic
Dhau.	=	Dhauī (Inscription of Aśoka.)
Dhau.Sep.II	=	2nd. Separate Rock Edict: Dhauī. (Inscription of Aśoka)
EAs.	=	Eastern Inscriptions of Aśoka.
G.	=	Gujarātī
Gir.	=	Gīrṇar (Inscription of Aśoka.)
H.	=	Hindī
Jau.	=	Jaugada (Inscription of Aśoka)
Jau.Sep.I	=	1st. Separate Rock Edict: Jaugada. (Inscription of Aśoka.)
JMh.	=	Jaina-Maharāṣṭrī
K.	=	Kashmiri
Kāl.	=	Kāśī (Inscription of Aśoka.)
L.	=	Lahnda
M.	=	Marāṭhī
Mān.	=	Mānsehra (Inscription of Aśoka)
Mid.Ind.	=	Middle Indian
Mod.Ind.	=	Modern Indian

Mg.	=	Māgadhi
Mh.	=	Mahārāstri
MSgh.	=	Modern Sinhalese
N.	=	Nepali
O.	=	Oriyā
P.	=	Pañjabī
Pa.	=	Pālī
Pk.	=	Prakrit
Rom.	=	Romani or Gypsy
S.	=	Sindhī
Sgh.	=	Sinhalese
Shāh.	=	Shāhbāzgarhī (Inscription of Aśoka.)
Sk.	=	Sanskrit.
Sr.	=	Saurasenī
tor.	=	Torwalī (dialect of Dardic.)
V.	=	Vedic
WAs.	=	Western Inscriptions of Aśoka.

General

Abl.	=	Ablative
Acc.	=	Accusative
acc.	=	according
A.D.	=	'Anno Domini'. In the year of our Lord.
adj.	=	adjective
adv.	=	adverb

aga.	=	against
Aux.	=	Auxiliary
B.C.	=	Before Christ
bec.	=	because
bef.	=	before
bes.	=	beside
bet.	=	between
C.	=	Central
c.	=	century
Caus.st.	=	Causative stem
cf.	=	'confer', compare
cler.error.	=	clerical error
cmpds.	=	compounds.
compens. length.	=	compensatorily lengthened
Condit.	=	Conditional
conj.	=	conjunction
cons, cons.	=	consonant, consonants
contam.	=	contamination
contr.	=	contraction, contracted
Dat.	=	Dative
der.	=	derived from
E.	=	East, Eastern
e.g.	=	'exempli gratia', for example
etc.	=	'et cetera', and the rest
Etym.	=	Etymology

ex, exx.	=	example, examples
Fem.	=	Feminine
fm.	=	form
fn.	=	foot-note
foll.	=	following
fr.	=	from
Fut.	=	Future
Gen.	=	Genitive
Ger.	=	Gerund
honor.	=	honorific
id.	=	'idem', the same
i.e.	=	'id est', that is
Inf.	=	Infinitive
Ins, Inss.	=	Inscription, Inscriptions
Instr.	=	Instrumental
interrog.	=	interrogative
l.	=	line
lit.	=	literally
Loc.	=	Locative
lw, lww.	=	loan-word, loan-words
met. fr.	=	metathesis from
n.	=	note
N.B.	=	'nota bene', mark well.
no.	=	number
Nom.	=	Nominative

Nom.prop.	=	'nomen proprium', Proper name.
num.	=	numeral
N.W.	=	North-West, North-Western
onom.	=	onomatopoetic
Opt.	=	Optative
ord.	=	Ordinal Numeral.
orig.	=	originally
P.,pp.	=	page, pages
Par.	=	Paranavitana
perh.	=	perhaps
Pers.	=	Person
pl.	=	plural
poss.	=	possibly
Postp.	=	Postposition
P.P.	=	Past Participle
Pres.	=	Present
Pres.P.	=	Present Participle
pres.	=	presumably
pres.pron.	=	presumably pronounced
Pret.	=	Preterite
pro.	=	pronoun
prob.	=	probably
prob.pron.	=	probably pronounced
pronom.	=	pronominal
pt.	=	part
P.T.O.	=	Please turn over.

q.v.	=	'quod. vide, which see
reg.yr.	=	regnal year
reflex.pro.	=	reflexive pronoun
s.	=	substantive
sec.short.	=	secondary shortening
sg.	=	singular
sq.	=	'sequens', and following
st.fm.	=	stem-form
s.v.	=	'sub verbo', under the word
trans.	=	translates
unempd.	=	uncompounded
v.	=	'vide', see
vb.	=	verb
Verb N.	=	Verbal Noun
viz.	=	'videlicet', namely
Vol.	=	Volume
vow-ass.	=	vowel-assimilation
vow-contr.	=	vowel-contraction
v.s.v.	=	'vide sub verbo', see under the word
W.	=	West, Western
wd, wds.	=	word, words
Wk.	=	D.M. de Z. Wickremasinghe
writ.	=	writing, written
x x	=	Foot-Note
>	=	becomes
<	=	is derived from

⌘	=	indicates a hypothetical form
=	=	indicates 'is the same as'.
?		indicates that a form, meaning or explanation is doubtful
§	=	Section
√	=	root
² / ₈		denotes the form bet. the 2nd. c. A.D. and the 8th c. A.D. (i.e. the compens. length.form)
+	=	plus

Books

AIC.	=	E.Müller, Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon.
AMGSgbG.	=	A.M.Gunasekara, A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sinhalese Language.
AMPJ.	=	American Philological Journal.
As'.Inss.	=	E.Hultzsch, Inscriptions of Asoka.
BLIA., LIA.	=	J. Bloch, L'Indo-Aryen.
BLLM., LLM.	=	J. Bloch, La Formation de la langue marathe.
BSL.	=	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.
BSOS.	=	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.
CSghD.	=	B. Clough, Sinhalese-English Dictionary.
E.Z.	=	Epigraphia Zeylanica.
GES.	=	W. Geiger, Etymologie des Singhalesischen. München 1898.
GPLS., PLS.	=	W. Geiger, Pāli Litteratur und Sprache. Strassburg 1916.
GSghG., SghG.	=	W.Geiger, A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language.

Guj.Phon.	=	R.L. Turner, Gujarati Phonology. J.R.A.S. Oct.1921.
IA.	=	Indian Antiquary.
IHQ.	=	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Jay.Gloss.	=	H. Jayatilaka, Glossary of Sinhalese classical words. 1905.
JRAS.	=	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
LSI.	=	Linguistic Survey of India.
LSS.	=	W.Geiger, Litteratur und Sprache der Singhal- esen. Strassburg 1900.
MhV.	=	Mahāvamsa translated by W. Geiger, 1912.
MWSkD.	=	Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary
ODELang.	=	S.K. Chatterji, The Origin and Development of the Bengali language.
PaG.	=	C. Duroiselle, A Practical Grammar of the Pali language.
PPkG., PkG.	=	R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen.
PTSPaD.	=	Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary.
RMN.	=	The Ruwanmal Nighantuwa, edited by D.P. de Alwis Wijayasekera, 1914.
SghD.	=	A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language. Vol.I, Pt.I (Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo 1935.)
TND.	=	R.L. Turner, A Dictionary of the Nepali Language.
VG.	=	A.A. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar.
Wackernagel	=	J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik.
WSkG., SkG.	=	W.D. Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, Leipzig 1889.
ZDMG.	=	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

OTHER BOOKS CONSULTED

- Beames, J., A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages of India.
- Bhandarkar R.G., Wilson Lectureship. Development of Language and of Sanskrit; Pali and other dialects of the period; Relations between Sanskrit, Pali, the Prakrits and the Modern Vernaculars. (Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XVI pp.245-345.) The Prakrits and the Apabhraṃśas. (id. Vol. XVII pp.1-48.)
- Bühler G., Indian Paleography.
- Caldwell R., A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages. London 1856.
- Childers R.C., A Pali-English Dictionary.
- Codrington H.W., A Short History of Ceylon.
- Dīpavaṃsa, translated by W. Geiger 1908.
- Grierson G.A., On the Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. (Z.D.M.G. XLIX pp.393-421.)
- Hargovind-dās-Trikamcand Seth, Paia-Sadda-Mahannavo.
- Hoernle A.F.R., A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages. London 1880.
- Lüders H., Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen. Berlin 1911.
- Müller E., Pali Grammar. London 1884.
- Perera T.G., The Sinhalese Language. Colombo 1932.
- Sidat Saṅgarā, Satyasamuccaya Press, Peliyagoda 1913.
- Wickremasinghe D.M. de Z., Tamil Grammar. London 1906.
- Index of all the Prakrit words occurring in
Pischel's Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

Abbreviation (Order of the Roman alpha- bet.)	Name of Inscription	Reference to Text and Translation in Epigraphia Zeylanica
Ag.	Ayitigevāva Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 35-38.
And. C.I, II, III, IVa, IVb, V, VI, VII, VIIIa, VIIIb, IX, Xa, Xb.	Āṇḍiṃyā-kanda Cave Inss. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4a, 4b, 5, 6, 7, 8a, 8b, 9, 10a, 10b.	I, 4, 144; 145.
An. S.	Anurādhapura Slab Ins.	IV, 3, 114, 115.
An. Sk.	Anurādhapura Slab Ins. of Kassapa V	I, 2, 43-57.
Av.	Alutvāva Pillar-Ins.	II, 5, 232-235.
Avg.	Āṭavīragollāva Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 45-49.
Bd.	Buddhannehāla Pillar-Ins.	I, 5, 194-200.
Blv.	Bilibāva Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 40-43.
B.P.Inss. I-VIII	Inss. near 'Burrows' Pavilion' Nos. 1-8.	IV, 3, 139-141.
E.Z.IV, 3, 143. I-VII	Seven Un-named Inss. Nos. 1-7.	IV, 3, 143-150.
Gd.R.	Gāraṇḍigala Rock Ins.	III, 4, 198, 199.
Ip.	Īripinniyāva Pillar-Ins.	I, 5, 167-171.
Jv.	Jētavanārāma Ins.	I, 6, 254-256.
K.429	Kaludiyapokuna Ins. A.S.I. No. 429	III, 5, 258-260.
Kb.	Kiribat-Vehera Pillar-Ins.	I, 4, 158-161.
Kg.	Kirigallāva Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 3-5.
Kh.C.	Karāmbā-Hinna Cave Ins.	I, 4, 146.

Abbreviation	Name of Inscription	Reference
Km.	Kukurumahan-Damana Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 22-25.
Ks.I.	Kirivehera Slab Ins.	III, 4, 215.
Kv.P.	Kivulēkādā Pillar-Ins.	III, 6, 290, 291.
Lg.I, II.	Labuātābāṇḍigala Inss. Nos. 1, 2.	III, 5, 250-252.
Mdg.	Mādirigiriya Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 28-33.
Md.S.	Mahadalimahana Slab Ins.	III, 4, 218.
Mg.	Moragoda Pillar-Ins.	I, 5, 202-207.
Mr.	Maha-Ratmale Ins.	I, 2, 61, 62.
Mv.I, II	Mōlahiṭiyavelēgala Inss. Nos. 1, 2.	III, 3, 154, 155
Ng.	Nāgama Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 16-19.
Ng.R.	Nāgirikanda Rock Ins.	IV, 3, 123, 124.
Np.C.	Nā-ulpata Cave Ins.	I, 4, 148.
Np.R.	Nā-ulpata Rock Inss.	I, 4, 148.
Nt.	Noccipotāna Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 6-8.
Pkm.	Perumāiyan-Kulam Rock Ins.	I, 2, 69, 70.
Pkn.	Pahala Kayināṭṭama Rock Ins.	III, 3, 162.
Pl.S.	Puliyan-Kulam Slab Ins.	I, 5, 185-190.
Pm.	Pālu Mākiccāva Ins.	I, 5, 211.
Pv.P.	Polonnaruva Pillar-Ins.	III, 6, 293, 294.
Rb.	Rāmbāva Pillar-Ins.	I, 5, 173-175.
Rv.P.	Ruvanvālisāya Pillar-Ins.	III, 3, 122.
R.Vg.I-IV	Rock Inss. from Vessagiriya Nos. 1-4.	IV, 3, 132, 133.

Abbreviation	Name of Inscription	Reference
Tb.	Tim̐birivāva Pillar-Ins.	II, 1, 10-14.
Tg.R.	Tōṇigala Rock Ins.	III, 4, 177-179.
Tp.S.	Thūpārāma Slab Ins.	III, 3, 116.
Vg.I, II.	Vihāregala Rock Inss. Nos 1, 2.	III, 3, 165, 166.
Vg.R.B.C. I, IIa, IIb, III, IV, VI, VII, IX, X, XI, XII.	Vessagiri Rock 'B'. Cave. Nos. 1, 2a, 2b, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12.	I, 1, 18-20.
Vg.R.C.C. VI, VIII.	Vessagiri Rock 'C'. Cave Nos. 6, 8.	I, 1, 21
Vg.R.I.	Vessagiri Rock Ins. No. 1.	I, 1, 21.
Vg.S.Dp.	Vessagiri Slab of Dappula V.	I, 1, 24-27.
Vt.C.	Vēvāl-Tānna Cave Ins.	I, 4, 150.
Vt.R.	Vēvāl-Tānna Rock Ins.	I, 4, 152.

INSCRIPTIONS ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

For probably^e dates references are given to *Epigraphia Zeylanica* and dates of Ceylon kings are given according to Wickremasinghe chronological table. [E.Z. Vol: III, Part 1.]

2nd C. B.C.

Earlier than the latter half of the 2nd c. B.C. I, 1, 14.

Vg.R.B.C. IIa, IIb, III, IV, VI, VII, IX,
X, XI, XII.

Vg.R.C.C. VI, VIII.

1st C. B.C.

And.C.I. 1st half of 1st c. B.C. I, 4, 140.

And.C.II, III, circa 1st half of 1st c. B.C. I, 4, 140.
IVa, IVb [Eye-copy] V, VI, VII.

Np.C. 1st half of 1st c. B.C. I, 4, 146.

Vt.R. 1st half of 1st c. B.C. I, 4, 150.

Vt.C. perhaps 1st half of 1st c.B.C. I, 4, 149.

And.C.VIIIa 2nd half of 1st c. B.C. I, 4, 140.
[Eye-copy]
VIIIb, IX, Xa,
Xb [Eye-copy]

Kh.C. 2nd half of 1st c. B.C. I, 4, 146.

1st C. A.D.

Mv.I 39-67 A.D. of Bhatikabhaya III, 3, 153 & fol

Mv.II 67-79 A.D. of Mahadathika-Mahanaga III, 3, 156.

2nd C. A.D.

Vg I.	120-126 A.D.	of Subha	III, 3, 164 & 167.
Pkn.	120-126 A.D.	of Subha	III, 3, 164 & 167.
Pkm.	126-170 A.D.	of Vasabha	I, 5, 209.
Pm.	173-195 A.D.	of Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇi	I, 5, 209.
Vg.II.	173-195 A.D.	of Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇi	III, 3, 166.
Tp.S.	173-195 A.D.	of Gajabāhuka-Gāmaṇi	III, 3, 115.
Mr.	196-202 A.D.	of Mahallaka-Nāga	I, 5, 209.
Ks.I	1st or 2nd c.A.D.? More likely 2nd c. A.D.		III, 4, 215.
Vg.R.I.	close of 2nd c. A.D.		I, 1, 21.
Np.R.	2nd or 3rd c. A.D.		I, 4, 147.

3rd C. A.D.

Jv.	226-244 A.D.	of Kanitṭha-Tissa	I, 6, 253.
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4th C. A.D.

Tg.R.	365 A.D.	3rd ^{yr.} of Sīri-Meghavanna (362-389 A.D.)	III, 4, 176.
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5th C. A.D.

Rv.P.	398-426 A.D.	of Buddhadaśa	III, 3, 121.
Lg.I,II.	circa 5th c.A.D., before 468-490 A.D.?		III, 5, 248 & 251
Md.S.	after 468-490 A.D.?		III, 4, 217

6th C. A.D.

An.S.	498-513 A.D.	of Khudda-Pārinda	IV, 3, 113.
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R.Vg.IV) between 552-570 A.D. Earlier than Ngr.IV, 3, 130.
 R.Vg.I, II, III) Belong to period between Kassapa I (526-552 A.D.)
 and Kumāra-Dhātusena (570-579 A.D.) IV, 3, 132.

Ng.R. 570-579 A.D. of Kumārādi- (1.e. Kumāra-)
 Dhātusena IV, 3, 121, 122.

6th C. or 7th C. A.D.

B.P.Inss. 2nd half of 6th c.A.D. or 1st half of 7th c.A.D.
 I-VIII Later than Ng.R. IV, 3, 137, 138.

8th C. A.D.

E.Z.IV, 3, 143.I. }
 E.Z.IV, 3, 144, II & III } circa 8th c.A.D. IV, 3, 142.
 E.Z.IV, 3, 145.IV } IV, 3, 144.
 IV, 3, 145.

Gd.R. 774 A.D. 3rd yr. of Kassapa III.
 (771-778 A.D.) III, 4, 197.

8th C. or 9th C. A.D.

E.Z.IV, 3, 149, VI } end of 8th c. A.D. or beginning of 9th c.A.D.
 E.Z.IV, 3, 149, VII } Sometime between Kassapa III (771-778 A.D.)
 E.Z.IV, 3, 148, V } and Sena I (887-907 A.D.)
 Later than Gd.R. IV, 3, 148, 149
 also IV, 3, 146

9th C. or 10th C. A.D.

Kv.P. 887-907 A.D. of Sena I (887-907 A.D.)
 III, 6, 289
 No regnal year. III, 6, 290.

10th C.A.D.

Pv.P. 902 A.D. 15th reg.yr. of Sena I
 (887-907) III, 6, 291 & 292
 K.429 915 A.D. 8th reg. yr. of Sena II
 (907-941 A.D.) III, 5, 257.

5.10.15
[Illegible text]

1.1.16
[Illegible text]

2.2.16
[Illegible text]

3.3.16
[Illegible text]

4.4.16
[Illegible text]

Udaya I (941-952 A.D.)

Rb.	941 A.D.	1st reg. yr.	I, 5, 172.
Ip.	941 A.D.	1st reg. yr.	I, 5, 164.
Kg.	942 A.D.	2nd reg. yr.	II, 1, 2.
Nt.	950 A.D.	9th reg. yr.	II, 1, 6.

[Rb.Ip.Kg.Nt. should be ascribed to Udaya I
rather than to Kassapa IV (II, 1, 10)]

Kassapa IV (952-969 A.D.)

Tb.	952 A.D.	1st reg.yr.	II, 1, 10.
Av.	957 A.D.	5th reg.yr.	II, 5, 230.
Ng.	959 A.D.	7th reg.yr.	II, 1, 14, 15.
Km.	963 A.D.	11th reg.yr.	II, 1, 22.
Kb.	966 A.D.	14th reg.yr.	I, 4, 154.
Mg.	968 A.D.	16th reg.yr.	I, 5, 201.

Kassapa V (969-979 A.D.)

Bd.	972 A.D.	3rd reg.yr.	I, 5, 192.
Mdg.	972 A.D.	3rd reg.yr.	II, 1, 27.
Ag.	974 A.D.	5th reg.yr.	II, 1, 35.
An.Sk.	975 A.D.	6th reg.yr.	I, 2, 41 & 47 I, 5, 192.
Blv.	976 A.D.	7th reg.yr.	II, 1, 39.

Dappula V (979-991 A.D.)

Vg.S.Dp.	981 A.D.	2nd reg.yr.	I, 1, 23.
AvG.	989 A.D.	10th reg.yr.	II, 1, 45.
Pl.S.	991 A.D.	12th reg.yr.	I, 5, 183. II, 1, 44.

EXAMINATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

Sinhalese is a member of the Indo-Aryan family of languages and 'is derived from a form of speech of which our earliest document is the Ṛgveda' [TND., Introduction, p.xii]. Concerning its original home in Aryan India, opinion is divided. The ancient tradition regarding the Aryan immigration into Ceylon is narrated in the old Pali Chronicles, *Dīpavamsa* IX, 1 sq. and *Mahāvamsa* VI, 1 sq.. It is not necessary to discuss all its details here. Different interpretations of this legend have been advanced by various scholars. The main point of controversy is the identification and location of *Lāla*, the homeland of Vijaya.

H.W. Codrington ['A Short History of Ceylon', p.6 sq.], W.Geiger [SghD., vol.1, pt.1, pp.xvii-xviii; also SghG. pp.vii-xi, pp.1-3] and S.K. Chatterji [ODBLang., p.15; pp.72,73 fn.] who identify *Lāla* with *Lāṭa* (Gujarat) maintain that the first Aryan colonists under the leadership of Vijaya came from Western India. On the contrary, E. Müller [AIC. pp. 23,24; also IA., XI, p.198], Rev. R. Siddhartha ['The Indian Languages and their Relation with the Sinhalese Language' in JRAS. (Ceylon Branch) XXXIII, No.88, 1935, p.123 sq.] and M. Shahidullah ['The First Aryan Colonization of Ceylon' in IHQ. IX, 1933, p.742 sq.] identifying *Lāla* with *Rāḍha* (West Bengal) contend that they came from Eastern India. Various arguments and explanations are propounded by

them in support of their individual theories, and they all admit some measure of historical truth underlying the tradition.

A special point in the discussion of the Western theorists Codrington and Geiger calls for comment. They suggest a second stream of immigration from Eastern India in order to elucidate the part of the legend about Vijaya's successor *Panduvāsudeva* who is said to have married *Bhaddakaccānā* the daughter of a *Sākiya* prince who had founded a kingdom in the Ganges valley. It is very unlikely that a marriage alliance between Vijaya's successor and a princess from Eastern India was possible so soon after the settlement in the Island of the Vijayan people if they hailed from Western India. Again Geiger's presumption that immediately after the immigration from Western India there began to take place a lively intercourse between the Island and Eastern India is fanciful. I accept the views of Müller, Siddhartha and Shahidullah that the first Aryan settlers in Ceylon were from Eastern India. Shahidullah's case is certainly convincing from the standpoint of philology. The earliest *Brāhmī* Inscriptions of Ceylon unmistakably reveal that immigrants from Eastern India formed the foundation of the Aryan population of Ceylon.

It is traditionally handed down that Vijaya, the son of *Simhabāhu*, was the founder of the Sinhalese race and that the Sinhalese language was introduced into the Island by him and his followers. Finally, the date of Vijaya's arrival in Ceylon was made to synchronize with Buddha's demise i.e. 483 or 543 B.C..

It is doubtful whether there is any authenticity in this date.

There is no doubt, however, that Sinhalese is an Indo-Aryan speech brought from the mainland very probably by the first Aryan immigrants under Vijaya, and the proof that Sinhalese is descended from Sanskrit 'rests upon the fact that many details of its grammatical structure find their explanation only in the corresponding forms of the earlier language, and that much of its vocabulary, allowing for a regular correspondence of sounds between the two languages, is identical with that of Sanskrit' [TND., Introduction, p.xii]. Our earliest monuments are the Brāhmī Inscriptions dating as far back as the 2nd century B.C. and herein is found testimony that Sinhalese was well established by that time.

Even if one were to waive all the tradition about Vijaya as purely mythical, the early language shows that it must have originally belonged to some Eastern tract of India as displayed by its salient Eastern characteristics. Proof is found in the earliest Inss. which reveal unmistakable affinity with the Eastern Inss. of Aśoka. Among the Prakrits, in the opinion of Professor R.L. Turner, Sgh. most resembles Ardhamāgadhi.

The following are the main Eastern characteristics which Sgh. has in common with Eastern Aśokan Inscriptions, Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi.

In representing Sk. ks as k , Sgh. resembles EAs., AMg., Mg. with $(k)kh$ as opposed to WAs., Mh. with $(c)ch$ [§56, 3a]. In the cerebral treatment of Sk. r or r_0 + dental, Sgh. agrees with EAs.,

AMg. as against the Western dialects cf. WAS', Mh., Sr. which maintained the dental [§38,1,2]. The Sgh. treatment of Sk. -tm- as -t- corresponds to -tt- of EAs', AMg., Mg. opposed to the labial treatment of WAS' (Gir.) -tp-, Mh. -pp- [§58,6b]. Likewise in maintaining the dental in the Sk. group dental + v, Sgh. resembles EAs' as against WAS' (Gir.) which developed a labial [§55,1]. Also the development of sibilant + m in intervocalic position to -p- in Sgh. agrees with the -(p)ph- of EAs' [§56,2c]. The Nom. sg. in -e of original -a stems in Old Sgh. finds a parallel in EAs', AMg., Mg. [BLIM. §4,p.6; §7], whereas -o prevailed in WAS', (but not N.W.). Finally, in preserving the Rgvedic syllabic value of y and v (illustrated in detail in §60), Sgh. agrees with EAs'.

Sgh. shows agreement especially with AMg. on the following points: In the predominant representation of the Sk. vowel \bar{r} as \bar{o} Sgh. resembles AMg. [§5,2]. In showing n for Sk. $\tilde{j}\tilde{n}$ Sgh. is in accordance with AMg. [§58,6c]. Again the writing of the original single intervocal gutturals and dentals as -y- between the 2nd c. A.D. and the 4th (5th) c. A.D. indicating a -y- like pronunciation for them (discussed below) may well be compared with the unique Jaina traditional spelling of Ardhamāgadhī with \dot{y} denoting a faintly articulated y (laghuprayatnatarayakāra; PPKG., §187). Finally, similarity with AMg. is very striking in the peculiar treatment of Sk. -tr- when preceded by a long vowel. For example, AMg. $\bar{p}\bar{a}y\bar{a}$, $\bar{m}\bar{u}y\bar{a}$, $\bar{r}\bar{a}y\bar{i}$ = Sk. $\bar{p}\bar{a}tra-$ (Mid.Ind. $\bar{p}atta-$),

mūtra- (mutta-), rātrī- (rattī-) respectively [PPkG. §87]. Words such as these, according to Bloch, would suggest that 'there has been somewhere in Hindustan a dialect in which double -tt- has joined intervocalic -t- very early and like it has become -d- and then -y-' [BLLM. §216, p.217]. According to Chatterji [ODBLang. §135, p.254] and Geiger [SghG. §11; SghD. p.xix] we may postulate forms like * pāta-, * mūta-, * rātrī- as base-forms for AMg.. The corresponding forms in MSgh. are pā 'alms-bowl', mū 'urine', rā 'night'**. Whatever be the origin of these Sgh. and AMg. forms, the fact remains that there exists a coincidence between Sgh. and AMg. in this case.

A connection with Mg. is noteworthy also on the following: s' was the representative of the three Sk. sibilants (ś, ṣ, s) in Sgh. of the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. [§46, 2]. The s' was also the characteristic of Mg.Pk. [§46, 1] and this peculiarity is first recorded in the Sūtanukā Ins. at Ramgarh (the earliest specimen of Māgadhi that we possess; Lüders, 'Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen', p.41) which on palaeographic evidence is regarded as contemporaneous with the Asōkan monuments, although it is lacking in the Eastern Inss. of Asōka [BLLM., §4, p.5; also Chatterji, ODBLang. §§39, 40].*** Also the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. - s's' < Sk. -sy-, -rs-, -sv- agrees with Mg. -s's' < Sk. id. [§§52, 2a; 53, 3a;

(**) None of these words occur in these Inss.

(***) The s' (and s) in the Kāśī version (from edict X) is a vicarious symbol denoting s acc. to Hultzsch, As. Inss., p.lxxii.

55,2b] and the Gen. sg. termination -aśśa < Sk. -asya beside -aha (-āha?) corresponds to Mg. -aśśa beside -āha [§52,2b]. Again Sgh. like Mg. has maintained initial Sk. y- as y- whereas in the other dialects of Pk. y- > j- [§43,1]. Finally, the fact that original intervocal -c-, -j- are not lost in Sgh. connects Sgh. with Mg. for "According to the Prakrit grammarians, Māgadhi did not drop the intervocal palatals, while the other groups of Middle Indo-Aryan did. This would be quite in accordance with the theory that the palatals became affricates in Māgadhi earlier than in Śaurasēni and Mahārāṣṭri, in which they were voiced and elided, like the guttural and the dental stops." [Chatterji, ODBLang. §258; also §132].

The Eastern origin of Sgh. has been established above. The similarity between MSgh. and the Eastern group of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages corroborates this view. The connection between Sgh. and the Western Indian languages as advocated by Geiger [SghD. pp. xvii-xxiv; SghG. pp.xi-xii,p.2] is not justified. Some facts which may be adduced in order to connect Sgh. with Eastern Modern Indian rather than the Western are as follows (Here inter-dialectal borrowings must be set aside): In the cerebral treatment of the Sk. group r + dental, Sgh. is in accordance with the Eastern group where it is generally cerebral as against the Western where it is generally dental [§38,1,2]. In the confusion of Sk. -n-, -ṇ- as -n- Sgh. agrees with the Eastern (also Central) group whereas the Western (also North-Western)

have confused them as -n- [§41, 1, 4]. Again as regards the non-elision of the Sk. intervocalic palatals -c-, -j-, Sgh. is in conformity with the descendants of Māgadhī. As shown for Bengali by Chatterji, words which retain the intervocal -c-, -j- are genuine Bengali words whereas those with elided palatal are borrowings from the West [ODBLang. pp.247, 468]. Also the 2nd c. B.C. jhita 'daughter' which is cognate with Bengali jhī, Oriya jhia is noteworthy [§37, 3b]. Then in the treatment of Sk. kṣ Sgh. cannot be connected with Marāṭhī as suggested by Bloch and Chatterji [§56, 3a]; Marāṭhī is a ch language whereas Sgh. is a k language and agrees with the Eastern group and also with Gujarātī, Sindhī, Lahndā, Pañjabī and Hindī [TND., Introduction, p.xiii]; contrary examples with ch (< Sk. kṣ) > s in Sgh. are borrowed words and appear as additions to the language. Finally, the fact that initial Sk. v- is conserved in Sgh. [§44, 1, 2] - a seeming contradiction to close resemblance with the Eastern languages since they have changed v- to b- - is certainly no argument for connecting Sgh. with the Western group, although Geiger [SghD.p.xxi, SghG. pp.xi-xii] and Bloch [LLM., §150] have made this a basis of their classification. There is no evidence that at the time of the first colonization of Ceylon initial v- had passed to b- in Eastern Indo-Aryan.

I do not deny, however, that Sgh. contains many words of Western origin, but these are to be regarded as words borrowed from some Western dialect of India and in reality they do not

represent the basic stratum of Sgh.. It is probable that these borrowings which have greatly enriched the Sgh. vocabulary were imported into the language at various times by later immigrants from the West. It is equally probably that many of the Western forms were introduced into the language through the medium of Pali in which itself the Western forms were impositions. The dominant influence of Pali, the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, is unquestionable. I have illustrated the Western forms in these Inss. as loans from the Pali 'Western forms'. Some specimens of such Western forms are, for instance, words in which Sk. -rt- appears as -t- found in the 10th c. A.D., those in which Sk. -rth- appears as -t- found in the 2nd and 10th c. A.D.; or catudisā-, cf. Pa. catuddisa-^{xx}, Sk. caturdisā-, occurring in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C.; or vadita cf. Sk. vardhita- found in the 2nd c. A.D. etc. [§38]. Again instances of words in which Sk. ka had become ch, ech (> s in Sgh.) found in the 10th c. A.D. [§56, 3a]. Then as regards a word like MSgh. bara 'twelve' cf. Pa. barasa- (Western form) beside dvādaśa- [GFLS., §116, 2] cf. Sk. dvādaśa-, for Mod. Ind. v. TND., s.v. bāra, it may be that it was borrowed only sometime after the 10th c. A.D. since it does not occur anywhere in these Inss., the only form found being dolasa, dolos 'twelve' which is the legitimate Sgh. form.

(xx) This particular word occurring in the stereotyped phrase catudisā-sagasa dine appears definitely to be a loan from Pali.

On certain points Sgh. has diverged from Modern Indo-Aryan. By virtue of its isolated position, Sgh. has developed along its own lines in certain phonetic features. Firstly, I refer to the question of Sk. v-. The Eastern languages have changed v- to b- and for the date of the beginnings of this change in the Eastern area may be quoted Chatterji who comments "In the 7th century, the characters, for b and v (= व, व of Dēva-nāgarī) are confused, and evidence is not wanting for their loose use in the 5th century. After the 8th century, only one letter, that for v, is used for both, showing that in the pronunciation of the eastern area, these two sounds had fallen together; and from the state of things in the 'Bihārī' speeches, and in Oriyā and Bengali, it can be seen that in Māgadhi Apabhraṃsa of the 8th century, and perhaps earlier still, all initial v-s of Middle Indo-Aryan became b-" [ODBLang., p.226]. As attested by the early Inss. [§44, 2], Sgh. had brought with it the v- forms then current in Eastern India as fully supported by the Eastern Inss. of Aśoka which represent Sk. v- as v-; consequently the original v- forms brought to Ceylon have persisted because Sgh. had left its Indian home before the change of v- to b- had taken place in Eastern India; also cf. Sk. -vy-, -rv- > -v- [§§52, 10; 53, 11]. Secondly, is the case of Sk. y-. The Eastern and Western languages have changed y- to j- (while in Dardic it is generally unchanged); this change is to be taken back to the Classical Prakrit period, for y- > j- in Prakrit

except in *Magadhī* [§43,1]. The *Aśokan* monuments (Eastern as well as Western) evidence that *y-* was preserved in the Early Mid. Ind. period and was conveyed to Ceylon as attested by the early Inss. [§43,2], remaining unchanged to the present; also cf. Sk. *-ry-* > *-y-* [§53,1h]. Thirdly, is the case of Sk. intervocalic *-m-* which has become the nasalized labial spirant *-ṃ-* universally in Modern Indo-Aryan with the exception of the Dardic group. This change generally occurred in the *Apabhraṃśa* period [§42,1]. However, *Sgh.* having left its continental home long before this time has retained *-m-* which it had imported to Ceylon as recorded by the earliest Inss. [§42,2]. Again in the development of the Sk. group sibilant + *m* (intervocally) to *-p-* [§56,2c] or of Sk. *-tm-* to *-t-* [§58,6b] *Sgh.* stands apart from Modern Indian. Also cf. individual words like *doḷos* [§55,1b], *ciṭavaya*, *siṭā* [§37,1b] and *ada-* [§38,6a].

Finally there is the de-aspiration of aspirated occlusives of Sanskrit. This de-aspiration in *Sgh.* evident from the earliest times [§48,1] may be due to the influence of its Dravidian neighbour Tamil which has no aspirates [R.Caldwell, 'A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages', pp.96,97; also Bloch, *LIA.*, p.62], or more probably to a native Ceylon substratum. On the other hand, the development of Sk. *-bh-* as *-h-* [§§40,9a;48,2], indicates that the loss of occlusion in the intervocalic position preceded loss of aspiration. Some of the Modern Indian languages, also, show de-aspiration in certain

positions such as final, intervocal or pre-consonantal [For particulars, cf. Chatterji, ODBLang. §§239-242; also Bloch, LIM., §§87-89; LIA., pp.60-61].

The fate of the vowels and consonants is fully discussed in their respective sections, but some general remarks on the consonants are added here. The single intervocal guttural and dental stops of Sk. are written as -y- by the 2nd c. A.D. and this writing indicates that they had become -y- by this time, as for instance, Sk. -k-, -g- > -y- [§34,6c,8a,8c] or Sk. -t-, -d- > -y- [§37,6a,8a]. The fact that they had one pronunciation is proved conclusively by later attempts to restore the original gutturals and dentals in writing. Such restorations in some cases manifest themselves as incorrect learned spellings due to the confusion of them in pronunciation. Some instances are pohatakara (Vg.I) representing Pa. posathāgāra- etc. [§34,8a], Vesāgā (Tb) - Sk. Vaiśākha- [§34,7c], Sarimekavaṇa- (Tg.R) — Sk. *Sṛīmēghavarṇa- [§34,9a], karavika (Rv.P) — Sk. kārāpita- [§37,6f], jahasaka- (B.P.Ins.VI) — Sk. daśasāta- [§ id.], pata- (KS.I) — Sk. pāda- [§37,8a], Kumaratasa- (Ng.R) — Sk. Kumāradaśa- [§ id.]. The 2nd c. A.D. -y- representing the original single intervocalic gutturals and dentals appears to have been different from original Sk. -y-, since the loss of Sk. -y- is evident in the 2nd c. A.D. [§43,3b] whereas this -y- seems to have been lost in actual pronunciation in the 4th (5th) c. A.D. [§§34,6g,8d; 37,6g,9c] as evident by its absence in

writing at that time. It was evidently a y- like sound which may be compared with the ya-sruti of Jaina Ardhamāgadhi. From the 4th (5th) c. onwards we find words in which this y- sound has disappeared and the contiguous vowels have been contracted [§§ id.]. But beside these words we find words in which -y- is again written from the 4th, 5th c. and this writing shows that -y- came in as a vocalic glide, and when the neighbouring vowel was a labial one, -v- replaced -y-. As -y-, -v- have taken the place of the original single intervocal gutturals and dentals, I show these consonants as becoming -y-, -v- in dealing with the examples [§§34, 6d, 6e, 7a, 8c, 9b; 37, 6c, 6d, 7b, 8b, 8c, 9b].

In the case of Sk. -p- we find that it is written -v- in the 2nd c. A.D. and this writing shows that -p- had become -v- by this time [§40, 6a]; it seems that this -v- was slightly different from original Sk. -v-, since evidence of the disappearance of Sk. -v- is found in the 2nd c. A.D. [§44, 3b], whereas this -v- (< -p-) seems to have been lost in the 3rd c. A.D. [§40, 6d], but -v- is again written from the 3rd c. and this writing shows that -v- came in as a glide; it is important to note that this -v- is everywhere found written -v- and is never replaced by -y- [§40, 6c]; here again I show in the examples that Sk. -p- > -v- [§ id.]. As regards the original palatals, the state of things is as follows: Sk. j- and Sk. -j- have behaved similarly in Sgh. since in both cases Sgh. shows d through a pronunciation * dz [§35, 3, 7]. But Sk. c- has behaved differently

from Sk. -c-, for c- > s- through a pronunciation ^z ts [§35, 1] whereas -c- > -d-; the reason for this is that Sk. -c- > -j- in the 2nd c. A.D. and thus fell in line with original Sk. -j-; consequently, just as Sk. -j- > -d-, so -j- < Sk. -c- too has become -d- [§35, 6]. Again the fate of Sk. -j- on the one hand and of Sk. -jj- or Mid.Ind. -jj- (< Sk. -jy-, -dy-), Mid.Ind. -jjh- (< Sk. -dhy-) on the other is identical in Sgh. for in either case the development is to -d- [§§35, 7; 51, 1c; 52, 1f, 1f, 1i, 1j]. But the fate of Sk. -c- is different from that of Sk. -cch-, ^zñc- or Mid.Ind. -cc- (< Sk. -cy-, -ty-), Mid.Ind. -cch- (< Sk. -ts-, -tsy-, -ps-) for Sk. -c- > -d- but the groups -cch-, ^zñc- etc. have become -s- [§§35, 6e; 51, 1b; 52, 1d, 1h; 56, 3d, 3e, 3f; 58, 3b] so that the 2nd c. A.D. -c- [§50, 2, 3] representing these groups must have had a pronunciation ^z -ts- which eventually resulted in -s- like original c- > s-. The -j- in havajarana (Lg.II - 5th c.) and -d- in havurudu (Ng. etc. - 10th c.), M^Sgh. avurudu, havurudu [§56, 3d] which apparently represents Pa. saṃvacchara-, Sk. saṃvatsara-, is unexpected and thus this word forms an exception to Mid.Ind. -cch- > -s-; perhaps it is due to a false analogical creation based on -c- > -j- > -d-; the 2nd c. A.D. -c- (< Mid.Ind. -cch-) in this word had somehow got confused with original -c- and accordingly shared its fate. With regard to the intervocal cerebrals -ṭ-, -ṭh-, -ḍ-, -ḍh-, we find that they had all become -ḷ- in Sgh. [§36]; in the 10th c. there are confusions in writing

of -l- and -ḷ- [§§36,4d,6b; 45,4c]. Probably this confusion in writing actually denoted a confusion in pronunciation, that is to say, the -ḷ- < single intervocalic cerebral occlusives had evidently acquired the dental pronunciation by the 10th c. and fell together with -l- < Sk. -l- and this is in accordance with the confusion that arose between original -ṇ- and -n- in the 6th c.; just as Sk. -ṇ- came to have a dental pronunciation from the 6th c. onwards [§41,4], so this -ḷ- came to have a dental character from the 10th c. and the writing -ḷ- in the 10th c. Inss. as well as in modern literature points to a traditional spelling due to a learned influence. It is noteworthy that s and h are very unstable phonemes in Sgh.. The 1st c. A.D. s < earlier s' (representing the Sk. sibilants) > h by the 2nd c. A.D. [§46,2,3] but this h is lost in some cases [§ id.,7] like original h [§47,1,2]. Then -s- (< Mid.Ind. -ss- < Sk. -rs-, -sr- etc.) which normally remains [§§52,2; 53,3b,3c,3d; 55,2b] is sometimes changed to -h- [§53,3c,3d] like original -s- to -h-. Again there is the s- which represents Sk. c-, ch-; the examples found show s- [§35,1c,2b] although there is one example in the 10th c. which seems to suggest the change of this s- to h- as seen in henu (K.429) if it represents an Infinitive from Pa. cavati, Sk. cyavate [§35,1a]; but the modern language shows this change cf. saṇḍa, haṇḍa < candra- or saṇḍun, haṇḍun < dandana-. Also there is the -s- representing Mid.Ind. -cc-, -cch- etc. [§§35,6e; 51,1b; 52,1d,1h; 56,3d,3e,3f; 58,3b] and all the examples found

in the 10th c. show -s- except in mahavar- (Rb; Ip) pres. < Pa. *macchakāra-, Sk. *matsyakāra- [§56,3e] which shows a tendency of this -s- to become -h-. MSgh. shows both forms cf. gasa, gaha < gaccha- or pasalos, pahalos < pāncadaśa-. But the two 10th c. words henu and mahavar- are doubtful, so that the numerous spellings with s denoting the s-, -s- (< initial palatal and intervocal double palatal) suggest that this s-, -s- which had newly resulted from the * ts pronunciation [i.e. 8th c., 10th c., §§35,1a; 51,1b; 52,1h] carefully preserved the s pronunciation at that time, but in modern times forms with s and h exist side by side. There is, however, one important fact about this s-, -s- just mentioned; it has become h, but this h does not disappear. Again there is the -h- which appears as a glide between similar vowels as in Sāhā- < * Śākiya-, cf. Śākya- or dihi- < dadhi- [§§34,6f; 37,6e; 37,9d].

The Inscriptions give us valuable hints as to the contemporary habits of pronunciation, and we can safely say that by the time the sound changes were actually denoted in the script they were well established in the spoken language. There are, however, numerous examples of the original spellings occurring even after the phonetic modifications had taken place. For instance, in the earliest Inss. -t- is written -t- and by the 2nd c. A.D. -t- is written -y-, thus indicating that -t- > -y- by this time. But even after this time -t- is written -t-, for which two explanations are possible; either it may denote a

conservative spelling or that the word is a loan-word. Even as the Indo-Aryan languages of India gathered their loan-words from the inexhaustible supply of Sanskrit, so Sgh. has borrowed extensively from the vast resources of Pali. In some cases the Pali form has remained intact throughout the centuries, but in others it is seen that once the loan-words had entered the language they were subject to the same phonetic laws as original words; therefore it is possible to determine the date of their admission into Sgh. by the changes which they underwent. For instance, a lw. like Pa. *chana-* must have come into the language before the time when $ch- > s-$ i.e. 8th c. and thus gave a lw. *sāṇa* [§56, 3a]. Then again a word like * *duvāra-* (cf. EAs. *duvāla-*, Pk. *duvāra-*, *duāra-*) cf. *dvara-* must have come in after the time when $u - ā > a - a$ i.e. 2nd c. B.C. [§21] but before the time when *-v-* was lost i.e. 2nd c. A.D. [§44, 3] thus giving *dora* by vowel-contraction [§24, 2b]. Or again a lw. Pa. *rājakula-* coming in after the time when $a - u > u - u$ i.e. 1st c. B.C. [§15] but before the time of the loss of *-k-* i.e. 5th c. [§34, 6g] gave *rajol-*, *radol-* by vowel-contraction [§24, 2c]. When the Sk. and Pa. forms are identical, it is difficult to decide the origin of the loanword; but in the 10th c. definite loans from Sk. are found, as may be seen from *Buddhamitra-* (Bd.), *siddhānta* (An.Sk), *abhiyukta-* (An.Sk), *ārogya-* (Mdg) etc., and such words indicate a Sk. influence in the 10th c..

We also find Dravidian words which have penetrated into

Ceylon. MSgh. vocabulary has undoubtedly been enlarged by such accretions, though instances of them in the Inss. are very few, such as, kaland [Vg.S.Dp; E.Z.I, 1, 28, fn.3]; piritti- [Blv.; E.Z. II, 1, 43, fn.2]; -ār in yutār [An.Sk.; E.Z. I, 2, 49, fn.4]; mekāppar [Bd.; E.Z. I, 5, 193]; marumakane ? [Vg.R.B.C. VII; E.Z.I, 1, 17].

PHONOLOGY

§ 1.

Vowels ā and a of Sk.

1. From the earliest times, ā of Sk. is written as a. But, despite Wickremasinghe in E.Z.I.,^{1,15}, the shortening is merely graphical e.g. agata—(Vg.R.B.C.I.) for āgata—, upasaka—(Vg.R.B.C.IIa) for upāsaka—, maha—(Vg.R.B.C.IV) for mahā—etc.

In the 1st c. B.C., Sk. a— $\overset{u}{i}$ > i—i [§ 14] as in Gamipi—(And.C.I) < grāmanī—, visiti—(Mr.—2nd c. A.D.) < viṃśati—. But Sk. ā—i > ā—i [§ 10] and not i—i, and this change first occurs only in the 4th c. A.D., e.g. peṇi (Tg.R.) < phāṇi—[for the writing e, § 1d.]. Presumably therefore, ā of Sk. was pronounced ā, though written a, and differentiated from Sk. a, at any rate up to the 4th c. A.D. **

2. In the 2nd c. A.D., however, we find a few isolated instances where ā is actually written. Perhaps herein we find a learned influence: kahāvāṇa (Pm.); devānapiya—(Mr.);

(**) Therefore, vavi (Vg.I, II., Pm.—2nd c. A.D.; Jv.—3rd c. A.D.) < vāpi—and pati (Pkm.; Tp.S.—2nd c. A.D.; Jv.—3rd c. A.D.) < prāpti—were actually vāvi and pāti (§ 50, 3) up to the 4th c. A.D.; that the Umlaut had occurred after this time in these two words is shown by the writing veva, peta (Ng.R.) in the 6th c. A.D.

hātika (Mr); vānaka (Mr); hamānana (ya) (Mr)—(error for hamañāna(ya)); yāku (Mr), (yākuhaṭe) (Pkm)—prob. lw. Pa. yāgu—.

3. It is important to note that even secondary ā due to contraction is not written as ā: gapati—(Vg.R.B.C.IX—2nd c. B.C.) stands for gāpati—(< *gaapati— < grhapati—); paca—(Tp.S.—2nd c. A.D.) for pacā—, pacani (Pm.—2nd c. A.D.) for pacāni (< *pacaa— < Pa. paccaya—, Sk. pratyaya—). Similarly uvanaka (Jv.—3rd c. A.D.) for uvānaka; Aba—(Vg.II—2nd c. A.D.; Tg.R.—4th c. A.D.; R.Vg.III—6th c. A.D.), Aba (R.Vg.IV—6th c. A.D.) for Abā; Aba (Rv.P.—5th c. A.D.) for Abā; ma-purumakahata (Rv.P.—5th c. A.D.), ma-purumu—(An.S.—6th c. A.D.) for mā—; ama—(Md.S.—5th c. A.D.) for amā—; dāha [sa]—(Md.S.—5th c. A.D.), jahasa—(B.P.Ins.III—6th or 7th c. A.D.) for dahasā—; Mahana—(Md.S.—5th c. A.D.) for Mahānā—; cara—(Ng.R.—6th c. A.D.) for cāra—; kavapa (B.P.Ins.IV—6th or 7th c. A.D.) for kāvapa.

4. This secondary ā written as ā is first found in Daḷanā—(E.Z.IV, 3, 145, IV—circa end of 7th c. or beginning of 8th c. A.D.) < Pa. Dāḷhānāga—(according to Parānavitana, E.Z. IV, 3, 145). Quite certainly ā represents a contraction in the 8th c. A.D. in mapu[r]mukā (Gd.R.a) < *mahāparamakaa < —kaha < —kasya; hindvā (Gd.R.a) < v. below; isā (Gd.R.a) <

* isaa < i + saha; budenā (Gd.R.b) < * bhūñjanaā < —āya;
 bahā (Gd.R.b) < ^{v. below.} ~~Pa-bahaya~~. The fact that this secondary
 ā came to be written as long ā proves that original Sk. ā
 had become shortened by this time, that is by the 8th c. A.D.

5. Up to the 4th c. A.D., therefore, a representing Sk. ā is in all cases to be read as ā. Probably, though not certainly, a representing Sk. ā between the 4th c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D. is to be read as long. But, from the 8th c. A.D. (i.e. when long ā is first written to denote a contraction), the a representing Sk. ā is certainly to be read as short a. From this time Sk. a and ā merged as Sgh. a. For examples—
 v. below.
6. Now, even after the time of the Gd.R.Ins. (8th c. A.D.—when Sk. ā > Sgh. a), the spelling ā is found in a number of words, which are clearly loan-words from Pali or Sanskrit or at least influenced by learned spelling:— dāna—; mahā—; sīmā, sīmā—, sīmāyen, sīmāvaṭ; sabhāye, sabhāyen; lābha, lābhayehi; dāyaka—, dāyaku, dāyakayan; nāyakayan; upāsaka—; ācāryayan; kālayehi; avasānayehi; ākulayak; ārogya; vāsa—; vicāra; kāru—; samāhita; siddhānta; vivādayak; ādihī; sāvaddā—; katikā; dāla—; Kitā—; Sammā—; ā(jñā); (sthāna) yaṭ; āmā; sāhā; Devā—.

The ā in tuvāk— is perhaps due to a cross between tāk—

[v. below, ā—a contracted to ā] and tuvak— [v. § 28, 2b].

7. In the following instances, however, the writing ā represents contractions.

7.a. a—a contracted to ā.

mapu[r]mukā, mapurmukā, mapurumukā < *mahāparamakaa < —
kaha < —kasya; hā < *haa < saha; isā < *isaa < i + saha.
Similarly Abhā—, Abā—; Udā—, Udā (error for ā?); talā—;
navāmat, navām; pāla—; Denā—; sā— (as aga. this cf. sa—);
niṅgā; pānā; Vadurā—; Kasbā—; Golobā— (error for -ā?);
Tisā— (error for -ā?); vaṭā—; āmā; povā; vaṭā.

7.b. a—ā contracted to ā.

pānā < *pa + ānaa— < pra + ānaya—; mahayā— < *mahayāa—
< *mahāryapāda—; pā— < *pāa— < pahā— < prāsāda; dunuvā,
dunu(vū) < *dunuvaā < *dhanurvatām?

7.c. ā—a contracted to ā

Dalanā— < *Dalanāa— < Pa. Dāṭhānāga—; budenā < *budenāa < —
āya; sahā < *sahāa— < sahāya—. Similarly ā—, ā < āgata—;
pā—, pā; ā < āya—; Okā—, Ok[ā]—; dā, jā < jāta—; navā—;
pahāhi; hadāla; [nā]nen; āpā—, āpāhu; lahā—; valā—;
tāk—; talā; sā— < Pa. chātaka— or chātata—; vadnā;
harnā; pavatnā; onā; gannā; vadāleyin, vajāleyin, vadālayin,
vadāleyi[n], vadālein, vadālen, vadāla—, vadāla; vadāranuvan,
vajāranuvan, vadāranann; u(la)ṅgnā, ulā(gha)nā; manā—;

sandhā; Nā— < Nāga—; dannā; raknā; sāhā; aniyā,
 aniyāk; mahapāṇan, mahāpāṇan.

The Gerund in -ā occurring from the 8th c. A.D. belongs here. This -ā is a contraction from ā—a < -āya. The gerund in -aya, found in the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. and to be read as -āya, (paharavaya Pkm.; kaṇavaya Pm.; paḍavaya Tp.S.; karavaya Vg.I, Jv.; kaḍaya Jv.) is derived from the Sk. type ādāya, utthāya, which as Professor Turner BSOS.VI, p. 534 shows, has profoundly influenced Indo-Aryan conjugation. Exx. of the Gerund in -ā are:- hindvā; bahā; patā; vadā; koṭā; karavā; danvā; kiyā; lā; illā; nimavā; yavā; piyā; piṇisvā; dakvā; arā; devā; nivā; purā; galā; nangā; piriheḷā.

Herein also falls the Gen. sg. termination in -ā. For explanation and exx. v. § 52, 2b.

7.d. ā—u contracted to ā.

dā— < *dāu— < dhātu—.

8. Examples:-

8.a. ā—pron. ā—, though written a—

[up to the 4th c. A.D.]

agata—; atadi; atane; asana—; avarana.

8.b. ā— written a—, but prob. pron. ā—

[bet. the 4th and 8th c. A.D.]

The only ex. within this period is prob. a lw. from Pa.,

where already Sk. ā— had become a—. e.g. ariya— prob. lw.
Pa. ariya—, cf. Sk. ārya—, V. āriya—.

8.c. ā— > a— [from the 8th c. A.D.]

avul—; aram, aramā; asanin; arā; aravay; ariyay; ariyū—;
avasa—, avas, avasā, avasaṭ, avasaṭa, avashi, avasin;
aya—; asanhi; ambaranin; adan.

8.d. ā—pron. —ā—, though written —a—.

[up to the 4th c. A.D.]

anagata—; bariya; upasaka—; upasāka—; Naga—, Naka—;
jhaya; Batapalaḥa; gama, gama—; gamika—; mahamata—;
karite; Gamiṇi—; dane, da(na); devanapiya—; Tiśaya;
Citaya; (Śamana)ya; baḍakerika—, baḍakariya—; rajha—,
raja—, raḇe, raji, raja, rajaha; pohatakara, pohatakarahi;
viharahi, vihara; vavi, vaviya; ādasana—; Patana—;
karanaka; atane; (na)vaka(ri)yaha; pata—; nani;
Vaḍamenska—; catara—; vasiya—; paka—; hala; paharavaya,
kaḇaveya, paḍavaya, karavaya, kaḍaya, ovaya, poḍavaya,
samatavaya, [for these cf. above, § on ā—a contracted to
ā]; rajini; vasavasika—.

8.e. —ā—written —a—, but prob. pron. —ā—

[bet. the 4th c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D.]

akala—; palaha—; niyamatanahi; gahe; masa—; (pari)kara—;
yapeni—; nakaraka—; karavika; Budadasa—; padana—; thama

prob. lw. Pa thāma—, cf. Sk. sthāman—; daruyana, daruya;
 karana—; bava; karanaka; raja—, rajaha, raje-mi; raji—;
 viharahi, vahara, vaharaṭa, vahirata; vāpara—; catara—;
 gamakehi, gamayaha, gamayahi; S[i]ri-naka-yi; kahavapa,
 kahavapehi, kavahana; vaṭitani; Apayaha, Apayahata; caya;
 Kumaratasa—; kereyani; Mahadara-galaha; dariyana; Vasadavaya
 (error for Vasudevaya); havajarana; daruyana; satanata;
 ciṭavaya, kaḍaya, [for these cf. above, ā—a contracted to
 ā]; cidavi, cidavayaha.

8.f. —ā— > —a— [from the 8th c. A.D.]

pahan, pahana; payak; senasuna; kale; payha; dariyana;
 hāmiyana; catara—; raja, raja—, raj, raj—, rad—, raju—,
 radāṇan, radun, radhu, rajhu, radahu, rajhaṭ; raj—; rajol—,
 radol—, radolen, radolan; vaharaya; karavaya, karavā;
 karuvanata; gama, gam, gam—, gamā, gamu, gamhi, gamat;
 (ga)misahi; daru, daru—, daruvan, daruyun, daruva-mo;
 Salamevan—, Salameyvan—; vadāla—, vadāla, vajāleyin,
 vadāleyin, vadālayin, vadālein, vadālen; vajāranuvan,
 vadāranuvan, vadāranannan; karanayehi, karanayen; varā, varin;
 kaṇu, kaṇu—; tan, tanin, tanat, tanā, tanhi; tal, talan;
 rakval; mashi, masā, mas; parpuren [§ 32, 3a]; vahan—, met.
 fr. bhavān*; danvā; ekaḷos—; hal, hal—, halā, halat; harvā;
 nam; ~~(pa)~~—; bara—, bar; naynen; varapan; sasun, sasun—,
 sasnehi; Buddas—; pahayay; vasavay, vasavanu; mehesana—;

paya—; viyakhan; basnen; nakay—; tuvak— met.fr. * tavuk— <
 tāvatka—; pahal, pahalavan; varad, varaj; varadat, varadak;
 yavanu, yavā, yavannat; balakerin; pahāhi, pahayā; banvar;
 pamanin; dasa—, das—, dasen; sihasun—, sihasun; sarahu;
 nan—; dan—; nam; galā; viyavulak; sartumā; (anadara)—;
 lab—; maha—; pilima—.

9. Sk. a— and —a—.

From the earliest times, Sk. a- and -a- appeared as
 a- and -a- in Sgh ..

10. Examples:-

10.a. a— > a—

anagata—; Ariṭa—; atara+; akala—; anumovatu; ama—;
~~an~~ arana—; anusasā; akusal; aniyā, aniyāk; ava—;
 Abhā—, Abā—.

10.b. —a— > —a—

Damarakita—; agata—; catudīśa—, catudīśa—; parumaka—;
 upasaka—; śagaśa, śagasa, sagasa, [sa]gaśa, śaghasā;
 sagaya; Śoṇutara—, Śoṇutara(ha); gapati—; ya[te]; anagata—;
 Yahaśini—; (Śamaṇa)ya; Batapalaha; Nadaha, Nada—; bata— <
 bhakta— 'devoted'; bamana—; Bamadata+; Śivagutaha; Puśagute,
 Puśagutaha, (Pu)śagutena; bada—; Majhimaha; śudeśane; Abaye,
 A[baya]ha; atara—; pavata—; sovaṇa—; Kuḍakana—;
 Budarakita—; niyate; Saba—; pohatakara, pohatakerahi;

Upala—; sate(hi), satehiya; Vahaba—, (Vaha)bayaha;
 adasana—; karanaka; daka—, daka; sataka—; Yasa—, yasa,
 yasa—; patisavanu; paharavaya; vibajakahi; Vaḍamanaka—;
 saha(sī)—; kaṇavaya; paribujana, pari[bujanaka]; nakara—,
 nakarahi, nakarā, nuvarā; bojaka—; Ratana—, ruvan—,
 ruvanhi; paḍavaya; gaṇaka—; hamāṇana(ya) (error for
 hamaṇānataya), hamaṇa, mahaṇ; [sa](kala)—, siyal—; kara,
 kara—; keta(kahi); uvanaka for uvānaka [v. above]; avarana,
 (ava)raṇcha; doḷasa—; dasa—; dahasa, dahasak, jahasa—,
 jahassaka—; niyamatanahi; vasanaka—, vasana, vasana—;
 hakaḍa—, hakaṭa—; bayali—, bayalihi; pekaḍaka; palaha—;
 pacanahi; uvanikeva—; kahāvaṇa, kahavaṇa, kahavaṇehi,
 kavahaṇa, kavaṇa; havajarena; pala, phala; sara, sar—;
 vahala; para—; vadnā; dana-mo; paḷamu—; nava— < nava—
 'nine'; nava— < nava— 'new'; danavu, danavū; niyamen; tala;
 vaden, vajan; vasanu; kavari—; pahaḷ; pahaḷavan; karanu;
 varad, varaj; varadaṭ, varadak; navām, navāmat; harnā;
 nayak; pavarana; guvanhi; mana—; baḷa—; samiyeṇ; mama;
 sama, sama—; samay; gannā; apiḷisarana—; (ya)—.

§ 2.

Vowels ī, i and ū, u of Sk.

1. Sk. ī and ū are throughout written as i and u e.g.
 Yahaśini — (Vg. R.C.C. VI) prob. < Yaśasvinī—; Gaminī—
 (And. C.I) < grāmanī—; tube (Vt. C.) < *stūbha— [TND s.v.
 thupro] etc. This shortening is purely graphical as was shown
 for Sk. ā [§1, 1-5], at any rate up to the 4th c. A.D.. Sk.
 ā > a in Sgh. in the 8th c. A.D. [§ 1d]. Presumably the dif-
 ference between ī, i and ū, u was not preserved longer than
 ā, a. Probably ī and ū were shortened earlier, but there is
 no evidence.
2. Even secondary ī and ū resulting from a contraction of
 Sk. vowels are not written as ī and ū :-
 vi— (Tg.R.) for vī— (< *vīi— < vrīhi—);
 di— (Tg.R.) for dī— (< *dīi— < dadhi—);
 Mahadali— (Md.S.) for Mahadālī— (< *Mahadālīa— < Pa.
 Mahādāthika—). Similarly rajī— for rajī—; ricī— for ricī—;
 bejī— for bejī— [§27, 1a]; begī for begī; Si-mī for Sī-mī;
 ma-purumu for mā-purumū—; huna— for hūna—.
3. These secondary ī and ū from contraction are first written
 as ī, ū, in the 10th c. A.D. in sī— (K.429) < *sīa— < Pa.

sīha—, Sk. simha— and hindvū (Kv.P.) < *hindviū— < *sindāpita + bhūta— [v. below] etc.. This is not proof however that Sk. ī, ū were shortened in Sgh. only by the 10th c. A.D.. The 8th c. A.D. examples dunu—, lu—, balu, seem to be secondary shortenings of ū from contraction, cf. ā from contraction in the 8th c. A.D. [§8,1], so that Sk. ū had been shortened at least by the 8th c.A.D. There are no examples of secondary shortening of ī from contraction in the 8th c. A.D. but probably ī from contraction was also secondarily shortened by the 8th c. A.D., thus signifying that Sk. ī had been shortened at least by this time. From the 8th c. A.D. then Sgh. i came to represent both ī and i of Sk., and Sgh. u both ū and u of Sk.

For examples - v. below.

4. Even after the 8th c. A.D., the writing ī, ū is found in the foll. exx.. This writing is either a learned spelling after Sk., Pa. or denotes loan-words from Sk., Pa. :- sīma etc.; dīv—; śrī; dunū—.

5. In the following instances, however, the writing ī, ū represents contractions. Exx. of ī representing contractions:

5a. i — a contracted to ī

himī < *himia— < svāmika—; arī— < *aria— < V. ^uariya—;

also batī-; tävī; girī-.

5b. ī — a contracted to ī

sī-, sī- < *sīa- < Pa. sīha-, Sk. siṃha-; dī < *dīa- < *dīva- < dvīpa-.

5c. Secondary ī — a contracted to ī

sīyan < *siaya- < *siyaya- [§33,3a] < śataka-; govī- < *gōvia- [§27,1a] < gōpaka-.

5d. Secondary ī — ī contracted to ī

mīvun < *mīī- [§14] < mahīsa-.

5e. Secondary ī — Secondary ī (< *īa- < -ita-) contracted to ī

kī < *kīī- [§14] < *kaī- < *kaīa- < kathita-.

5f. Secondary ī — Sgh. Nom. sg. ending -ī contracted to ī

minī < *minīī < *manisi < *manussi [but cf. §14,2].

Exx. of ū representing contractions:

5g. ū — a contracted to ū

vū < *vūa- < bhūta-.

5h. Secondary u — a contracted to ū

danavū < *danavua- [§33,5] < janapada-.

5i. Secondary ī — Secondary ū contracted to ū

In the following Past Participles, ū is presumably

< *ī ū i.e. ī < *īa- and ū < *ūa- < - ita + bhūta-.

[cf. above, 5a and 5g].

In these we have to assume that bhūta- (P.P. from $\sqrt{\text{bhū-}}$) was added to the Sk. Past Participle in -ita:

hindvū, hindvūmaha; kārū; kārāvū, kārū; lāṅgū; nāṅgū; ketū;
ariyū; vānū; vāsvū; pinīsvūvan; vālandūvan; yāvū; pirikāpū;
tābāvū, tābāvūhu; vādāvū-.

6. Examples:

6a. -ī- pron. -ī- though written -i-

[up to the 4th c. A.D.]

visiti-; (uti)rika; karisehi, karihi, kiri(ye); Yahaśini-;
Gāmini-.

6b. -ī- written -i- but prob. pron. -ī-

[bet. the 4th c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D.]

visiya-; kariha; (pa)jina-; aviyakinīyeni; vanaya (error
for vaniya-); sime.

6c. ī- > i-

[from the 8th c. A.D.]

illanu etc..

6d. -ī- > -i-

[from the 8th c. A.D.]

div etc. < dvīpa; kiriya etc.; div- etc. < jīvaka-; kir
etc. < ksīra-; kiri- < ksīrin-; him, (hi)min; sivur;
nil-, Nila-; sihasun; visi-, vissak; mehenivar, mehenivarhi;
heli-.

6e. -ū - pron. -ū -, though written -u -

[up to the 4th c. A.D.]

tube; mula.

6f. -ū - written -u -, but prob. pron. -ū -

[bet. the 4th c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D.]

mula; (dukula).

6g. -ū - > -u - [from the 8th c. A.D.]

suvar-; pura-, pur-; pujay, pujanemi; puja, puḷā; puray,
purā; mul-, mulin; suran.

7. Sk. i and Sk. u.

From the earliest times, Sk. i and Sk. u appeared as i
and u in Sgh..

8. Examples:-

8a. -i - > -i -

Damarakita-; Budarakita-; catudiśa- etc.; bariya; upaśika-,
upasika-; pitaha, pita-; Yahaśini-; Citaya; Mite; Utiya;
Tiśaya etc.; Arita-; karite; devanapiya-, devānapiya-;
baḍakarika-, baḍakariya-; dine; S'ivagutaha; ḍonika-; hiya-;
biku-; satehiya; vibajakahi; paṭisatariya-, paṭisatiriya-;
vaviya; haṭika; vasiya-; vadita; batavaṭita-; karavika;
bisev- etc.; viharahi; patiya-; viseni etc.; viyo-; gapati-;
niyate; Riṭi-.

8b. u - > u -

upasaka-; upaśika, upasika-; Utiya; Uta(ra)-; uvanaka;
uvanikeva.

8c. -u - > -u -

catudiśa-, catudisa-; puta, pute; S'ivagutaha; Puśagutaha
etc.; Budarakita-; Kuḍakana-; (dukula); Vasadevaya (error
for Vasudevaya); hamuyehi; kukulan, (Kukul)-; anusasä; biku-
etc.; anumovatu.

§ 3.

Vowels ē, ō of Sk.

1. Sk. had only long ē, ō [v. BLIA. p.34]. In Mid. Ind. they remained long before a single consonant, but before double consonants they were shortened just as ā, ī, ū were under similar conditions, except in the North-West. cf. the type Sk. dēva- > Pa. Pk. dēva-, Sk. lōha- > Pa.Pk. lōha-, but Sk. ksētra- > Pa. khētta-, Pk. khētta-, chētta-, Sk. gōtra- > Pa. Pk. gōtta-. There was no sign for short ē, ō but that the short quantity of the vowels in question must be assumed has been discussed by Bloch in BLIA. p.39 and BLLM. § 80.

2. In MSgh. we find ě, ō in each case as in děv, lōhō, kěta, gōt. It is probable, however, that at some stage Sk. ē, ō remained ē, ō before a single consonant, whereas Sk. ē, ō > ě, ō before a double consonant from the earliest times in accordance with Mid. Ind. But as in the As'oka Inss., the script in the Brāhmī Inss. of Ceylon shows only one symbol for ě, ō : e.g. in Devaha (Vg. R.B.C.III) < Dēva— and Sōṇa— (Vg. R.B.C.I) < Sōṇa— e, o are to be read as ē, ō but in jeta— (Mv.I) which stands for jetṭa [§56, 1c] cf. Pa. Pk. jēṭṭha— < jyeṭṭha— the e is to be read as ě.

3. Then there are cases where the writing e, o represent contractions of Sk. vowels. Contractions represented by the writing e are first found in the 8th or 9th c. A.D. and contractions represented by the writing o only in the 10th c. A.D., but there is only one symbol to denote contracted ē and Sk. ē, and one symbol to denote contracted ō and Sk. ō. This raises two difficulties -

- 1) in determining when original Sk. ē, ō were shortened in Sgh..
- 2) in deciding whether the contractions are to be read as long or short.

There were secondary shortenings of other contracted vowels by this time [§8], so that possibly contracted ē, ō were also secondarily shortened. The modern language, in certain cases, evidences contracted ē, ō, and the modern script has a symbol

૧૦૩૦૩૦૩૦ but MSgh. $\bar{n}e$ < * $\bar{n}ea$ < $\bar{a}n\bar{e}ka$ as ૧૦૩૦૩૦૩૦ written
 and MSgh. $\bar{b}odun$ < $\bar{b}h\bar{o}jana$ is written ૧૦૩૦૩૦૩૦
 but MSgh. $\bar{b}o$ < * $\bar{b}oi$ < $\bar{b}odhi$ as ૧૦૩૦૩૦૩૦
 but MSgh. $\bar{b}o$ < * $\bar{b}oi$ < $\bar{b}odhi$ as ૧૦૩૦૩૦૩૦.

The following cases of contractions are analysed in the light of the modern language.

4. The writing e represents contractions in the following:-

4a. Contractions from \bar{e} — a

e is long, since MSgh. has long, in:-

\bar{le} — cf. MSgh. \bar{le} — < * $\bar{l}ea$ — < $\bar{l}ekhaka$ —; also \bar{le} — kam;
 \bar{ne} ; e; it is secondary \bar{e} — a in-se cf. MSgh.— \bar{se} < * \bar{sea} —
 [§ 24, 2c] < * \bar{saia} — < Pa. \bar{sadisa} — < Sk. $\bar{sadr\bar{s}a}$ —.

e is short, since MSgh. has short, in:-

$\bar{ge}hi$, $\bar{ge}\bar{t}$ cf. MSgh. $\bar{g}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ sec. short. fr. $\bar{g}\bar{e}hi$, $\bar{g}\bar{e}\bar{t}$ cf. $\bar{g}\bar{e}$
 < * \bar{gea} — < $\bar{ge}ha$ —; also $\bar{Salamevan}$ —; $\bar{he}\bar{t}$ —.

The quantity is uncertain, since MSgh. has both long and short, in:-

\bar{ge} cf. MSgh. $\bar{g}\bar{e}$ beside \bar{ge} which is sec. short < * \bar{gea} —
 < $\bar{ge}ha$ —.

The quantity is also uncertain in the following as they are not found in MSgh.:-

\bar{Nete} — < * $\bar{Met}\bar{e}a$ — < $\bar{Maitr}\bar{e}ya$ —; \bar{sale} — < Pa. $\bar{sall}\bar{e}kha$ —;
 \bar{Dena} — < Pa. $\bar{J}\bar{e}tavana$ —ka—.

4b. Contraction from ē — ē

ē is long, since MSgh. has long, in:-

— ge cf. MSgh. — gē (Gen. sg. Postp.) < * gēē < gēhē
(Loc. sg. of gēha—).

5. The writing o represents contractions in the following:-

5a. Contractions from ō — a

o is long, since MSgh. has long, in:-

piyo— cf. MSgh. piyō— < * piyōa— < prayōga—. Similarly
viyo—; (he)viṭiyen (error for hovitṭiyen).

The quantity is uncertain in the following as it is not found
in MSgh.:-

piribo— < * piribōa— < paribhōga—.

5b. Contraction from secondary ō — a

o is short, since MSgh. has short, in:-

dolnen cf. MSgh. dōla— sec. short fr dōla < * dōḷa— <
* dōhala— < dauhṛda—.

5c. Contraction from ō — i

o is long, since MSgh. has long, in:-

Saṅgbo— cf. MSgh. Saṅgbō— < * Saṅgbōi— < Saṅghabōdhi—;
Bo— cf. MSgh. Bō— < bōdhi—.

6. The script gives us no clue as to when Sk. ē, ō were
shortened in Sgh.. It may be assumed that their shortening

had occurred by the 8th c. A.D. i.e. when the Sk. vowels \bar{a} , \bar{i} , \bar{u} were shortened.

7. Examples :-

7a. \bar{e} prob. remained \bar{e} up to the 8th c. A.D.

ete \dot{h} i; Deva— etc.; satehiya; sate(hi); devanapiya—, devānapiya—; bera; (Pu)śagutena; Mahasena—; uvanikeva—; biseva—; Vasadavaya (error for Vasudevaya); Parideva— (error for Paridadeva—); de, da (error for de); me; Sarimekavana—; (Sirī)meka—.

7b. $\bar{e} > \acute{e}$ prob. from the 8th c. A.D.

el \dot{u} ; bisev etc.; Devā—; piriven etc.; des etc. < dēs'a—; desun; tej— etc.; Sen— etc.; senhi; vel—etc.; sesu—; leyak; sey—; meyin, meyak; Salameyvan—; kenek etc.; bedum; de; me; pere etc. [§23]; yesen [§16]; mehesana— [§16].

7c. \bar{o} prob. remained \bar{o} up to the 8th c. A.D.

Sōna— etc.; Sōnutara—, Sōnutara(ha); doṇika—; bojaka—, bo(ji)ya—; anumovatu; B(o)ya— (error for Boyi—).

7d. $\bar{o} > \acute{o}$ prob. from the 8th c.A.D.

sorun; hoyā—; Sangboy—; lov; rov—; satos—; soyay; Boyim; sohovur— [§17]; po \dot{l} o— [§17]; Go \dot{l} obā—.

§ 4.

Diphthongs ai, au; Groups aya, ava of Sk.

1. In the Mid. Ind. stage, the diphthongs ai, au and the groups aya, ava became ē, ō, which in both cases converged with Sk. ē, ō [v. Professor Turner, JRAS. 1921, Guj. Phon. §12(a); also BLIA. p.36]. The arguments adduced with regard to the development of Sk. ē, ō in Sgh. equally apply here.

2. Examples:-

- 2a. ē (< ai) prob. remained ē up to the 8th c. A.D.

tela; ceta, cetahi, ceya.

- 2b. ē (< ai) > ^uē prob. from the 8th c. A.D.

tel, telat; Vesägä; behed-; bera-; cata (error for ceta), sey-.

The e in the 10th c. form se- denotes a contraction since se- seems to be from the 5th c. form ceya given above.

The e in se- may be long or short. MSgh. has sā first attested in the 10th c. sā, but ā remains unexplained.

- 2c. ō (< au) prob. remained ō up to the 8th c. A.D.

sovana-.

- 2d. ō (< au) > ^uō prob. from the 8th c. A.D.

somi-; kol-; gorokun.

2e. \bar{e} (< aya) prob. remained \bar{e} up to the 8th c. A.D.
lene.

2f. \bar{e} (< aya) > \check{e} prob. from the 8th c. A.D.
lena, lenat; senasuna, (senasana).

2g. But aya becomes \bar{a} (through \bar{x} a — a) in the following
which appear to be loan-words from Pali:-

paca- i.e. for paca \bar{a} - [\S 1,3] < \bar{x} paca \bar{a} - < Pa. paccaya-; Aba
i.e. for Aba \bar{a} [\S 1d] < \bar{x} Aba \bar{a} - < Abhaya-. Similarly Abha \bar{a} ,
Aba \bar{a} ; Uda \bar{a} , Uda \bar{a} (\bar{a} error for \bar{a} ?); Golobä- (\bar{a} error for \bar{a} ?);
āma; pāna.

2h. Wickremasinghe reads paceni in Pm., but adds in fn. 14
that Muller's text has paceni while Muller's plate and Bell's
text has pacani. The Pm. facsimile shows that the writing of
ca in pacani is similar to that of ca in catiri in the same
line. Muller too reads paceni in Rd.A. and his photostat copy
also [v. A.I.C. No. 5] suggests paceni, perh. a cler. error for
pacani and in face of paca- (Tp. 8.) i.e. for paca \bar{a} - [v.
above] the reading pacani i.e. for paca \bar{a} ni [$\S\S$ 1,3;6,2a] is
likely in Pm. and Rd.A.Inss..

2i. pacayaṭa, pasayaṭ, pasayak, pasayen is a loan from Pa.
paccaya-.

2j. \bar{o} (< ava) prob. remained \bar{o} up to the 8th c. A.D.
loṇa-; pohatakara, pohatakarahi.

2k. \bar{o} (< ava) > \bar{u} prob. from the 8th c. A.D.

poho—, pohoyā [v. above]; onā; gorokun.

21. bera— (10th c) < \bar{x} bera— < \bar{x} beraa— is a loan from Pa. bhērava—.

The following are also loans from Pali:-
avasānayehi; batavaṭita—.

3. Confusion bet. ava— and apa—.

In Sk. itself there was confusion between the prefixes ava— and apa—, as shown by the similarity in the meanings of the words to which they were prefixed: cf. Sk. avamāna—, apamāna—; avavāda—, apavāda—; avahṛta—, apahṛta— [v. MWSKD.]. Due to this confusion sometimes Pa. had apa— where Sk. had ava—: e.g. Pa. apalōkin—, apalōkita— [v. PTSPaD.] as aga. Sk. avalōkin—, avalōkita— or Pa. apalēkhana— cf. Sk. avalēhana—. Similarly Pa. sometimes had \bar{o} — where Sk. had apa—, e.g. Pa. \bar{o} varaka— cf. Sk. apavaraka— (cf. Pa. \bar{o} < Sk. ava) or Pa. \bar{o} vahati (bes. apavahati) cf. Sk. apavahati.

In Vg.I the gerund ovaya is therefore rather < avavah— than < Sk. apavāhayati, Pa. apavāhēti. (The o— in ovaya in the 2nd c. A.D. is to be read as \bar{o} —).

4. Group — avi— of Sk.

The group — avi — > — \bar{e} — in Pa. e.g. thēra— < sthavira— (Aśoka Girnar, however, has thaira—; cf. Hultzsch,

As. Inss. p.lviil; also BLIA. p.36).

In teraśa, teraha, tera—, tere, the —e— is to be read as —ē— as all the instances occur before the 8th c. A.D..

§ 5.

Treatment of vowel ṛ of Sk.

1. Professor Turner in JRAS. 1921, Guj. Phon. §18 remarks "The development of the Primitive Indian vowel ṛ is confused from the time of our earliest documents [v. also Bloch, LLM. §§13, 31]. In Middle Indian it appears as a, i or u. According to Bloch the repartition was probably this: in the south-west ṛ > a; in the north and north-east ṛ > i, or u in the presence of a labial [v. also BLLM. § 31]. Since the earliest times, however, there has been constant mutual borrowing, and all the modern languages present examples of all three developments in their vocabulary."

Marathi has the predominant development of ṛ to a and in this respect belongs to the South-west group. [v. BLLM. § 31]. Gujarati too is assigned to this group by Bloch [§1d.], but Turner disagrees and maintains that the predominant treatment in Gujarati (as undoubtedly in Saurasēnī Prakrit) is ṛ > i, u. [v. JRAS. 1921, Guj. Phon. §18]. Throughout the rest of Modern Indian too, the i and u forms are predominant.

2. Sinhalese has predominantly a and in this respect Bloch groups Sinhalese with Marathi and assigns it to the south-west group [v. BLLM. §31]. A mere coincidence, however, in the representation of ṛ as a both in Marathi and Sinhalese would not necessarily justify Bloch's view. It may equally confirm its connection with Ardha- Māgadhī Prakrit [cf. Introduction] where ṛ > a predominantly [v. PPKG. §§ 49-53]. However, forms with i and u are sometimes found. These are either loans from an i/u dialect before the migration to Ceylon or later loans from Pali.

e.g. siṅga 'horn' - lw. Pa. siṅga- < śṛṅga-, and the inherited Sgh. form is haṅga, aṅga [TND.s.v. siṅ¹].

The Inscriptional evidence shows this predominant representation of ṛ as a from the earliest times, and the forms with i and u are almost all loan-words from Pali or at least influenced by the Pali forms, except gi- (Vg.S.Dp.) [§ 8, 2a] cf. MSgh. gī, giya; Pa. has ghata- < Sk. ghṛta-, but Pk. ghia- beside ghaa- and it is Pk. ghia- that has given Sgh. gī. The i form is universal in Mod. Ind. in this word [TND. s.v. ghiu].

3. Examples:-

- ṛ - > - a -

gapati- for gāpati- < ¹ gaapati- < gṛhapati-; Vahaba-, (Vaha) bayaha; atadī; parivavata [§ 38, 3a]; sata-; pita-; vaṭaha etc. < vṛtti-; ama- for amē-; vahala; kala-,

kalavun etc.; vajāleyin, vadāla etc.; hadāla; gat, gatuvaṇ etc.; (ma)la; patala-; a(la); dala-; dolnen; vaṭa-, vaṭā-; tiyā; vājāmbā, vā(ja)mbā [§10, 12]; Tana-; veḍa, veḍha [e = ä §10, 1, 7b]; gāṭa, gāt [38, 7c]; gasanu; kaṭu, koṭu, koṭ cf. MSgh. koṭa, koṭ, koṭā with unexplained -o-; poḷo- < * poḷō < * paḷō < Sgh. Nom.sg. * paḷava (< * paḷavi < * paḷave), cf. Pa. paṭhavī- < pṛthivī-; ṇayak < * aṇa-ka-, cf. Pa. -aṇa- [§33, 1a] < ṇa-ka-; gihi- either < * gahi- [§14, 1] < gṛhin-, or lw. Pa. gihī.

4. In the following, ṛ appears as i, u. These are either loan-words from Pali or early dialectic loans.

4.a. -ṛ- appears as -i-, in:

piṭi- lw. Pa. piṭṭhi- cf. Sk. pṛṣṭha-; piṭat-, piṭatā, the form piṭa- being lw. Pa. piṭṭha-, cf. Sk. pṛṣṭhastha-; (he)-viṭiyen, (pi)ṭiyen, lw. Pa. piṭṭhikā- . cf. Sk. * pṛṣṭhika-, -se < * sā- < * saia- [§24, 2c] < Pa. sadisa-, cf. Sk. sadṛśa-.

4.b. -ṛ- appears as -u-, in:

kavuḍu — vuḍu being lw. Pa. vuddha-, cf. Sk. vṛddha-.

§ 6.

Compensatorily lengthened ā, ī, ū

1. In the Mid. Ind. stage, represented by the Prakrits though not in the North-west, Sk. ā, ī, ū before two consonants (homorganic or heterorganic) coincided with Sk. ă, ĭ, ŭ before two consonants, for in both cases Mid. Ind. showed ă, ĭ, ŭ before double consonants.

e.g. Sk. kāṣṭha- > Pa.Pk. kaṭṭha-; Sk. tīrtha- > Pa.Pk. tittha-; Sk. pūrṇa- > Pa.Pk. punṇa-; just as Sk. lajjā- > Pa.Pk. lajjā-; Sk. mitra- > Pa.Pk. mitta-; Sk. śuddha- > Pa.Pk. suddha-.

This Mid. Ind. trait (short vowel before double consonant) persisted in Sgh. up to the 2nd c. A.D.. But when the double consonants were shortened in Sgh. i.e. 2nd c. A.D. [§ 50, 2, 3], the preceding short vowels a, i, u were lengthened [§ 1d.]. The lengthened ā, ī, ū, which were written as a, i, u, probably shared the fate of original Sk. ā, ī, ū [§ 1d.].

2. Exx. of compens. length. ā:-

- 2.a. Compens. length. ā written a but prob. pron. ā bet. the 2nd c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D.

In all these forms we have to go back to a pre-2nd c. A.D. form with short a + double consonant:

Type: pati (Pkm; Tp.S.) i.e. for pāti < pre-2nd c. A.D. patti

(cf. Mid. Ind. patti-) < prāpti-; or kama (Pkm) i.e. for kāma < pre-2nd c. A.D. kamma (cf. Mid. Ind. kamma-) < karmān- .
 atane i.e. ātane < āsthāna-; atadi i.e. ātadi < āstṛta-;
 ata- i.e. āta < aṣṭa- : similarly aviyakiniyeni; amana; amanaka;
 atara-; ato-; ana-; agana [§58,4a]; atano; ayika; kama;
 Patana-; pati; patiya-; vibajakahi; Vadamanaka-; saha(si)-;
 catiri, catara; paca, pacaṇi, pacayata; ata; bata < bhakta-
 'rice'; parivavata (error for parivata [§38,3a]); vasavasika-;
 (pa)ta; vadita; batavata-; sama(te)ya-; Sarimekavana-;
 cata; vasahi; pasahi; paheja-; pavaya-, pava(ta)-; vatavi;
 vasa; hasahi; vanahi; kaja-; kajaka-; paka-; satanata;
 Kasapi-; Kasaba-; vadu-, vadha; Opulavana-; arana-; pasu
 [§59; 59,d]; paca- [§58,1,2,3b]; patisatariya-, patisatiriya-
 [§§58,1,2; 59,a]; sagaha, sagahataya, sagahata, saga, Sagayaha
 [§58,1,2,4b]; sataka- [§58,1,2,3c]; Nada- [§58,1,2,4e];
 devanapiya-, devānapiya- [§58,1,2,3g]; samatavaya [§58,1,2,3e];
 kadaya [§58,1,2,4d]; cada- [§58,1,2,4f.]; magala- [§58,1,2,4a];
 havajarana [§59;59c]; kadaka- [§58,1,2,4d]; Nadana- [§58,1,
 2,4e]; kadaraha [§58,1,2,4e]; tabi [§58,4g]; ada- .

The a in kahavana, kahavana etc. < karsāpāna- is perh. to be read as short, since already in Pa. short a is found cf. Pa. kahāpāna- [cf. BLIA.p.89]. The a in sava-, sav- < sarva- is to be read as short, since the short a is found in Mod. Ind., for explanation v. TND. s.v. sab.

In the following we are dealing with original Sk. ḡ before

two consonants [§ 5, 3]:

parivavata (error for parivata, v. above) i.e. parivāta < parivṛtta - or parivarta-; vataha etc. < vṛtti-; vata- < vṛtta-.

2.b. Compens. length ā > a from the 8th c.A.D.

In all these forms we have to go back to a 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. form with long ā < a pre-2nd c. A.D. form with short a + double consonant [v. above].

Type: pat- (An.Sk.) < 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. pāta- < pre-2nd c. A.D. patta- (cf. Mid. Ind. patta-) < prāpta-; or kam- (Rb.) < 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. kāma- < pre-2nd c. A.D. kamma- (cf. Mid. Ind. kamma-) < karman-.

²/₈ denotes the form bet. the 2nd c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D. (i.e. the compens. length. form).

bat, bataḥ, batat < ²/₈ bāta- < bhakta- 'rice'; balu < ²/₈ bālu- < bhallūka-; catara-, satara, satar < ²/₈ cātāra- < catvārah. Similarly kapa-; satanaḥ etc.; Salamevan-, Salameyvan-; rat, rathi; pas- etc. < pārśva-; vat- etc.; ran, ranat; pata; ad-; pavatnā; at, atin; kam, kamat; mahavar-; pak-, vak; sakur, sakar; rakval; sat; havurud- etc.; Kasbā, Kasub-; sata-, sat-; vas- etc.; bad; gab, gabhi; vatu; vatta etc.; gasa, gas; at, ataki; amunak, amunakat; Vap-; hasin; Agbo, Agboyim; bala(ya)n; bat; balat, balatun; pasa etc. < pratyaya-; Dhamu-, Dham-; pat; hamuyehi; kapanu; pat- < prāpta-; balakaran; paha-; asvanu; hadāla; annat; vata;

vatanu; dakvā; sak-; raknā; vasa; vasaga, vasāgin; sakur- <
 śarkarā-; dap; suvadā; patala-; apis-; viyat-; Damb-,
 Damb- [§58, 1, 2, 2b, 2c]; avuj, avud; maṅg- etc. [§53, 1b];
 vandmi [§58, 1, 2, 4e]; Saṅgbo-, Saṅgboy-; saṅg- etc. [§1d.];
 sand etc. [§58, 1, 2, 2c]; Sambudun [§1d.]; (bandva)nnaṭ [§1d.];
 sandhā, sandaha [§1d.]; valandanu; band [§1d.]; -bandu-[§1d.];
 lamb- [§1d.]; gaṅg- [§58, 1, 2, 2a]; maḍula, maṇḍulu etc.
 [§58, 1, 2, 2a, 2d]; naṅgā, naṅganu; kaṇḍaṭ [§58, 2a]; Maṅgul-
 [§1d.] maṅgul-, magul- [§58, 1, 2, 2a, 2d]; ba(du) [§58, 1, 2, 2d];
 daḍ, daṇḍ etc. [§58, 1, 2, 2a, 2d]; daṇḍuvam [§58, 1, 2, 2a]; Saṅg-
 Baṇḍay [§58, 1, 2, 2a]; Lak, Lakat [§58, 1, 2, 3a]; pas etc. [§58, 1, 2,
 3b] < pañca-; parapuren [§58, 1, 2, 3 f.]; kasun- [§58, 1, 2, 3b];
 satu- [§58, 3c]; anatapirise-, anatapirisey-; samaṅg-
 [§53, 2d]; sato- [§§58, 1, 2; 59a]; sale- [§59, 59b]; kavudu;
 apa; lad; ladu- etc.; vadā; pavu etc.; viyakhan [§52, 1a];

In the following we are dealing with original Sk. ḡ before
 two consonants [§5, 3]:

gat-, gat, gata- < *ghṛpta- [§5, 3]; gattan, gatuvaṇ <
 *ghṛpta-ka- [§1d.]; vaṭa- < vṛtta-ka-[§1d.].

3. Exx. of compens. length. ī :-

3.a. Compens. length. ī written i but prob. pron. ī bet. the 2nd c.

A.D. and 8th c. A.D.

In all these forms we have to go back to a pre-2nd c. A.D. form
 with short i + double consonant:

Type: jina- (Pkm) i.e. for jīna- < pre-2nd c. A.D. jinna- (cf. Mid. Ind. jinna-) < jīrna-; or biku- (Vg.II) i.e. for bīku- < pre-2nd c. A.D. bikku- [§§40,4a;56,3a] (cf. Mid.Ind. bhikkhu-) < bhikṣu-. biku-, bhiku-, bika- (error for biku-), buku- (pres.id., §19,1) i.e. bīku- < bhikṣu-; jina- i.e. jīna- < jīrna-; dine i.e. dīne, dīni etc. < dinna-: similarly Tisa-; patisavanu; nikata (error for nikita, 18,1.); citavaya; (pari)kara-; uvanikeva-; Parideva- [§58,1,2,4e]; cidavi, cidavayaha [§id.]; sidham, sidha [§48,3]; tin.

3.b. Compens. length. $\bar{i} > i$ from the 8th c. A.D.

In all these forms we have to go back to a 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. form with long \bar{i} < a pre-2nd c. A.D. form with short i + double consonant [v. above].

Type: tik- (Pl.S.) < 2nd c. A.D. - 8th c. A.D. tika- < pre-2nd c. A.D. tikka- [§56,3a,3c] (cf. Mid. Ind. tikkha-) < tīkṣa-; or sit- (An.Sk) < 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. cīta- < pre-2nd c. A.D. citta- (cf. Mid.Ind. citta-) < citta-.

Tisa-, Tisā- < ²/8 Tīsa- < Tīsa-; dinmi, (dina) < ²/8 dīna- < dinna-: similarly sitā, sitvami, (sitā); Riti-; sirit etc.; isir etc.; ek-bitten; tik; nimala-; vikmen; Mirisi- [§51,1b]; nivay etc.; sit-; niṅgā; situvam; Kitā-; tik-; piritās-; dilind- [§53,2h]; vid- [§52,11]; nimat; nimiyatā, nimiyata; nimavanu, nimavā; sidava [§58,1,2]; pihiti-; Kit, Kitim, kit; Pirit-; piṇisvā; piṇisā; piṇisvūvan; Mihid-

etc. [§ 58, 1, 2, 2c, 4f]; hindvana etc. [§ 58, 1, 2, 2c]; piḍ, piṇḍ- [§ 58, 1, 2, 2a, 2d]; Kiliṅg- [§ 58, 1, 2, 2a]; sindā [§ 58, 1, 2, 2c]; vindā [§ 1d.]; bindā [§ 1d.]; nirind- [§ 1d.].

4. Exx. of compens. length. \bar{u} :-

4.a. Compens. length. \bar{u} written u but prob.pron. \bar{u} bet. the 2nd c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D.

In all these forms we have to go back to a pre-2nd c. A.D. form with short u + double consonant.

Type: puna- (Tg.R.) i.e. for pūna- < pre-2nd c. A.D. punna- (cf. Mid. Ind. punna-) < pūrna-; or pute (Vg.II) i.e. for pūte < pre-2nd c. A.D. putta- (cf. Mid.Ind. putta-) < putra-.

Upala- i.e. ūpala- < utpala-; pute i.e. pūte, puti etc. < putra-; similarly Utara-; puna-; puviya-; Budu-; Budadasa-; payutu-; Guta-; gumū-; (uti)rika; vataka- (error for vutaka-, 21, 1).

4.b. Compens. length. \bar{u} > u from the 8th c. A.D.

In all these forms we have to go back to a 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. form with long \bar{u} < a pre-2nd c. A.D. form with short u + double consonant. [v. above].

Type: pun- (Av.) < 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. pūna- < pre-2nd c. A.D. punna- (cf. Mid.Ind. punna-) < pūrna-; or yut- (Pl.S) < 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. yūta- < pre-2nd c. A.D. yutta- (cf. Mid.Ind. yutta-) < yukta-. utur-, uturu- < 2/8 ūtara- < uttara-; Buddas- < 2/8 Būdadasa- < Buddhadaśa-;

similarly Bud—, bud; pun—; ruk; yud—; kukulan, (Kukul)—; yut—, yutu; pugul—; kushi, kusin [§56, 3a]; dunuva—; mut; muṅguru— [§§51, 2b; 58, 1, 2]; muhundhi [§§53, 2h; 58, 1, 2]; Puvaram—; uturat; ulaghana, u(la)ṅṅa etc. [§58, 1, 2, 2a, 2d]; tudus—.

§ 7.

Compensatorily lengthened ē, ō

1. The Mid.Ind. ē, ō before a double consonant [§3, 1, 2] remained as such in Sgh. up to the 2nd c. A.D. cf. jeṭa— (Mv.I) i.e. jēṭṭa—, cf. Mid.Ind. jētṭha— < jyēṣṭha— [§1d.]. But when the double consonants were shortened in Sgh. i.e. 2nd c. A.D., it is presumable that the preceding short e, o, were lengthened to ē, ō, corresponding to compens. length. ā, ī, ū [v. above]. This ē, ō probably remained long between the 2nd c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D., and from the 8th c. A.D. onwards became short.
2. In the foll. exx. occurring bet. the 2nd c. A.D. and 8th c. A.D., the e, o is to be read as ē, ō.
Type: keta(kahi) (Jv.) i.e. for kēta(kahi) < pre-2nd c. A.D. kēṭṭa-ka- (cf. Mid.Ind. khēṭṭa-ka-) < kṣētra-ka-; or G(o)ṇa— (Tp.S.) i.e. for G(ō)ṇa— < pre-2nd c. A.D. gōṇṇa— (cf. Mid.Ind. ḡṇṇa—) cf. Sk. gōṇa—.
keta(kahi) [v. above]; jeṭa— i.e. jēṭa— < jyēṣṭha—; eka—

1.e. $\bar{e}ka-$ < Pk. $\check{e}kka-$ (prob. 1w. Sk. $\bar{e}ka-$): similarly G(o)ṇa-; koṭasa, koṭasahi.

The o represents Sk. ava in poḍavaya 1.e. pōḍāvaya (Ger.) < pre-2nd c. A.D. st. pōḍḍāpaya- < [¶] pravardhāpayati.

3. In the foll. exx. occurring after the 8th c. A.D. the e, o is to be read as ě, ō.

Type: ket- (An.Sk) 1.e. kĕt- < 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. kēta- < pre-2nd c. A.D. kĕtta- [v. above]; or gon (Ip.) 1.e. gŏn < 2nd c. A.D. — 8th c. A.D. gōṇa- < pre-2nd c. A.D. gŏṇṇa- [v. above].

ket- 1.e. kĕt- < ksētra-; net- 1.e. nĕt- < nētra-; veṭya- 1.e. vĕṭya- < vēṣṭa-ka-: similarly gon; Okā-; kot; koṭa, koṭa. The e represents Sk. ai in ved- 1.e. vĕd- < valdya- and Mete- 1.e. Mĕte- < Maitrēya-.

§ 8.

Secondary Shortenings

1. By 'Secondary Shortenings' is meant the shortenings of secondary long vowels in Sgh. resulting from a contraction of Sk. vowels.

Secondary ā from contraction first came to be written ā in the 8th c. A.D. [§ 1,4]. However, in the same century is

found the writing a e.g. in ma-pu(r)mukā < * mā- < mahā-. This shows that secondary ā was liable to be shortened by this time, so that mā-pu(r)mukā > ma-pu(r)mukā.

Similarly with secondary ū e.g. lu-, dunu-, balu [§ 2,3; also cf. below]. No instance of the shortening of secondary ī is found in the 8th c. A.D. [§ 1d.]. But presumably it was shortened about the same time as ū.

This shortening of secondary ā, ī, ū by no means forms the general rule in Sgh.; as shown previously, secondary ā, ī, ū were written ā, ī, ū [§§ 1,7;2,5] and MSgh. attests the pronunciation as long. [For secondary ē, ō, v. § 3,4.5]. The only long vowels in MSgh. in inherited words are these secondary vowels.

2. The secondary shortenings in these Inss. are special cases. They are not only graphical, because MSgh. attests the shortening in such words. Shortening occurs in the following conditions:

2.a. Secondary ā, ī, ū in monosyllables were shortened in compounds, though the long vowel was liable to be reintroduced from the uncompounded form:

ma-purmukā, ma-purumukā, ma-purum- from mā- < mahā-, cf. MSgh. unempd. mā; gi-tel cf. MSgh. gi-tel fr. gī- < Pk. ghia-, Sk. ghr̥ta-, but cf. MSgh. unempd. gī; lu- cf. lu-gal-nāvhi [E.Z. IV, 3, 149, VII] fr. lū < *lau- < *lauū- < *laiūa- < lāgita+ bhūta- [§ 15,4], cf. MSgh. unempd. lū.

2.b. Secondary ā, ī, ū in disyllabic or longer words were shortened.

Disyllables:-

suvar- fr. suvār- < * suvaāra- < sūpakāra-, cf. MSgh.
 suvaru;-naru- fr. -nāru- < * naaru- < nagara-ka-; paḷa-,
 (pa)lā- (ā error for a ?) fr. pālā- cf. MSgh. paḷa- bes. pālā- :
 similarly bera- fr. berā-; patul fr. pātul; passa fr. passā;
 lanu fr. lānu; koṭa fr. Ger. koṭā [§1,7c]; jiyal, (di)yal fr.
 diyāl; ava- fr. avā-; uvak fr. uvāk; visi- fr. visī- [§14,1];
 Hīlā fr. Hīlā-; vāri- fr. vārī- [§1d.]; kiri fr. kirī < Pa.
 karīsa-; govi- fr. govī- [§27,1a]; tiyā fr. tīyī- [§14,3];
 somi- fr. somī-; -viri- fr. -virī- [§22,1]; (dāli)- fr.
 dālī-; piri- fr. pirī-; sādi fr. sādī; balu fr. balū; dunu-
 fr. dunū- [§§15,4;19]; Senu- fr. Senū- [§27,1c]; elu- fr.
 elū- [§1d.]; sesu- fr. sesū- [§1d.]; daru- fr. darū- [§1d.];
 pavu fr. pavū [§1d.]; satu- fr. satū- [§1d.]; ladu- fr. ladū-
 [§1d.]; ikmā Ger. fr. * ikkam- [§§14,1;27,2a].

In mivun, mivan, quite rightly we find shortening of
 secondary ī, but MSgh. has mīvun (Oblique Pl.); ī perh. from the
 Sg. mī < * mīa- [§14,1] < mahīsa-. Similarly in mivan is
 found sec. short. of ī but MSgh. has mīvan (Oblique Pl.); ī
 perh. from the Sg. mī [§15,6] cf. Sk. madhu-. In Pāṇḍī-,
 Pāṇḍī- is found sec. short. of ī i.e. < * Pāṇḍīa- < * Pāṇḍīya-
 cf. Pāṇḍya-. The writing ā, however, points either to a
 conservative spelling or to this being a loan-word [§10,4], for
 the expected form is * Pāṇḍī-. In vādu is found sec. short.
 of ū i.e. < * vadui- [§27,1c] < vardhakin-. For the writing
 ā, cf. § 50,3.

In the following, the secondarily shortened -i- represents Sk. -ika- :

kāmi- fr. kāmī- < karmika-, cf. MSgh. kāmī-; himi, himi- fr. himī- < svāmika-, cf. MSgh. himi; āti- fr. ātī- < hastika-; visiyāti- āti- fr. ātī- < arthika-.

To this type also belong:-

bādi- fr. bādī- < *bandika- cf. bandin; kiri- fr. kirī- < *kṣīrika- cf. kṣīrin-; gihi- fr. gihī- < *gṛhika- cf. gṛhin-; āki- fr. ākī- < *arkika- cf. arkin-.

Trisyllables:-

Generally this sec. short. has occurred in the third syllable:-

dahasa, dahasak fr. dahasā < *dahasaa- < daśasāta-, cf. MSgh. dahasa; karaṇa-, karana- fr. karana- < *karaṇaa- < karaṇa-ka-, cf. MSgh. karana; sandaha fr. sandahā, cf. MSgh. saṇḍahā, saṇḍā; also senevi- fr. senevī- [§14,1]; pihiti fr. pihitī; isiri fr. isirī; kābali fr. kābālī; siriti fr. siritī [§§14,1;24,3b]; danavu fr. danavū [§33,5]; vālāndu fr. vālāndū [§§2,51;19,2].

This sec. short. is found in the 2nd syllable in (ga)misaḥi fr. gamīsa- < *gamiśa- [§14,3] < grāma + śīrṣa-. It is found in the 1st syllable in itiri- fr. itirī- < *iitiri- [§§14,1;24,3b] < *iiriti- < atirikta-.

In the following the secondarily shortened -i- represents Sk. -ika- type. [v. above]:

viseni- fr. visenī- < *viṣaṇika- cf. viṣaṇin-; āmāti-

fr. $\bar{a}m\bar{a}t\bar{i}$ —, a cross bet. \bar{a} mantrika— cf. mantrin— and
 \bar{a} amātiya— cf. amātya—; $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{a}si$ — fr. $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{a}si$ — < \bar{a} prāvārsika—
 cf. vārsika—. However, the writing \bar{a} (error for \bar{a}) and the
 writing \bar{a} points either to a conservative spelling or denotes a
 loan-word [§10,4], for the expected form is \bar{a} pāvāsi—;
 abādi—, abadi— fr. abādī— < \bar{a} sambandhika— cf. sambandhin—.

2.c. Examples of secondary shortening of \bar{e} , \bar{o} , were given
 under § 3,3,4,5.

§9.

'Umlaut'

By 'Umlaut' is meant the modification of early Sinhalese
 long vowels due to an \bar{i} in the following syllable. The long
 vowels thus affected might be original long vowels in open
 syllables or be the result of compensatory lengthening on the
 reduction of consonant groups. Early Sinhalese \bar{a} , \bar{u} , \bar{o} (written
 a, u, o) were changed to $\bar{ä}$, i, e.

§10.

Sk. ā (bef. single cons.) - i or Sk. ā. a (bef. two cons.)

- i > ā - i

1. Sk. ā bef. a single cons. (i.e. in a light syllable) followed by i becomes i e.g. Gamini- (And. C.I) < grāmanī-; visiti- (Mr.) < viṃśati- etc. [§14, 1, 3]. But when Sk. ā bef. a single cons. or Sk. ā, a bef. two cons. (i.e. in a heavy syllable) is followed by i, it becomes ā.

The first appearance of this change is in the 4th c. A.D. ^{xx} e.g. peni- (Tg.R) < phāni-; legitaka (Tg.R) < laṅghita-ka-, and here ā is written e; this is purely graphical, because this ā (written e) is actually written ā from the 8th c. A.D. as in vāsi- (E.Z. IV, 3, 149, VI) < vāsika- or vāsin-; nāvhi (E.Z. IV, 3, 149, VII) < ^x nāvika-; gāta (E.Z. IV, 3, 145, IV) < ^x gṇthi-, cf. granthi- and MSgh. has ā, whereas original Sk. e does not become ā but survives as e in Sgh..

2. In the following therefore, found before the 4th c. A.D. (i.e. when ā first appears), the writing a is to be read ā as we

(^{xx}) In the case of Sk. ā, a + two cons. the development was as follows: It became a + double cons. in the pre-2nd c. A.D. period; then when the double cons. became single i.e. 2nd c. A.D., this preceding a was compensatorily lengthened [cf. §50, 3]. This ā when followed by i became ā just as original Sk. ā - i > ā : cf. Sk. vāpi- > vāv-; likewise Sk. hastin- > pre-2nd c. A.D. hatti- (cf. Mid. Ind. hatthi-) > 2nd c. A.D. - 4th c. A.D. hāti- (āti-) > 4th c. A.D. onwards āt-.

are dealing with original Sk. \bar{a} followed by 1 [cf. also §1, 1,5]:

upaśika-, upasika-; bariya; karite; badakarika-, badakariya-; dariya; (na)vaka(ri)yaha; rajini; nani; vasiya-; vasavasika-; vavi, vaviya; gamika-.

3. In the following, the writing a (i.e. for \bar{a}) denotes the compens. length. \bar{a} resulting from Sk. \bar{a} , a bef. two conss. [cf. also §6,2a]: pati; patiya-; hati-; batavatita-; vadita.

4. Now, even after the 4th c. A.D. i.e. when \bar{a} manifested itself, the writing a is found. This a stands for \bar{a} in the instances before the 8th c. A.D. (i.e. up to the time when Sk. \bar{a} survived as \bar{a} ; cf. §1,5). Then a (i.e. for \bar{a}) in the foll. wds. points either to conservative spellings or to loan-words, or perhaps represents ä, the new letter not being yet universally adopted;

karavika; raji-; (pa)jina-; Mahadali-; Parideva-.

The writing a denotes a in the instances from the 8th c. A.D. (i.e. when Sk. $\bar{a} > a$; cf. §1,5). This a shows that the shortening of Sk. \bar{a} had occurred even in the loan-words as in the inherited words [cf. §.id.]. e.g. dariyana; karu; sam-. But \bar{a} is actually written in some cases, showing that in some loan-words \bar{a} remained as \bar{a} , or the writing \bar{a} shows a learned influence.

e.g. hāmiyana; sāl, sāle; samāhita; attāni- [§56,1 f]; Pāṇḍi-; pāvāsi- (\bar{a} error for \bar{a}).

5. In the following, the compens. length. \bar{a} (written a) continued as \bar{a} despite the following i [cf. §6,2a, where it was shown that compens. length. \bar{a} remained as \bar{a} up to the 8th c. A.D.]:

hapi-; vatitani; ra(tī)ya-; vateha (error for vatiha); tabi.

The compens. length. $\bar{a} > a$ by the 8th c. A.D. [cf. §6,2b], so that in these instances from the 8th c. A.D. the writing a denotes a: saṅg-; apis-; batī-; maṅgiva, magiv-; abadi-.

6. \bar{a} which is written e from the 4th c. A.D. is found actually written \bar{a} from the 8th c. A.D. as shown above [also cf. Exx. given below]. But, even after this time, e is written for \bar{a} in the following:-

petā (Mg) cf. MSgh. pet < paṅkti-; pet (Bd) cf. MSgh. pet < prāpti-; ^Ppel cf. MSgh. pela; pilivelānen cf. MSgh. pilivela; visenī-, visenī-, visevinī-, viseniy(\bar{a}) cf. MSgh. viseniya; perāhāra, perāhār, perhār, perāhar bes. pārāhāra [v. Exx. below]; veherala, veheraleya [cf. §10,10]; pirihe \bar{a} Ger. of pirihe \bar{a} nu, cf. MSgh. pirihe \bar{a} , prob. influenced by \bar{a} parihāriya, cf. parihārya; Äselā, Äselā-, Äsel-, Äselā cf. MSgh. āhāla; deruvanā, deruvanā, deruvan cf. MSgh. dāruvan.

Of the above forms surviving in the modern language, it is the pronunciation e and not \bar{a} that is found except in āhāla and dāruvan.

Geiger's statement in his Sgh G. §12(2) "Less frequent is the umlaut $\bar{a} \rightarrow i$; e $\rightarrow i$ " is not justified. He tries to

show that in some cases $\bar{a} \rightarrow i$; $\bar{a} \rightarrow i$ and in others $\bar{a} \rightarrow i$: $e \rightarrow i$ [v. id. §12(1),(2)]. There is no question of two developments. There is only one, viz., $\bar{a} \rightarrow i$; $\bar{a} \rightarrow i$. The spellings in e are very few when compared with those in \bar{a} . Therefore the writing e in the examples which occur after the time when \bar{a} came to be actually written (i.e. 8th c. A.D.) is only an attempt to preserve the spelling e which is found to denote \bar{a} from the 4th c. A.D. to the 8th c. A.D., as shown above. These conservative spellings have continued down to the modern times. But it is noteworthy that the words spelt with e are pronounced with the e and not the \bar{a} sound; e.g. pet is pronounced pet and not $^{\bar{a}}pät$. Presumably then in MSgh. we are dealing with a spelling pronunciation; it may be assumed therefore, that the above-quoted words spelt with e in these Inss. after the 8th c. A.D. were also pronounced as e and not as \bar{a} except $\bar{a}sela-$ and $deruvan\bar{a}$ [v. above].

7. Examples:-

7a. Sk. \bar{a} (bef. single cons.) $\rightarrow i > \bar{a}$ but written e up to the 8th c. A.D.

$peni-$ cf. MSgh. $p\bar{a}ni$; $veva$ cf. MSgh. $v\bar{a}va$; $rej(e)na$, $r(e)jana$ [cf. §10, 10] cf. MSgh. $r\bar{a}j\bar{a}na$; $veherala$, $veharala$ [§ id.]; $kereyani$ [§ id.].

7.b. Sk. ā. a (bef. two conss.) — i > ā but written e up to the 8th c. A.D.

legitaka cf. MSgh. lāngu, nāngu; veda, vedha cf. MSgh. vāda; ameti- cf. MSgh. āmāti; peta cf. MSgh. pet [cf. above].

7.c. Sk. ā (bef. single cons.) — i > ā and written ā from the 8th c. A.D.

vāsi-, vāssan, vāsiyan; nāvhi; pārāhār etc. [cf. §10, 10]; kārū- etc. [cf. §10, 12]; kābāli [1d.]; tābāvū, tābavūhu [1d.]; vādāvū- [1d.]; bāhār etc. [cf. §10, 10]; nāmā- [1d.]; Sāhā- [1d.]; barā- (error for bārā-, 1d.); bālā- [1d.]; bālayata (error for bālāyata, 1d.); vāddā [1d.]; pādum-; rājna-, rājna- (error for rājna-), rājnāniyan; jāyin, dāyin etc. [cf. §10, 11]; tān-; yāvū; (dāli)-; kānhi; tāvī; piritās-; vā- [cf. §10, 11]; nāyan [1d.]; āpā-, āpāhu [1d.]; dā- [1d.]; ā- [1d.]; vāli-; hāriyā-.

7.d. Sk. ā. a (bef. two conss.) — i > ā and written ā from the 8th c. A.D.

kāmiyan, kāmiyanat, kāmi-; lāngū, nāngū; nāngiya; bādi-; bānd; āt-, āti-; sāt-; vānū; gāta, gāt; pīrikāpū; sātak; vāt-; sādi; visiyāti-; āg; āti, āta, āt; vāl-; pāl-; vādiya[n]; āki-; sāngā- [cf. §10, 10]; kāt-, kāta- (error for kātā-, 1d.) rāhān [1d.]; lākkan [§27, 2b]; (ā)tta[n] [1d.]; rākkā-, rākka- [1d.]; arākkan [§28, 4c]; āmāti- [cf. §10, 12]; vālāndu, vālāndūvan (error for vālāndūvan [1d.]); vālā(nā)nu

bes. valādanu, perh. influenced by vālāndu; abādi-; sāmāṅgin [1d.]; pārākmen [§§ 1d.; 32, 3b]; vājāmbā, vā(ja)mbā (error for vā(jā)mbā) [§§5.3; 10, 12]; ātul etc. [§27, 1d]; and atul- prob. error for ātul-; gāl; vātena- the ā prob. influenced by the ā in vātunu cf. vartita- (for probable explanation of the Past Participle in -unu, v. Geiger, SghG §138(c)).

Note:- In Sk. the gerund in -ya was primarily found with a root compounded with a preposition (or adverb or noun). However, Gerunds in -ya with uncompounded roots are not very rare [v. Whitney, WSkG. §990].^{xx} This -ya tended to become -iya when preceded by a heavy syllable [cf. §60, 1b] and the i of -iya causes the ā in the preceding syllable as seen in the foll. exx.:-

vājāmbā, vā(ja)mbā (error for vā(jā)mbā) < ^{xx} vajāmbā [cf. §10, 12.] < ^{xx} vijambhiya [cf. §5, 3] < ^{xx} vijṃbhiya, cf. vijṃbhya. Uncompounded in vāndā, (vānda) < ^{xx} -vandiya, cf. -vandya. In certain cases the Gerund was formed from the Present-stem and already in Sk. this is found. [v. WSkG. §991 (d)]. For exx. in Pa. v. GPLS. §213. Exx. in these Inss. are: vādā < ^{xx} vardhiya; māṇḍā < ^{xx} mardiya; bāṇḍā < Pa. bandhiya.

(xx) The distribution of use between the two Gerundial suffixes, -tvā (with uncmpd. roots) and -ya was entirely ignored in Mid.Ind. [cf. Chatterji ODBLang. §738].

8. ä caused by secondary i

ä is also caused by a secondary i i.e. i which is the result of vowel-assimilation or vowel-reduction.

In the following, secondary i is the result of vowel-assimilation:

vāriyan, vāri < * vāriyi- [cf. §14, 1] < vārakin-; Mādili- < * māḍili- [cf. § 1d.] < maṇḍalin-; ādur- < *ādiri- < *ājiriya- < * āciriya- < ^{V. *} Pa. ācāriya-; pāmāṇā [cf. §10, 10] < * pāviṇiya < * pāpiṇiya [cf. § 22] < Pa. * pāpuniya (Ger. of Pa. pāpunāti).

In the following, secondary i is the result of vowel-reduction. It is a reduction of e [cf. also GSghG. §107 (2)] in:-

bāvin < * bavin < bhavēna; nāmin < * namin < nāmēna; gāmin < * gāmin < grāmēna; vasāgin < * vāsagin < Pa. vassaggēna; sāmāṅgin < * sāmāṅgin < Pa. * sāmaggēna, cf. Sk. sāmāgrī-.

If ādi- represents Sk. ātōpa- ? [cf. §36, 4b] we have to assume an intermediate form * āḍi- < * āḍia- < * āḍiva-. MSgh., however, has eḍi-. To explain this e, a spelling * eḍi- (after the 8th c. A.D.) has to be pre-supposed. [For similar exx. and explanation, cf. above].

9. ä caused by the Sgh. Nom. sg. ending - i

To explain ä in the following we have neither i of Sk. nor even a secondary i to go back to; ä presumably originated from a Sgh. Nom. sg. form with ä where it was apparently due

to the -i, the Nom. sg. ending in Sgh. of the 2nd c. A.D. < the earlier ending -e; this Sgh. Nom. sg. form produced a stem-form with ā which came to be used in the other cases as well.

e.g. t̄an etc. fr. st.-fm. t̄an- fr. Sgh.Nom. sg. fm. 𑀭 t̄āni < 2nd c. A.D. 𑀭 t̄āni, cf. Sk. sthāna-; gāma etc. fr. st.-fm. gām- fr. Sgh.Nom. sg.f.m. 𑀭 gāmi < 2nd c. A.D. 𑀭 gāmi, cf. Sk. grāma-; (beside these forms, these two words appear with a st.-fm. with a representing Sk. ā as seen in tan etc. [cf. §1, 8f] < sthāna- and gam etc. [id.] < grāma-). Also (dārā); Vesāgā; Vāp-, Vāpā (beside this is found st.-fm. with a in Vap-, cf. §6, 2b); sāndā; vākā (beside this is found st.-fm. with a in vak-, cf. §6, 2b); ākā, ākekā (beside this is found st.-fm. with a in akak, cf. § id.); bālātun (beside this is found st.-fm. with a in balatun etc. cf. § id.); (pā)s- (beside this is found st.-fm. with a in pas- etc., cf. § id.); māndi-, māndā fr. st.-fm. mānd- fr. Sgh.Nom. sg.f.m. 𑀭 māndi (with intrusive nasal) < 2nd c. A.D. 𑀭 māji, cf. Pa. majjha-, Sk. madhya- (or the ā may also be due to the influence of Sgh. mādum- < Pa. majjhima-, cf. Sk. madhyama-); paheja- i.e. pahāja- fr. Sgh. Nom. sg. fm. 𑀭 pahāji cf. Sk. pārṣadya-.

In āp, the ā is presumably from -i, the Sgh.Nom. pl. ending of the Personal Pronoun going back to a 2nd c. A.D. form 𑀭 āpi, cf. EAŚ. a(p)phe (Acc.pl.) [v. BLIA.p.147]. The modern language, however, has api. Perhaps here it is the

influence of *apa* which is to be connected with EAŚ. *a(p)phāka* < Sk. *asmākam*.

10. The resulting $\bar{a} - i > \bar{a} - \bar{a}$.

The \bar{a} of the 1st. syllable influences *i* of the 2nd syllable and changes *i* to \bar{a} in the examples given below. This change is first evident in the 6th c. A.D.

e.g. *veherala*, *veharala* (error for *veherala*) i.e. writing for *vāhārāla* [cf. §10, 7a] < * *vāhīrāla* < * *vāhīrāla*, met. fr. * *vāriṣāla*-, cf. *vārṣāla*-, *kereyani* i.e. writing for *kārāyani* [id.] < * *kāriyani* < *kāritāni*; *rej(e)na* (An.9) i.e. writing for *rājāna* [id.] < * *rājina* < Pa. *rājini*-, cf. Sk. *rājñī*- [Paranavitana mentions in E.Z.IV, 3, 114, fn. 4 that the reading *rej(e)na* is conjectural; but from the facsimile, the reading is to be taken as *rejēna* i.e. writing for *rājāna*, cf. MSgh. *rājāna*; *r(e)jana*- in the same Ins. is error for *r(e)jēna*-]. Similarly *bāhār* etc.; *nāmā*-, *Sāhā*-, *barā* (error for *bārā*-); *bālā*- etc. [cf. §10, 7c]; *sāṅgā*-, *kāta*- (error for *kātā*-); *perāhar*, *pārāhar* etc. [For *e*, cf. §10, 5]; *rāhān*; *pāmānā* [cf. §§10, 8; 22].

The Sgh. Gerund in $-\bar{a}$ is to be included here; it resulted thus:-

Type: *vāndā* < * *vāṇḍi* < * *vāṇḍī* < * *vāṇḍia* < * *vandia* < * *-vandiya*, cf. *-vandyā*. Similarly *vājāmbā*, *vājambā* etc.; *bāndā*; *pāmānā* [cf. above; also §22]; *vādā* [cf. §10, 7d]; *māṇḍā* [id.].

11. The resulting ā — ā contracted to ā

When the consonant between the ā — ā is lost, then ā — ā is contracted to ā.

e.g. dā < * dāā- < * dāi- < jāti-; dā- < * dāā- < * dāi- < jātiya-. Also nāyan; ā-; āpa-, āpahu; vā-.

12. a (< Sk. ā or Sk. a) — ā > ā — ā

When the ā belongs to the 2nd syllable it influences the a (i.e. a < Sk. ā or Sk. a) of the 1st syllable and changes the a to ā, as seen in the following instances in the 10th c. A.D.: kārāvū, kārū- < * karāvū- < * karāviū- [cf. §2, 51] < karāpita + bhūta-; vādāvū- < * vadāvū- < * vadāviū- [cf. § 1d.] < vardhāpita + bhūta-. Similarly vālāndu etc. [1d.]; tābāvū- etc. [1d.]; vāsvū [1d.]; kābāli; āmāti- < amāti- as attested by ameti- (i.e. writing for amāti-, cf. §10, 7b); pārākmen [§32, 3b]; sāmāṅgin [§10, 8]; Äsel- etc. [For e, cf. §10, 5]; bālātun < * balātun fr. Sgh. Nom. sg. fm. * balāti [§10, 9].

It is secondary a — ā that has become ā — ā in vājāmbā, vā(ja)mbā (error for vā(jā)mbā) < * vajāmbā < * vajambhia [cf. §10, 10] < * vijāmbhia [cf. §§5, 3; 18] < * vijrmbhiya, cf. vijrmbhya.

13. ā — i > i — i

This is an abnormal sound-change as found in the numeral catiri < catvāri in catiri pacani and in the title-word or term of address himiyan, himiyanat, himi, himī < svāmin- or

svāmika-. In MSgh. himi is used as a term of address meaning 'lord; master' whereas sāmi (hāmi) with the expected ā means 'husband'.

§11.

Sk. \bar{u} (bef. single cons.) — i or Sk. \bar{u} . u (bef. two cons.)

— i > i — i

1. This change is first attested in the 4th c. A.D. in miliya (Tg.R) cf. MSgh. mila < \bar{m} mūliya-, cf. mūlya-, as against mula (Jv.- 3rd c. A.D.; Md.S. — 5th c. A.D.) 'money' < mūla-. But in the same Tg.R.Ins., \bar{u} — i is written as u — i and not as i — i in puviya-, and Tg.R.Ins. II of which there is no facsimile has puvaya- (i.e. for puviya-); if puviya- represents \bar{p} pūrviya-, cf. Sk. pūrvyā- the expected reading is \bar{p} piviya-, but u is preserved in this particular word as u is preceded by p and followed by v, which are both labials.

2. Examples:-

2.a. \bar{u} — i > i — i

miliya, milāyat (error for miliyat); bim etc.; hir-; piri-; -viri- [cf. §22, 1].

2.b. u (bef. two conss.) — i > i — i ^{xx}

rici-; misä.

3. The influence of the Sgh. Nom. sg. ending — i

The i of pin- is due to the Sgh. Nom. sg. ending — i, i.e. pin- fr. Sgh. Nom. sg.fm. * pini < 2nd c. A.D. * pūni [cf. §§6,4a; 60,2b], cf. Pk. punṇa-, Sk. punya-. The 1st i of giṅgiriya cf. Sk. ghurghurā-, ghurghurikā-, is influenced by the 2nd i which itself is due to the Sgh.Nom.sg. ending — i [cf. §22,1] i.e. giṅgiriya fr. Sgh. Nom. sg.fm. * giṅgiri < * gūgiri [id.] < 2nd c. A.D. * gūguri, MSgh. gigiri.

§12.

Sk. ō (bef. single cons.) — i or Sk. ō (bef. two conss.)

— i > e — i

1. This change is first evident in the 6th c. A.D. in begi (Ng.R) < * bōgi- < * bōgiya- < * bhōgika-. Also in beji- (Ng.R) which goes back to * bōji- < * bōjiya- [cf. §27,1a] < Pa. bhōjaka-. Here, therefore, the i is secondary. (beji- occurs

(*) In the case of Sk u + two conss. the development was as follows: It survived as u + double cons. in the pre-2nd c. A.D. period; then when the double conss. became single i.e. 2nd c. A.D., this preceding u was compensatorily lengthened [cf. §50,3]. This ū — i > i — i just as original Sk. ū — i > i — i.

in the 3rd c. A.D. as bo(ji)ya- (Jv) - this reading is not clear - and in the 2nd c. A.D. as bojaka- (Tp.S) which show that this change had not occurred at that time); in geri, however, we get Sk. i but the \bar{o} is secondary [v. below].

2. Examples:-

2.a. $\bar{o} - i > e - i$

begi [v. above].

$\bar{o} -$ secondary $i > e - i$, in beji- [v. above].

Secondary $\bar{o} - i > e - i$, in geri $<^{\#}$ $\bar{g}ori-$ $<$ Sk. gaurī-, Fem. of Sk. gaurah.

In yedmen, Verbal Noun fr. Pa. $y\bar{o}j\bar{e}ti$, the e is influenced by the e in $yed\bar{u} <^{\#} y\bar{o}di\bar{u}- <$ Pa. $y\bar{o}jita + bh\bar{u}ta-$.

2.b. Mid.Ind. \bar{o} (bef. two conss.) $- i > e - i$

$ket\bar{u} <^{\#} keti\bar{u}- <^{\#} k\bar{o}ti\bar{u}-$, cf. Pa. $k\ddot{o}ttita-$.

§13.

Vowel-Assimilation

Vowel-assimilation occurs in light syllables, as against the 'Umlaut' which takes place in heavy syllables [cf. §9]. The vowel in the light syllable is influenced by and assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable, which may be heavy or light [cf. also GSghG. §§12, 18].

§14.

a — i or a — ī > i — i [But v. §25, 2b]

This first occurs in the 1st half of the 1st c. B.C. in Gaminī- (And. C.I) < grāmanī-. Also in the foll. exx.:

1. a — i > i — i

visiti- etc.; di- [for dī-, cf. §2, 2], dihi-; paṭi- satiriya-; Mihid-, Mihind etc.; bili-; piriven etc.; vāriyan, vāri; piribo-; anatapirise-, anatapirisey-; rivi-; Kiliṅg-; Pirit-; pirikāpū; piritās-; piḷivelānen; diḷind-; nirind-; visiyāṭi-; Vijuragu-, Viduragu-; piṇisvūvan; piṇisā; piṇisvā; Mādili-; sirit etc.; senevi- [§8, 2b]; itiri- [id., §24, 3b.]; mīvun [§2, 5d], mivun, mivan [§8, 2b]; piriheḷā; Mirisi- [§51, 1b]; kī [§2, 5e]; isir etc.; pihiṭi.

In these the a represents an original ṛ. gihi- < ^ṛ gahi- [§5, 3, 4a] < grhin-; piḷima- < ^ṛ paṭima- [§38, 7c] < ^ṛ pṛtima-; apiḷisarana < ^ṛ apaṭisarana [id.] < ^ṛ apṛtiśarana-.

2. a — secondary i > i — i

visin < ^ṛ vasin [§10, 8] < vaṣēna.

In MSgh. minis, miniḥā 'man', cf. Sk. manusya-, Pa. manussa-, Pk. maṇussa-, the i < u is explained by Professor Turner as perhaps due to an influence of Mid.Ind. purisa- (Sk. puruṣa-) which appears in MSgh. as puris (lw. Pa.?) [TND. s.v. mānis and pursā]. The 1st i is a result of assimilation to this 2nd i through a form like ^ṛ manisa- which

we have to assume for Sgh. prior to the time of a — i:

i — i. In these Inss. are found minis-, minisun, minisnat and minī 'corpse' [§46, 7].

3. a — ī > i — i

Gamini-; (uti)rika; kiri(ye) etc.; (ga)misahi < * gamīsa- [§8, 2b] < grāma + śīrsa-.

The a represents an original ŕ in tiyā < * tīyi- [§8, 2b] < * taiyi- [§5, 3] < tṛtīyikā-, tṛtīyā-.

Note: In the series a — ī : i — i, the ī survived as ī up to the 8th c. A.D. and from the 8th c. A.D. onwards became i [cf. §2].

4.

But in the examples given below, a — i or a — ī is written as a — i even after the change of a — i (a — ī) to i — i. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words from Sk., Pa.:-

patīth(i)te [§38, 7c]; patisavanu [id.]; paṭi- satariya-, paṭi- satirīya-, paḍi- dine, this prefix lw. Pa. paṭi-, the inherited Sgh. form is pīli-; pari- bujana, pari- (bujanaka), pari- vavata (i.e. for pari- vaṭa, §38, 3a), this prefix lw. Sk. Pa. pari-, the inherited Sgh. form is piri-; (pari)kara-; karisehi etc.; patin; katikā.

§15.

a — u or a — \bar{u} > u — u [But v. §25, 3b].

This first occurs in the 1st half of the 1st c. B.C. in purumaka- (Vt.R); the u here does not represent Sk. u, but is secondary u < Sk. a, i.e. Sk. paramaka- > parumaka- (a > u perh. due to the foll. labial -m-) as found in Vg. R.B.C.IIa (2nd c. B.C.) and then parumaka- > purumaka- as attested in Vt.R. (1st half of the 1st c. B.C.).

1. a — u > u — u

dunu; dunuvā; kulun-, kulunu-; muhundhi [cf. §§49, 2; 58, 5].

2. a — secondary u > u — u

purumaka- etc. [v. above].

3. a — \bar{u} > u — u

dunū- cf. Sk. janūh. The writing \bar{u} is either a learned spelling after Sk. janūh or denotes a lw. Sk. id., the inherited form being dunu.

4. a — secondary \bar{u} > u — \bar{u}

The secondary \bar{u} is < ^{*}uu < ^{*}iu < ^{*}iū < -ita + bhūta- [cf. §§2, 51; 19].

Type: dunu- (Gd.R.a; Mdg) sec. short. fr. dunū- [§8, 2b] < ^{*}danū- < ^{*}danuu- < ^{*}daniu- < ^{*}danīū- [id.] < janita+ bhūta-.

In the case of $\bar{l}u$ there is a further contraction of assimilated u and secondary \bar{u} since the intervening consonant has disappeared i.e. $\bar{l}u <^{\#} lu\bar{u} <^{\#} lug\bar{u}- <^{\#} lag\bar{u}- < lagita+ bh\bar{u}ta-$. For $lu-$ sec. short. fr. $\bar{l}u-$ cf. §8, 2a.

5. But in the examples given below, $a - u$ or $a - \bar{u}$ is written as $a - u$ even after the change of $a - u$ ($a - \bar{u}$) to $u - u$. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words from Sk., Pa.:-

catudiśa-, catudidisa- (i.e. for catudisa-); parumaka- conservative spelling based on parumaka- [v. above]; payutu-.

6. It is noteworthy that $miya$ 'honey' and $m\bar{i}-gasa, m\bar{i}van,$ $mivan$ [§8, 2b] 'Bassia Latifolia' represent Sk. $madhu-$. The expected form in Sgh. is $^{\#} m\bar{u}$; $madhu-$ in Sk. means 'honey' as well as 'Bassia Latifolia' and so does $m\bar{i}$ in Sgh.. Now, in Sgh. the word for 'honey' is closely associated with the word for 'curd' i.e. $d\bar{i} < dadhi-$. Therefore, the form $m\bar{i}$ is presumably influenced by $d\bar{i}$.

§16.

$a - \bar{e} > e - e$

This is first attested in the 10th c. A.D.: $yesen;$ $mehesana-$.

§17.

a — \bar{o} > o — o

This is first attested in the 10th c. A.D.: sohovur-.

1. Secondary a — secondary \bar{o} > o — o

polo- < * polo \bar{o} < * pal \bar{o} < Sgh. Nom. sg. * palava (< * palavi < * palave), cf. Pa. pathavī-, Sk. pṛthivī-. [cf. §§3, 7d; 5, 3].

§18.

i — a or i — \bar{a} > a — a [But v. §25, 2a]

This first occurs in the 4th c. A.D. presumably in bayali (Tg.R), bayalihi (Tg.R.) < bidala- or at least by the 2nd half of the 6th c. A.D. in Savaya (B.P.Ins.V) < Sīva-ka-. Also in the foll. exx.:

1. i — a > a — a

bayali, bayalihi; Savaya; dasas, dasasakat; talā-; milāyat (error for milayat); vahare < * varasa- [§53, 3c] < Pk. varisa-.

[Note: nikata (Tg.R) is error for nikita < nikṣipta- as i would not be expected to be assimilated to the foll. a since i is in a heavy syllable.]

2. i — \bar{a} > a — a

nava; nakay-; Salamevan-, Salameyvan-; bimakat; vahara etc.;

vetayala-.

Note: In the series $i - \bar{a}$: $a - a$, the \bar{a} survived as \bar{a} up to the 8th c. A.D. and from the 8th c. A.D. onwards became a , cf. §1.

3. But in the examples given below, $i - a$ or $i - \bar{a}$ is written as $i - a$ even after the change of $i - a$ ($i - \bar{a}$) to $a - a$. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words from Sk., Pa.:-
 tila-; divasa; Sivayaha, Sivayi; viharahi (for viharahi, cf. §1,8e); tirā- (error for tira-); Māndindinā; vimal-; vicāra; vivādayak; vibangha- (error for vibhanga-).
4. In the following the survival of $i - a$ as $i - a$ does not necessarily suggest loan-words. The modern forms too of these words show $i - a$ [v. Exx. below]. The i may survive because of the following y , but sometimes words are found in which the i is assimilated to the a despite the following y cf. MSgh. milaya < \bar{m} \bar{m} liya-.
- Exx. in which i is followed by y :-
- The y < Sk. y in niyamen cf. MSgh. niyama-; biya, biyen cf. MSgh. biya; viyat- cf. MSgh. viyat; viyavulak cf. MSgh. viyavula; viyakhan cf. MSgh. viyakanu 'to explain; paraphrase'?
- The y < Sk. k in (he)-viṭṭiyen, (pi)ṭṭiyen, cf. MSgh. \bar{o} viṭṭiya [cf. §§3,5a; 40,6e]; the y < Sk. g in niyamata(nahi); the y < Sk. t in nimiyatā, nimiyata.

[Note: In any case *vanaya-* (Tg.R) if representing *bhavanīya-* [cf. §40,4c] is error for *vaniya-*, since \bar{i} — a would not be expected to become a — a as we are dealing with a heavy syllable.]

§19.

i — u > u — u

This is first attested in the 10th c. A.D., in *rupu-* (An.Sk.) < *ripu-*, but probably this assimilation had taken place at least by the 8th c. A.D. as seen in *dunu-* (Gd.R.a) sec. short. fr. *dunū-* [cf. §8,2b] < **daniu-* [cf. §2,51] < *janita-* + *bhūta-* in which secondary i — secondary $u > u — u > \bar{u}$ (by contraction).

1. i — u > u — u

rupu-.

[Note: *buku-* (Jv) is error for *biku-* < *bhiksu-* as i would not be expected to be assimilated to the following u since i is in a heavy syllable; likewise *buka-* (Pm.) is error for *biku-*; *bika-* (Ng.R) is also error for *biku-*.]

2. Secondary i — Secondary $u > u — u > \bar{u}$ (by contraction).

The examples in this category are to be found in the Past Participles in \bar{u} .

Type: *kārāvū* (Ip; Blv) < **kārāvuu-* < **kārāviu-* < **kārāviū* <

kārāpita+ bhūta- [cf. §2,51]. For other exx. v. § 1d..

Secondary shortening of this \bar{u} is found in dunu- (Gd. R.a; Mdg) [cf. §8,2b], vālāndu (Bd) [cf. §8,2b].

§20.

i — \bar{o}

i — \bar{o} : o — o is to be expected, but there is, however, no citable instance in these Inss.. In the case of viyo- (An.Sk.) cf. MSgh. viy \bar{o} , the i may survive in the presence of y [For similar cases, cf. §18,4.]

§21.

u — a or u — \bar{a} > a — a [But v. §25,3a.]

This first occurs in the 2nd c. B.C. in the Nom. prop. Taladara- (Vg. R.B.C.III) if it represents Sk. Tulādhāra-. Also in the foll. exx.:

1. u — a > a — a

taman etc..

[Note: vataka- (Tg.R; Ng.R) is error for vutaka- if it represents Pa. vutta—ka—, cf. Sk. ukta— as u would not be expected to be assimilated to the following a since u is in a heavy syllable.]

2. u — ā > a — a

Taladara-.

Note: In the series u — ā : a — a, the ā survived as ā up to the 8th c. A.D. and from the 8th c. A.D. onwards became a, cf. §1.

3. But in the examples given below, u — a or u — ā is written as u — a even after the change of u — a (u — ā) to a — a. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words from Sk., Pa. :-

kulaha, kula- etc.; Śumanaha etc.; śudaśane; Kumaratasa-; tumaha, tuman etc.; guṇa-; suta-; kusalayan; sulab-.

4. In yuva- cf. MSgh. yuva-, Sk.Pa. yuva- the survival of u — a as u — a does not necessarily suggest a loan-word. The u may survive because of the following v [cf. §18,4.].

§22.

u — i > i — i

As observed by Geiger [v. GSghG. §19(3)] u — i : i — i coincides with the Umlaut \bar{u} (or u before two conss.) — i : i — i [cf. §§9; 11.].

As exx. of u — i > i — i cf. MSgh. rihiri 'blood' < rudhira-; kili 'hut; cottage' < kuṭi-.

The ex. that can be cited from these Inss. is found in the 10th c. A.D. in pāmānā [cf. §§10,8; 42,2] < * pāviniya < * pāpiniya < Pa. * pāpuniya (Ger. of Pa. pāpunāti). From this word it can be inferred that u — i: i — i was earlier than ā — i: ä — i (i.e. 4th c. A.D., cf. §10,1), otherwise the ā in pāmānā cannot be accounted for; a fortiori this word shows that u — i: i — i was earlier than ā — i > ä — ä (i.e. 6th c. A.D. cf. §10,10). No definite date can be given for u — i: i — i as there is no recorded instance prior to the 4th c. A.D., but certainly it had occurred sometime before the 4th c. A.D..

1. u — Sgh. Nom. sg. ending — i > i — i

giṅgiriyaḥ goes back to a 2nd c. A.D. Nom. sg. fm. * gūguri [cf. §§6,4; 10,9; 11,3] i.e. u — Sgh. Nom. sg. ending — i resulting in i — i. Similarly — viri— cf. * — pūruva-, — pūrva- goes back to a 2nd c. A.D. Nom. sg. fm. — * pūruvi (> — * pūrivī > — * pirivī, cf. §§11,2a; 22.).

§23.

u — ē > e — e

This is first attested in the 10th c. A.D. in pere etc. < Pa. pure, cf. Sk. purah; pere cannot be connected with Sk. pūrva- as done by Wickremasinghe in E.Z.I, 5, 169, fn.2. pera-, perā- (for pera- ?) cannot be regarded as an error for

pere- in face of MSgh. pera; pera is due to a contam. of Pa. purē with Pa. purā, cf. Sk. purā. In MSgh. is found perēda 'day before yesterday'; the long ē is apparently a contraction of eyi of MSgh. pereyidā meaning id. which occurs beside perēda [cf. also CSghD.]; perhaps it represents * purēhi and divasa- i.e. * purēhi > * pereī > pereyi (with insertion of y to avoid hiatus)?

§24.

Vowel-Contraction

1. In some cases instead of assimilation of vowels of different quality we find vowel-contraction. Such cases have occurred when the vowels in question were separated only by an original -y-, -v-, -h- or original intervocalic guttural, dental and labial stops. Their disappearance brought into contact originally separated vowels of Sk. in Pk. [cf. PPKG. §164, 'Udvr̥tta' vowels]. Normally these contact-vowels persisted in Pk. [cf. id. §1d.] though occasionally they were contracted [cf. §§165, 166].

In these Inss. only two uncertain examples of contact-vowels are actually written in Gajaa- < Gajaka- ? and Tavaa-?, which both occur in Ng.R., but this stage has to be

presupposed in order to explain the contractions which are found.

The dates of these vowel-contractions are relative to the times of the loss of the above-mentioned consonants [cf. §§34; 37; 40; 43; 44; 47.]. For instance, the group aa is contracted to \bar{a} as far back as the 2nd c. B.C. with the loss of $-h-$ as in gapati- (Vg.R.B.C. IX) i.e. gāpati- [§1, 3] < gaapati- < grhapati- . Again aa is contracted to \bar{a} in the 2nd c. A.D. with the loss of $-y-$ in paca- (Tp.S) i.e. pacā- [§1d.] < pacaa- < Pa. paccaya- . Or the group ua is contracted to \bar{o} in the interior of the word in the 2nd c. A.D. with the loss of $-v-$ in doraya- (Pkn; Vg.II) i.e. dōraya- [§3, 7c] < duāraya- < duvāraka- (cf. Sk. dvāraka-), cf. Pk. duvāra- .

The contact-vowels or vowel-groups which are reconstructed in order to account for the contractions found are as follows:

2. Contractions of vowel-groups of different quality^{xx}.

The exx. of contractions of vowel-groups of different quality have no homogeneous development. This diversity in their

(xx) In the case of short vowels (or short followed by long) contraction has taken place in loan-words which entered the language after the time of assimilation of the vowels concerned, but before the loss of the consonants. [cf. Introduction.]

phonetic development is to be determined by their position in the word.

2.a. The group *īa in the interior of the word is contracted to ē whereas in final position it is contracted to ī.

*īa > ē in the interior of the word, in Hel- sec.short.fr. Hēla- [cf. §8,2b] < *Hīala- < Pa. Sīhala-, cf. Sk. Simhala-; nerā Ger. of Sgh. nerayi sec.short.fr. nērayi < *nīarayi < Pa. nīharati, cf. Sk. nirharati.

*īa > ī in final position, in sī- < *sīa- < Pa. sīha- cf. Sk. simha-; dī < *dīa- < dvīpa- [§§2,5b; 40,6d].

Also final *īa > ī as in tāvī; himī etc. v. §2,5a. (Also other instances given under the section on Secondary Shortenings.)

[Note:- hilā sec.short. fr. hīla- [cf. §8,2b] cf. Sk. śītala- does not form an exception to medial *īa > ē but shows contam. with Sk. śīta- > *hīa- > *hī- in final position].

2.b. The groups *ua, *uā, *ūa in the interior of the word are contracted to ō whereas in final position they are contracted to ū.

*ua > ō in the interior of the word, cf. MSgh. mora in moragahanu 'to cry out' sec. short. fr. mōra [cf. §8,2b.] < *muara- < mukhara-.

*uā > ō in the interior of the word, in dorahi <

*duāra- < *duvāra- (cf. Sk. dvāra-); doraya- < *duāraya- < *duvāraka-; dorika- < *duārika- < *duvārika- [In

these instances in the 2nd c. A.D. the ō remained ō, cf.

§3,7c]; dor, dorin, in the 10th c. A.D. and MSgh. dora^{is} in sec.

short. fr. $\bar{d}\bar{o}ra-$ [cf. §8, 2b] < $\bar{d}u\bar{a}ra-$ < $\bar{d}u\bar{v}a\bar{r}a-$; $\bar{d}o\bar{l}a\bar{s}a-$ < $\bar{d}u\bar{a}\bar{l}a\bar{s}a-$ < EAs. $\bar{d}u\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{d}a\bar{s}a-$. [The \bar{o} in this word in the 3rd and 4th c. A.D. remained \bar{o} , cf. §3, 7c] and $\bar{d}o\bar{l}o\bar{s}-$ in the 10th c. A.D. and MSgh. $\bar{d}o\bar{l}o\bar{s}$ is sec. short. fr. $\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}o\bar{s}a-$ [cf. §8, 2c]; $\bar{y}o\bar{n}a-$, $\bar{y}o\bar{n}-$ sec. short. fr. $\bar{y}\bar{o}\bar{n}a-$ [cf. §8, 2b] < $\bar{y}u\bar{a}\bar{n}a-$ < $\bar{y}u\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{n}a\bar{k}a-$.

$\bar{u}a > \bar{o}$ in the interior of the word, in Posonā sec. short. fr. $\bar{P}\bar{o}\bar{s}o\bar{n}a-$ [cf. §8, 2c] < $\bar{P}\bar{o}\bar{s}a\bar{n}a-$ [cf. §25, 3c] < $\bar{P}\bar{u}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{n}a-$ < $\bar{P}\bar{u}\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{n}a-$ < $\bar{P}\bar{u}\bar{r}va + \bar{s}\bar{r}\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{n}a-$.

$\bar{u}a > \bar{u}$ in final position, in $\bar{d}a\bar{n}a\bar{v}\bar{u}$ [§2, 5h]; and also other instances given under the section on Secondary Shortenings.

$\bar{u}a > \bar{u}$ in final position, in $\bar{v}\bar{u}-$ [§2, 5g].

[Note:- $\bar{h}u\bar{n}a-$ if representing Sk. $\bar{s}u\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{n}a-$ forms exception to medial $\bar{u}a > \bar{o}$.]

2.c. The groups $\bar{a}i$, $\bar{a}u$ have in certain cases been turned into diphthongs in Mod. Ind. [cf. Bloch, BLLM. §§53, 56; also Chatterji, ODBLang. §171]. Beginnings of this change are found in Apabhramśa [cf. Chatterji, id. §169]. Sgh. shows no diphthongisation at all.

The group $\bar{a}i$ in the interior of the word is contracted to \bar{e} .

$\bar{a}i > \bar{e}$, in
-se i.e. - \bar{e} [§3, 4a].

The group $\bar{a}u$ in the interior of the word is contracted to \bar{o} .

* -au- > -o-, in

rajol-, radol-, radolen, radolan sec. short. fr. radōla- [cf. §8,2c.] < * radaula- < rājakula-.

2.d. The groups * ēa and * ōa, however, are contracted to ē and ō respectively both in medial and final positions.

* ēa > ē [For exx. v. §3,4.]

* ōa > ō [For exx. v. §3,5.]

Also * ōi > ō and is found only in final position [§3,5c.].

3. Contractions of vowel-groups of similar quality

Contractions of vowel-groups of similar quality show the same development in whatever position in the word they are found. In each case they show the long quantity of the respective vowels.

3.a. The group * aa is contracted to ā. For exx. v. §1,7a; also instances given under the section on Secondary Shortenings.

The group * āa is contracted to ā. For exx. v. §1,7b.

The group * āa is contracted to ā. For exx. v. §1,7c.

3.b. The group * īi is contracted to ī. e.g. vi- i.e. vī- [cf. §2,2] < vrīhi-. Also cf. §8.

The group * īi is contracted to ī. e.g. di- i.e. dī- [cf. §2,2] < dadhi-. Also cf. §8.

The group * īī is contracted to ī. e.g. kī [cf. §2,5e] < kathita-. Also cf. §8.

3.c. The group * uu is contracted to ū. cf. MSgh. lūnu 'onions' < * luunu- [cf. §15] < * lahunū- < laśuna-ka-; or MSgh.

mūdu 'ocean' < * muudu- [§1d.] < * mahudu- [cf. §49,2] < * hamudu- < samudra-ka-. Also cf. §§2,51; 8; 15.

- 3.d. The group * ēē is contracted to ē. e.g. -ge i.e. -gē v. §3,4b.

§25.

Criticism of Geiger's theory of "Vowel-levelling"

1. Geiger in his SghG. §21 remarks "Vowel-levelling rests on the same tendency of making the vowels of a word uniform as the vowel-assimilation. It is the equalisation in two successive syllables of a — i (e) and i (e) — a to e — e, and of a — u (o) and u (o) — a to o — o."

This term "Vowel-levelling" is redundant, for if this term is to be used it should apply equally well to vowel-assimilation. It is clear that for instance a — e: e — e or a — o: o — o is as much vowel-assimilation as for instance i — u: u — u or u — i: i — i. It is also difficult to reconcile the fact that a — i which was shown to become i — i [cf. §14.] or i — a which was shown to become a — a [cf. §18.] should also become e — e, and again that a — u which was shown to become u — u [cf. §15.] or u — a which was shown to become a — a [cf. §21.] should also become o — o. This e — e and

o — o are not direct developments in Sgh. but are the result of contaminations which are discussed under the various categories given below, and therefore Geiger's theory of "Vowel-levelling" falls to the ground. These contaminations are due on the one hand to the influence of loan-words and on the other to the instability in the development of Sk. s and Sk. h in Sgh..

2. Instances of e — e in Sgh.

- 2.a. The forms in e — e are the result of contaminations of forms in a — ā (< i — ā cf. §18.) with forms in ē (< *īā cf. §24, 2a.).

The only ex. quotable from these Inss. is first found in the 8th c. A.D. veherā and in the 10th c. A.D. veherā, vehera-, veher-, veherhi, veherat, veherin. At least by the 4th c. A.D. with the loss of -h- [cf. §47, 2.] Sk. vihāra- would have resulted in an inherited Sgh. word *vēra- through *viāra- by *īā: ē [cf. §24, 2a.]. This *vēra-, however, is not attested but in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. is found viharahi which is to be read vihārahi [cf. §1, 8d.]. It is difficult to state whether vihāra- is the actual Sgh. form or a lw. from Pa. in the aforesaid centuries but by the 4th c. A.D. it must be taken as a lw. since the loss of -h- had definitely occurred by this time [cf. §47, 2.]. The 4th c. A.D. may also be regarded as the date of i — ā: a — ā [cf. §18.] and with this change

the lw. vihāra- was modified to vahāra-, so it is presumable that by this time there were 2 forms of Sk. vihāra- in Sgh. viz. 1) * vēra- as inherited and 2) vahāra- as lw.. It is not surprising then that these 2 forms became contaminated into vahēra- which is actually documented in the 4th c. A.D. va^herakahi, va^herakehi, in the 5th c. A.D. va^herahi, in the 6th c. A.D. va^here, va^herataya. Side by side with this form is again found the pure lw. vihāra- in the 5th c. A.D. viharahi, while the lw. vahāra- is actually attested in the 6th c. A.D. vahara, vaharata [in all these the ā prob. pron. ā, cf. §1,8e.] and once in the 8th c. A.D. vaharaya. In the 8th c. A.D. the vahēra- form appeared as vehera- by a — ē; e — e. (cf. veherā (E.Z.IV, 3, 145, IV)) and by the 10th c. A.D. the vehera- form (cf. vehera- etc. quoted above) had completely ousted the vahāra- form. So it is in the modern language cf. MSgh. vehera.

The exx. given by Geiger in §21,3 are as follows: vehera discussed above; velep and kelenā belong to 2.c.; kehel falls under 2.b.; elu (< * hēlu- < Pa. Sīhala-ka-) and neranu were discussed in §24,2a.

2.b. The forms in e — e are the result of contaminations of forms in i — i (< a — i cf. §14.) with forms in ē (< * ai cf. §24,2c.).

Exx. are found in the 10th c. A.D.:-

Type: meheni- in mehenivar, mehenivar-, mehenivarhi: Sk.

śramaṇī-, Pa. samaṇī- > * hamini- (by a — ī; i — i, cf.

(**) Only by such a contamination can the e in va^herakahi etc. be explained. It is also to be noted that vahirata (An.S. — 6th c. A.D.) is error for va^herata or va^harata.

§14, ; s > h. cf. §46, 3.) > *mahini- (by metathesis, cf. §49, 2.). Then this *mahini- with further loss of -h- gave a form *meni- through *maini- by *ai: ē [cf. §24, 2c.]. Consequently a contam. of *meni- with *mahini- (which perh. continued as a learned form) had produced a *mahēni- which is, however, nowhere attested. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that there existed at some time such a contaminated form analogous to vahēra- [v. 2. a.]. Then *mahēni- has appeared as meheni- by a — ē; e — e as evidenced in the 10th c. A.D. In the same century is also found mehe, meheyin, meheyat: Sk. śramin-, Pa. *samin-^{xx} > *himi- (by a — i: i — i and s > h) > *mihi- (by metathesis). Beside this, however, a lw. Pa. *samin- coming into the language after the time of a — i: i — i i.e. 1st half of 1st c. B.C. [v. §14.] but before s > h > lost i.e. 10th c. A.D. [v. §46, 7.] underwent this change and resulted in a form *hami- > *mahi- > *mai- > *mē- (for *mī-) perh. through confusion with *mē- < *mēa- [cf. §24, 2c.] < *maia- < *mahiya- < Pa. *samika-, Sk. *śramika-, cf. Sk. śramin-. Then a contam. of *mihi- with *mē- had produced a *mihē which appeared in the 10th c. A.D. as mehe- by i — ē; e — e, cf. MSgh. keles 'lust; defilement' < Pa. kilēsa-, Sk. klēśa-.

The exx. adduced by Geiger in §21, 1 can be explained in

(xx) cf. Sk. śrama-, Pa. sama-.

the same manner: mehelī 'old woman' is < *mihēli- resulting fr. a contam. of *mihili- with *mēli-, cf. Sk. Pa. mahilā- (However, Sk. has also mahēlā- and Sgh. mehelī may then be fr. this form by a — ē: e — e); mehenī 'nun' is discussed above; mehesī 'queen' is < *mihēsi- resulting fr. a contam. of *mihisi- with *mēsi-, cf. Sk. mahisī- (However, Sgh. mehesī may represent Sk. mahēsi-, Pa. mahēsi- and thus would be a — ē: e — e); kehel 'banana' quoted by Geiger in §21,3 belongs here i.e. kehel is < *kihēl resulting fr. a contam. of *kihili- with *kēli- for which must be assumed an intermediate form *kadilī- [cf. also PPKG. §§166;101] cf. Sk. Pa. kadālī-; Demel also found as Demel- (Rb; Ip) cannot be explained as such a contamination. Pa. Damila- may give a *Dimila- but would not be expected to give a *Dēla- inasmuch as -m- does not disappear in Sgh. Pa. Dāmila- = Sk. Drāvida-^{xx} is the prototype of Sgh. Demel i.e. Pa. Dāmila- > *^Dāmila- [cf. §10.] > *^Dāmāla- [cf. §10,10.] and this ā came to be written e and also to be pronounced e [For discussion of similar cases, cf. §10,6.] but Demala remains unexplained. Likewise venēnda, velēnda 'merchant' with e for ā is < Sk. Pa. vāṇija- i.e. vāṇija- > *vāṇida- > *vāṇāda- > *vāṇānda-, *vālānda [cf. §10; §10,6,10.] but venānda, velānda remains unexplained. Also belongs here penelī 'drain' with e for ā < Sk. pranādī-, cf. Pa. panālī- quoted

(xx) cf. Pa. Damila- [v. GPLS. §46,4] and Pk. Damila- [v. PPKG. §261] = Sk. Dravida-.

by Geiger in §21,2 i.e. $\text{pranāḍī-} >^{\text{z}} \text{panāḷī-} >^{\text{z}} \text{pānāḷī-}$ [cf. §10; §10,12.]. The word *merada* 'ray of light' if representing Sk. *marīci-* 'ray of light' [v. MWSKD.] is as much questionable as MSgh. *miriṅgu* 'mirage' if representing Sk. *marīci-* 'mirage' [v.id.], since the expected form is $^{\text{z}} \text{mirida}$. The *e*, however, of *merada* may be regarded as denoting *ä* as in the foregoing instances i.e. *merada* (for $^{\text{z}} \text{mārada}$) may be < Sk. *marīci-* but the *a* still remains unexplained. It may be argued that consonant with *Demel*, *Demala* or *venēṇḍa*, *venāṇḍa* there was also $^{\text{z}} \text{mereda}$, *merada* but the $^{\text{z}} \text{mereda}$ form is non-existent. Again MSgh. *miridiya* 'fresh water' [cf. GSghG. §43; also CSghD. v.s. id.] is not to be connected with Sk. *marīci-* or *marīcika-*. It seems that *miri—diya* is sec. short. fr. *mīri—diya* [cf. §8,2b.] i.e. *mīri-* < *mihiri* < $^{\text{z}} \text{mahiri}$ < $^{\text{z}} \text{mahuri}$ (Sgh. Nom. sg. form in -i) cf. Sk. *madhura-* 'sweet' and *diya* < *daka* - 'water' and cf. English 'sweet' in the sense of 'fresh'.

2.c. The forms in *e* — *e* in this category, however, are cases of pure vowel-assimilation and not the result of contaminations.

(i) The foll. exx. quoted by Geiger in §21,2 result from *a* — *ē*; *e* — *e*:- *kenēra* 'female elephant' < $^{\text{z}} \text{kanēra}$ met. fr. Sk. *karēṇu-*; *kemen* 'by degrees; gradually' < Sk. *kramēṇa*; *denen* 'with wealth' < Sk. *dhanēna*; *belen* 'with strength' < Sk. *balēna*; *telehi* < $^{\text{z}} \text{talēhi}$ (Sgh. Loc. sg. of *tala* 'plain; surface' cf. Sk. *sthala-*); *kenehi* 'at the moment; immediately' < $^{\text{z}} \text{kanēhi}$ (Sgh. Loc. sg. of *kaṇa* 'moment' cf. Sk. *kṣaṇa-*); *peneli* is not

to be included here and is discussed in 2b. The exx. of a — ē: e — e in these Inss. were cited in §16.

(11) As regards ē — a: e — e, the a is influenced by and assimilated to the ē of the preceding syllable. These exx. are attested in the 10th c. A.D.: behed- < * behad- < Pa.bhēsajja-, Sk. bhaisajya-; senevi- < * sēnavi- < Sk. sēnapati-.

The exx. quoted by Geiger in §21,4 are to be explained similarly: behet 'drug; medicine' (t?) cf. behed- above; sevel 'moss' < * sēval < Pa. sēvala-, Sk. śaivāla-. Herein are to be included also velep and keḷenā cited by Geiger in §21,3. velep 'fork of a tree' is not to be connected with Sk. Pa. viṭapa- (since viṭapa- would become * valap by i — a: a — a, cf. §18.) but is to be traced back to Sk. vaiṭapa- i.e. vaiṭapa- > * vēlap > velep (p?). keḷenā 'playing' does not represent Sk. krīḍana-, Pa. kīḷana- but Sk. kṣvēlana-ka- i.e. kṣvēlanaka- > * kēlana- > keḷenā and -ḷ- in keḷenā shows contamination with krīḍana-. For contaminations of the word for 'play' [cf. TND. s.v. khelnu].

3. Instances of o — o in Sgh.

3.a. The forms in o — o are the result of contaminations of forms in a — a (< u — a cf. §21.) with forms in ō (< * ua cf. §24, 2b.).

There is no ex. to be cited from these Inss. and therefore the exx. quoted by Geiger in §21,7. are analysed.

Type: mohol 'pestle': Sk. Pa. musala- > * mahala- (by u — a >

a — a, cf. §21; -s- > -h-, cf. §46,3.). Beside this, however, a lw. Pa. musala- coming into the language after the time of u — a: a — a i.e. 2nd c. B.C. [v. §21.] but before -s- > -h- > lost i.e. 10th c. A.D. [v. §46,7.] underwent this change and resulted in a form ^hmōla- through ^hmuala- by ^hua: ō [cf. §24,2b.]. Then a contam. of ^hmahala- with ^hmōla- had produced a ^hmahōla-, cf. vahēra- in 2a. Then ^hmahōla- has become mohol by a — ō: o — o [cf. §17.] and mōl is a contraction of mohol through ^hmool. Similarly sohon 'grave' is < ^hsahōna- fr. a contam. of ^hsahana- with ^hsōna-, cf. Pa. susāna-, Sk. śmaśāna- and sōn, hōn is a contraction of sohon through ^hsoon; kohon 'hypocritical' is < ^hkahōna- fr. a contam. of ^hkahana- with ^hkōna-, cf. Sk.Pa. kuhana-; koṇḍol 'ear-ring' cannot be explained as such a contamination since firstly Sk. kuṇḍala- would not be expected to give a ^hkaṇḍala- (as u is in a heavy syllable) and secondly Sk. kuṇḍala- would not be expected to give a ^hkōla- (as -ṇḍ- does not disappear in Sgh.), koṇḍol represents Sk. kaṇḍala- and belongs to 3.c.; polo was discussed in §17,1; mora has been discussed in §24,2b..

- 3.b. The forms in o — o are the result of contaminations of forms in u — u (< a — u cf. §15.) with forms in ō (< ^hau cf. §24,2c.).

There is no ex. to be cited from these Inss. and the following is an analysis of the exx. quoted by Geiger in §21,5.

Type: poson 'flower': Sk. prasūna-, Pa. * pasūna- > * pusuna- for * puhuna- (by a — ū > u — u, cf. §15. ; and -s- retained perh. due to a learned form). Beside this, however, a lw. Pa. * pasūna- coming into the language after the time of a — ū: u — u i.e. 1st half of 1st c. B.C. [v. §15.] but before -s- > -h- > lost i.e. 10th c. A.D. [v. §46,7.] underwent this change and resulted in a form * pōna- through * pauna- by * au; ō [cf. §24,2c.]. Then a contam. of * pusuna- with * pōna- had produced a * pusōna-, cf. vahēra- in 2a. Then * pusōna- has become poson** by u — ō; o — o. Similarly boho 'much; many' is < * buhō- fr. a contam. of buhu- with * bō-, cf. Sk. Pa. bahu-, bahuka-, and bō is a contraction of boho through * boo; also is found buhu which has persisted beside the contaminated form.

3.c. The forms in o — o in this category, however, are cases of pure vowel-assimilation and not the result of contaminations.

(1) sohayuru 'brother' < Sk. sahodāra- quoted by Geiger in §21,6 results from a — ō: o — o [cf. §17.]. In the 10th c. A.D. is found sohovur- [cf. id.]. MSgh. has sohovuru beside sohayuru and -y- > -v- because of the labial vowels o, u [cf. §34,6c.] and sōvuru is a contraction of sohovuru

(**) It is also possible that -s- here may be analogical with poson 'month Poson' (June - July) coming to mean 'month of flowers' < Sk. pūrvaśrāvana- [cf. §1d. 3c.].

through ṣ soovuru.

(ii) As regards $\bar{o} - a: o - o$, cf. $\bar{e} - a: e - e$ illustrated in 2c. This change is evidenced in the 10th c. A.D. e.g. $\text{solos-} < \text{ṣ} \bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}sa- < \text{Sk. } \bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{s}a-$, cf. Pa. $\bar{s}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}sa-$; poho- , $\text{pohoyā} < \text{ṣ} \bar{p}\bar{o}\bar{h}aya- < \text{Pa. } \bar{p}\bar{o}satha-$ (The 2nd c. A.D. pohatakara , pohatakarahi cf. Pa. $\bar{p}\bar{o}sathagāra-$ shows that the change $\bar{o} - a: o - o$ had not occurred at that time); dolos- , $\text{dolos} < \bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}sa-$ (by $\text{ṣ} \bar{u}a: \bar{o}$, cf. §24, 2b.) $< \text{ṣ} \bar{d}u\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{a}sa-$ (with loss of $-v-$) $< \text{EAś. } \bar{d}u\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{d}\bar{a}sa-$ ($\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}sa-$ is actually attested in the 3rd and 4th c. A.D. cf. $\bar{d}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}sa-$ which shows that $\bar{o} - a: o - o$ had not occurred at that time too); Golobā- [error for Golobā-] $< \text{ṣ} \bar{G}\bar{o}\bar{l}\bar{a}bā- < \text{Pa. } \bar{G}\bar{o}\bar{ṭh}\bar{a}bhaya-$; $\text{Posonā} < \text{ṣ} \bar{P}\bar{o}sana- < \text{ṣ} \bar{P}\bar{u}asana-$ [cf. §24, 2b.] $< \text{ṣ} \bar{P}\bar{u}vasana- < \text{Sk. } \bar{P}\bar{u}rvaśrāvaṇa-$.

ekalos- cf. Sk. $\bar{e}k\bar{a}d\bar{a}śa-$ and pasalos- cf. Sk. $\bar{p}\bar{a}ñc\bar{a}d\bar{a}śa-$ are analogical formations based on solos , dolos .

The exx. quoted by Geiger in §21, 8 are to be explained similarly: molok 'soft; tender' met. fr. $\text{ṣ} \bar{k}omol < \text{ṣ} \bar{k}\bar{o}mal < \text{Sk. } \bar{k}\bar{o}mala-$ [MSgh. has also melek 'soft' which is to be taken back to a Sgh. Nom. sg. form from Sk. $\bar{k}\bar{o}mala-$, that is to say, $\text{ṣ} \bar{k}\bar{o}mali$ (Sgh. Nom. sg. fm. in $-i$) $> \text{ṣ} \bar{k}\bar{o}mili$ (by $a - i: i - i$) $> \text{ṣ} \bar{k}\bar{e}mili$ (by $\bar{o} - i: \bar{e} - i$, cf. §12.) $> \text{ṣ} \bar{k}emel$ (by $\bar{e} - i: e - e$, cf. $\bar{e} - a: e - e$ in 2c.) $> \text{melek}$ (by metathesis)]; poho is discussed above [But MSgh. has also pehe which is to be taken back to a Sgh. Nom. sg. form from Pa. $\bar{p}\bar{o}satha-$ i.e. $\text{ṣ} \bar{p}\bar{o}sayi$ (Sgh. Nom. sg. fm. in $-i$) $> \text{ṣ} \bar{p}\bar{o}hiyi$ (by $a - i: i - i$)

* pōhī (through * ii with loss of -y-) > * pēhi (by $\bar{o} - i$: $\bar{e} - i$) > pehe (by $\bar{e} - i$: $e - e$); solos and dolos are discussed above and solas and dolas are obtained perh. as learned forms introduced from the time prior to the change $\bar{o} - a$: $o - o$. Herein also falls koṇḍol quoted by Geiger in §21,7 i.e. koṇḍol is < * kōṇḍal < Sk. kaṇḍala-.

§26.

Influence of the Accent

Geiger in his SghG. §22 remarks "Beside the difference of heavy and light syllables we must, in my opinion, also pay attention to the influence of the word accent. The frequent reduction or elision of a vowel in the second or third syllable is best explained by a strong accentuation of the preceding syllable. Moreover, mutilations at the end of a word as in kapu 'cotton' < kappāsa- or the apocope of an initial vowel as in lāv 'forest' < aṭavī- can hardly be understood except by assuming an accentual influence (kāppāsa, aṭāvī).

In Sinhalese Prakrit the accentuation was, no doubt, the same as in Sanskrit, Pali and the Indian Prakrits, i.e. the penultima was accentuated, if it was long, and the antepenultima if the penultima was short. The modern accent [v. id. §6, where he says "It is generally the first syllable of the word that bears the accent"] widely differs from that system,

and we must search for an intermediate stage. I believe that the change, which, of course, was a gradual one, began in the Proto-Sinhalese period, and the results are manifest in the phonology of the Mediaeval Sinhalese. In Proto-Sinhalese the general tendency set in towards accentuation of the beginning of the word. The accent was confined to the first two syllables. If the first syllable was heavy, it attracted the full accent; if it was short and the second syllable long, then the second syllable was accentuated; if both syllables were short, the accent was then divided, but the accent on the second syllable was stronger.

The system, therefore, was as follows:-

- 1) / × 2) ∪ / 3) ∪ ∪ /

By the influence of the accent the vowel of the following and of the preceding syllable was often reduced to i, u or elided, and unaccented syllables were often mutilated if they contained weak consonants."

On the whole, I am inclined to agree with Geiger's theory on the 'Influence of the Accent'.

§27.

 / ∪

In trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic words the first syllable being heavy is accented and its vowel remains intact, whereas the

vowel of the second syllable which is light and therefore unaccented is 1) reduced, 2) elided.

1.a. Reduction of -a- to -i- is first evident in the 4th c. A.D. in aviya- < avyaya-. Also in the following:

beji- < * bōjia- < Pa. bhōjaka-; govī- < * gōvia- < gōpaka-; illi(ye)min < īdayati, as aga. illā. [§1d.2a].

1.b. Reduction of -a- to -e- occurs in the 8th c. A.D. in budenā (Gd.Rb) < ^{Pa.} bhūñjanāya. The e in yapeni- in the 4th c. A.D. may be a reduction of -a- in the second unaccented syllable if it represents * yāpanī-, cf. Sk. yāpana- [Paranavitana, E.Z. III,4, 187], but the expected form would be * yapini- through a — ī > i — i.

1.c. Reduction of -a- to -u- is very frequent. Geiger in his SghG. §24, 1) a) remarks "Sometimes the change -a- to -u- is optional" and he cites akunū or akana 'lightning' (Pa. akkhana-); akuru or akara 'letter' (Pa. akkhara-). Geiger's statement is incorrect since the forms with -u- as akunū, akuru are inherited Sgh. words, whereas the forms with -a- as akana, akara are loan-words from Pali.

Reduction of -a- to -u- is first evident in the 6th c. A.D. in daruya (R.Vg.III) < dāra-ka- or opula- (R.Vg.I) < utpala-. Also in the following:

daruyana etc.; laduvan, ladu; bamun; utur-, uturu-; mūnguru; amunak; maṇḍulu, maḍula; sasun as aga. sasnehi [§1d.2a]; desun;

kasun-; satu-; daṇḍuvam; elu; gatuvaṇ; sivur-; karuvaṇat;
 situvaṇ; pavu-; uturat; sakur; Kasub- as aga. Kasbā- [§1d.2a];
 tudus-; sartumā; patul; dakuṇ- < Mid.Ind. fm. * dakkhana-
 [§1d,1d] as suggested by Geiger [v.SghG. §24, 1) o] of. Sk. daksina-;
 pugul-; sesu-; vaḍu-; Senu.

1.d. Reduction of -i- to -u-.

There is no instance in these Inss. of the reduction of Sk. -i- of the second unaccented light syllable to -u-. But MSgh. āmbul < Pa. ambila-, cf. Sk. amla- would show that this reduction had taken place after the change of a + double consonant followed by i to ā (4th c. A.D., §10, 1) and MSgh. kovul < kōkila- would show that this reduction had occurred before the change of \bar{o} — i to e — i (6th c. A.D. §12, 1). Therefore the reduction of -i- in the second unaccented light syllable to -u- must have taken place sometime between the 4th c. A.D. and the 6th c. A.D.. ātul etc. in the 10th c. A.D. perhaps goes back to a form * antira- and cannot be derived from antara- because of the ā [§10]. dakuṇ- perhaps represents Mid. Ind. * dakkhana- [§ 1d.1c] and not Sk. daksina- as then the expected form would be * dākun-.

[Note: In the disyllabic word veyā (10th c.) MSgh. vē, veyā 'street' if representing Sk. vīthi-, the change of \bar{i} - to -e- in the first accented syllable is unexplained; the expected form would be * viya, MSgh. * vī, * viya. Again in the 10th c. tun, tunu is found reduction of compens.

length. -ī- to -u- of. 4th c. A.D. tin i.e. tīn [§6, 3a]. Here the reduction of -ī- to -u- in the 1st accented syllable is abnormal in this numeral.]

1.e. Reduction of -u- to -i-.

Geiger gives MSgh. mayil 'maternal uncle' < mātula- [v. SghG. §24 1) d] as the sole example of this reduction. But -i- < -u- in this word is not due to a reduction; it goes back to a Sgh. Nom. sg. form with -i- caused by the Sgh. Nom. sg. ending -i. i.e. * mayili < * mātili < * mātuli [§22, 1]. I am unable to cite any instance of this reduction either from these Inss. or from the Modern language. In view of the negative evidence, I do not agree with Geiger's theory of the reduction of -u- to -i- [v. SghG. §24 1) d]. The -u- of the second unaccented light syllable survived as -u- as seen in kukulan < kukkuṭa-; hamuyehi < samukha-.

2.a. Elision of -a- in the second unaccented light syllable first occurs in the 9th c. A.D. in lad(da)n (Kv.P) < labdhaka-. This reading, however, is not clear, but there are clear examples in the 10th c. A.D., mostly in trisyllabic words: maṇḍlan < maṇḍala- as aga. maṇḍulu, maḍula with reduction of -a- to -u- [§1d, 1c]. Also Kasbā- as aga. Kasub- [§1d, 1c]; veṭya; vikmen; basnen; sasnehi as aga. sasun [§1d, 1c]; banvar; ikmā, Ger, < * īkkam- < atikramati; sandnen; naynen; admanāk; rakval.

Assimilation of the consonants has taken place after the elision of -a- in the following [cf. §61]:

lad(da)n (Kv.P), laddan < labdhaka- as aga. laduvan with reduction of -a- to -u- [§1d, 1c]; gattan < * ghyptaka-, as aga. gatuvaṇ [§1d.1c]; annat < anyaka-; illā, Ger. < īdayati, as aga. ili(ye)min with reduction of -a- to -i- [§1d.1a].

In the examples given below, however, the -a- of the second unaccented light syllable is neither reduced nor elided but is written -a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

utara-; amana; kajaka-; vaṭavi; ṇakaraka- writ. for ṇagaraka-; agena; bamana-; atano; Nadana-; mahavar-; piṭat, piṭatā; pā-balayan; asanin; karaṇa, karana; varaṇan; nimala-; embaraṇin [§4C, 9b]; anvayen; nāyakayan; dāyaka-, dāyakayan; kālayehi; lābhayehi.

- 2.b. Elision of -i- in the second unaccented light syllable is found in the 10th c. A.D., and assimilation of the consonants has taken place after its elision [cf. §61]: vāssan < vāsika-; ättan < * astika-?; ek-bitten < ekka + bhittika-; lākkan < * laksika-?; vāddā < * vrājika-; rākkā-, rākka- < * rakṣiya-, cf. rakṣya-.

Elision of secondary -i- which is the result of a-i; i-i occurs in vissak < * visiṇi- < viṃśati-.

In the following, the -i- of the second unaccented light syllable is not elided but is written -i-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words: vāsiyan; kāmiyan; vāriyan [§14].

- 2.c. Elision of -u-, however, in the second unaccented light syllable is found in the 10th c. A.D., and assimilation of the consonants has taken place after its elision as in vatta, vattat < \bar{v} astu-ka- [cf. §61].

§28.

The determination of the accent of trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words, the first and second syllables of which are both heavy.

1. Geiger in his SghG. §25 remarks "If, in stems of more than two syllables the syllables 1 and 2 are heavy, then their treatment is different:
 - 1) In some of them the full accent lies apparently on the first syllable ($\text{—} \text{—} \times$) and the vowel of the second syllable is reduced or elided.
 - 2) In other stems the accent seems to have been divided ($\text{—} \text{—} \times$). In this case the vowel of syllable 2 remains intact; in quadrisyllables the syllable 3 is reduced."

I am unable to agree with Geiger in this theory. He gives e.g. pavuru 'wall of a city' < \bar{p} ākara-; ayuru 'manner' < \bar{a} kara- under the first category and pahana 'stone' < \bar{p} āsana-; avan 'drinking' < \bar{a} pāna- under the second category [id.]. If we examine these four words, we find the same conditions existing in all of them; that is to say, the first two syllables have \bar{a} ;

therefore it is not possible to assume, as Geiger does, that the full accent lies apparently on the first syllable in the first two words and that the accent seems to have been divided in the other two. I believe that the accent of all the four words falls on the first syllable and the second syllable, although heavy, is unaccented as seen by the reduction of \bar{a} in the second syllable in pavuru and ayuru. In pahana and avan, however, \bar{a} of the second syllable is not reduced but is preserved as -a-; the expected forms would be * pahuna and * avun; the survival of \bar{a} of the second syllable as -a- shows that these two words are loan-words from Pa. $\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ - and $\bar{a}\bar{p}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ -, a point overlooked by Geiger. This argument holds good also for the other examples, which have -a- in the second syllable [v.GSghG. §25,2)], with the exception of the quadrisyllabic stems given therein. In quadrisyllabic stems [v. id.] the presence of -a- in the second syllable as e.g. in $\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{a}\bar{y}\bar{u}\bar{r}\bar{u}$ (or $\bar{o}\bar{v}\bar{u}\bar{r}\bar{u}$) 'camp' < Pa. $\bar{k}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{d}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{v}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{a}$ -; abatura 'inside' < Pa. $\bar{a}\bar{b}\bar{b}\bar{h}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{r}\bar{a}$ -; $\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{t}\bar{u}\bar{m}$ 'invitation' < Pa. $\bar{a}\bar{m}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{t}\bar{a}\bar{n}\bar{a}$ - would not necessarily show that the foregoing are loan-words from Pali. As pointed out by Geiger, in quadrisyllabic stems the vowel of the third syllable is reduced [v.id.] and this perhaps accounts for the vowel of the second syllable surviving as -a-.

Therefore I would formulate the following theory:-

In trisyllabic words, the first and second syllables of which are both heavy, the accent falls on the first syllable alone and its vowel remains intact, whereas the second syllable, though

heavy, is unaccented as seen by the reduction or elision of its vowel.

2. Reduction of the vowel of the second unaccented heavy syllable:

2.a. Reduction of -a- to -u- is first evident in the 9th c. A.D. in avuj (Kv.P.), avud (10th c. A.D.) < Sk. āvrajya. Also in the 10th c. A.D. in maṅgul-, maḡul- < maṅgalya-; tuvak-, tuvāk- by metathesis < ^z tavuk- < tāvatka- as aga. tāk- through contraction [§1,7c].

2.b. Reduction of -ā- to -u- first occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in sakur (Ip.) < satkāra-. Also in huvay, Ger. < Pa. ussāpeti?; paṇḍuru < Pa. paṇṇākāra-?; (a)rub < ārama-?.

2.c. Reduction of -ā- to -i- first occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in ariyū (Vg.S.Dp), P.P.; ariyay (An.Sk.), Ger. fr. a Pres. stem āradha-, cf. āradhayati.

2.d. Reduction of -ī- to -u- in the second unaccented heavy syllable occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in pādum- (Kb) < prācīna- [v. §42,3c].

3. Elision of the vowel of the second unaccented heavy syllable:

3.a. Elision of -ā- is first evident towards the end of the 8th c. A.D. or the beginning of the 9th c. A.D. in satnaṭ (E.Z.IV,3, 149, VII) < sat^tvanāṃ + arthāya.

Also in the following:

vandmi < vandāmi; hindvū, P.P., hindvā, Ger., hindvannaṭ, Verb.N.

fr. Caus. st. * sindāpaya-; danvā, Ger. fr. Caus. st. Pa.

jānāpaya-; similarly harvā; dakvā; ganvanu; asvanu; siṭvami.

Assimilation of the consonants after the elision of -ā- occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in ānnā (Mg) < ājñā-ka- [cf. §61].

In the examples given below, however, the -a- or -ā- of the second unaccented heavy syllable is neither reduced nor elided but is written -a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

magala-; satanaṭa; pahan; satar-, satara-; aram, aramā; avasā, avashi; karavā; sakar; adan; vasaga; asanhi; siddhanta.

4. As in trisyllabic words [§28,1] so in quadrisyllabic words, the first and second syllables of which are both heavy, the accent falls on the first syllable alone and its vowel remains intact. The vowel of the second syllable too remains intact, but this shows neither

- 1) that the accent seems to have been divided between the first two syllables as suggested by Geiger [v. SghG. §25,2)], nor
 - 2) that the word is either a loan-word or a conservative spelling.
- The vowel of the third unaccented syllable is reduced or elided and the vowel of the second syllable though unaccented remains intact.

- 4.a. Reduction of -a- to -u- in the third unaccented syllable first occurs in the 8th c. A.D. in senasuna (Gd.R.b) < Pa. sēnāsana-, Sk. śayanāsana-. Also in the 10th c. in sihasun- < siṃhāsana-;

vanuvan < āpanna-ka- as aga. vannehi with elision of -a- [§1d. 4b]; havuruduyehi, havurudyehi, havurudu- < samvatsara-ka-?.

In this quadrisyllabic word -a- of the second syllable too has become -u-. This is not a reduction of -a- to -u- as shown by Geiger [v. SghG. §25, 1)] because compared with the other quadrisyllabic words given above, the vowel of the second syllable should remain intact; the expected form would be ^hhavarudu- with the reduction of -a- to -u- in the third syllable. The change of -a- to -u- in the second syllable is due to the preceding labial -v-.

- 4.b. Elision of -a- in the third unaccented syllable first occurs in the 9th c. A.D., and assimilation of the consonants has taken place after its elision in vannehi (Pv.P) < āpanna-ka- as aga. vanuvan with reduction of -a- to -u- [§1d.4a]. Also in vanne, vanney, vanna; sāvaddā < sāvadya-ka-; u(la)ṅgnā < ullāṅghana-, without assimilation of the consonants [cf. §61].

In the following, however, -a- of the third unaccented syllable is neither reduced nor elided but is written -a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words: (senasana); ulaghana, (ula)ṅghana, ulā(gha)nā.

- 4.c. Elision of -i- in the third unaccented syllable occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in arākkan < āraksika-.

§29.

Disyllabic stems, the first syllable of which is heavy and therefore accented, become monosyllabic in compounds, with the elision of the vowel in the second unaccented syllable. [As against this v. §33,2]. This vowel may be long or short.

- 1.a. Elision of -a- is first evident in the 8th c. A.D. in div- (Gd. R.a) < dvīpa-. Also in sav-; rat-; pas- < pārśva-; kam-; maṅg-, maṅg-; ~~mag-~~; gam-; saṅg-; bad-, baj-; gat-; Sen-; tel-; Salamevan-; suvar-; mahavar-; pak-, vak-; ek-; pid-, piṇḍ-; ved-; at-; vel-; sand-; pun-; pur-; ul-; bat-; kol-; yut-; pas- < pañca-; Bud-, Buj-, Bud-das-; lov-; ket-; ^Dāham-; sit-; pat- < prāpta-; bat-; net-; kot-; lad-; Sak-; lab-; vas- < vaṁśa-; tik-; lamb-; nil-; dan-; yud-; sey- < chēka-; sar- < sara-; raj-, rad- < rājan-; ~~raj-, rad- < rājya-~~; rov-; div- < dvīpa-; (div)- < jīva-; bar-; nam-; sat- < sapta-.

- 1.b. Elision of -ā- of the second unaccented syllable of disyllabic stems in compounds first occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in gaṅg- (Nt.) < gaṅgā-. Also in Lak-; hal-; nan-; rak-.

In the following, however, -ā- is not elided but is written -ā-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

Kitā-; Devā-; ā(jnā)-.

- 1.c. Elision of -i- of the second unaccented syllable of disyllabic stems in compounds first occurs towards the end of the 8th c.

A.D. in sam- (E.Z. IV, 3, 148) < svāmin-. Also in the 10th c. in sam-; kit-; Saṅg-boy-; āt-; sāt-; sāl-; vāt-.

In the following, however, the -i- is not elided but is written -i-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

kitti-; piti-; bādi-.

- 1.d. Elision of -ī- of the second unaccented syllable of disyllabic stems in compounds first occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in vāl- (Ag) < vallī-. Also in āg- < aṅgī-. In hir- and saṅg- the elided -ī- is < -ia- i.e. hir- < *sūrī- < *sūriya- and saṅg- < *sāṅghī- < sāṅghika-.

- 1.e. Elision of -u- of the second unaccented syllable of disyllabic stems in compounds first occurs in the 8th c. A.D. in Dam(b)- (Gd.R.a) < Jambu-. But this reading is not clear. However in the 10th c.A.D. clear instances are found in Damb-, Dāmb-; and vat- < vastu-.

In the following, however, -u- is not elided but is written -u-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

kaṇu-; bandu-; kāru-.

2. There are, on the contrary, some instances where the vowel -a- in the second unaccented syllable of disyllabic stems in compounds is not elided but is reduced. In these the disyllabic stems remain disyllabic.

2.a. Reduction of -a- to -u- is first evident in the 6th c. A.D. in Budu- (R.Vg.II; III) < Buddha- as aga. bud- with elision of -a- [§1d.1a]. Also in ulu-, olu- as aga. ul- with elision of -a- [§1d.1a]; gumu-; ^ḍāhamu- as aga. ^ḍāham- with elision of -a- [1d.]; unu-; Pa(do)n-naru-.

2.b. Reduction of -a- to -i- is first evident in the 10th c. A.D. in kiri- (Mdg; Tb; Avg) < ksīra-. Also in māndi- perh. a contamination bet. Pa. majjha- and Pa. majjhima-.

In the following instances, however, -a- of the second unaccented syllable of disyllabic stems in compounds is neither elided nor reduced but is written -a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

sava-; saga-; eka-; guta-; ula-; Kumara-tasa- (writing for Kumara-dasa-); (Da)va- (error for Deva-); Maha-dara-; dāna-; kapa-; diva-; pasa-; hoyā-; sata-; Buddha-, Buddha-mitra; gama-; pura-; paya-; daṇḍa-; gata-; vāsa-; pasa- lw. Pa. passa-; vela-; raja- lw. Sk. rājya-; bara-; dāla-; lābha-; maṅga-.

§30.

Trisyllabic stems in compounds become disyllabic with the elision of the vowel of the third unaccented syllable. Since the first syllable is heavy it is accented and its vowel remains intact [v. §27]. The fate of the vowel of the second unaccented

syllable was discussed above [§§27,28].

- 1.a. Elision of -a- is first evident in the beginning of the 9th c. A.D. in aram- (Kv.P) < ārama-. Also in the 10th c. in aram-; satar-; maṅgul-, magul-; utur-; pādum- [§42,3c]; dakun- [§27, 1c, 1d]; (kukul)-; ātul- [§27, 1d]; tuvāk-; sasun-; kasun-; pugul-; bamun-; sakur-, saker-; adan-; apis-; satos-; bāhār-; Kasub-; Äsel-; sivur-.
2. There are, on the contrary, a few instances where vowel -a- in the third unaccented syllable of trisyllabic stems in compounds is not elided but is reduced. In these instances the trisyllabic stems remain trisyllabic.
 - 2.a. Reduction of -a- to -u- is first evident in the 10th c. A.D. in uturu- (Kb) < uttara- as aga. utur- with elision of -a- [§1d.1a]; maṅḍulu-; Dāpulu-; ātulu- [§27, 1d].
 - 2.b. Reduction of -a- to -i- is first evident in the 10th c. A.D. in bāhāri- (An.Sk) < bāhira- as aga. bāhār- with elision of -a- [§1d.1a].

In the following instances, however, -a- of the third unaccented syllable of trisyllabic stems in compounds is neither elided nor reduced, but is written -a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

Dāpula-; maḍula-; nimala-; patala-; dāyaka-; ārogya-; satara-; Äsela-; siddhānta-.

§31.

Quadrisyllabic stems in compounds become trisyllabic with the elision of the vowel of the fourth unaccented syllable. Since the first syllable is heavy it is accented and its vowel remains intact. [§§27,28] The fate of the vowel of the second and third unaccented syllables was discussed above in §28,4.

1. Elision of -a- is found in the 10th c. A.D. in sihasun- (An. Sk; Vg.S. Dp.) < sim̄hāsana-.

§32.

u /

The first syllable is light and therefore unaccented; the second syllable being heavy is accented and its vowel remains intact.

1. An initial short vowel before the accented second syllable is elided.
- 1.a. Elision of a- is first evident in the beginning of the 9th c. A.D. in Riti- (Kv.P) < ariṣṭi-. Also in the 10th c. in ne- < anēka-.

In the following, however, a- is not elided but is written a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

anat-; anantarayen; (anadara)-.

1.b. There are no examples of the elision of u- in these Inss..

But the writing of u- as u- in upāsaka- (Vg.S. Dp.- 10th c. A.D.) is either a conservative spelling or shows that upāsaka- is a lw. Pa. and MSgh. uvasu itself is a lw. Pa. upāsaka- since the expected inherited Sgh. fm. would be *vasu or *vahu. pohatakara, pohatakarahi, poho, pohoyā is to be derived from Pa. pōsatha- and not from Pa. upōsatha-, Sk. upavasatha-, since p is preserved.

1.c. The syllables ha-, hi- are elided before the second accented syllable.

This elision is evident in the 10th c. A.D. in mul- (An. Sk) < *hamūla- < samūḍha- and in ran- (An.Sk; Vg.S.Dp; K.429) < hiraṇya-.

2. The short vowel of the first syllable before the second accented heavy syllable is 1) reduced 2) elided.

2.a. Reduction of -a- to -i- first occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in piyo (Rb.etc.) < prayōga-. Also in kiya, Ger. of kiyayi < Pa. kathēti?; piya < Pa. pahāya?, Ger. of Pa. pajahati.

2.b. Reduction of -i- to -e- is found in the 6th c. A.D. apparently in kenavi (Ng.R) < ^{Mid. Ind. kināviya, kināvia} ~~*kināpiya, Ger. of *kināpeti.~~

2.c. Elision of -a- occurs in the 10th c. A.D. apparently in tudus- (Kb.) < *studdasa- < *ctuddasa- < caturdaśa-?

In the following, however, -a- of the first unaccented syllable is neither reduced nor elided but is written -a-.

This writing is ^{either} a conservative spelling or shows that the following are loan-words:

pamanin; saha, sahak; laha-; vala-; talā-; samañg-; balakerin; vasavanu; valandanu; pahayay; sabhāye, sabhāyen; samāhita-.

3. The vowel of the third unaccented syllable after the second accented syllable is 1) reduced 2) elided.

3.a. Reduction of -a- to -u- appears in the 10th c. A.D. in sohovur- (Tb; Mg) < saḥōdara-. Also in parapuren < parampara-. parpuren (Av) if < parampara- is an error for parapuren as the vowel of the second accented syllable would be expected to survive. If, however, parpuren represents Sk. [¶] parampara- cf. Sk. paramparya-, then the elision of -a- in the second unaccented syllable would be expected as the first syllable is accented [§28, 1, 2, 3]. -a- is reduced to -u- also in tudus- (Kb) if < [¶] studdasa- < [¶] ctuddasa- < caturdaśa-? [§32, 2c].

3.b. Elision of -a- occurs in the 10th c.A.D. in pavatnā (K.429) < pravartanāya.

Elision of secondary -i- (which results fr. Sgh. Nom. sg. fm. in -i-), is also found in the same century in pārākmen, i.e. [¶] parākami (cf. Sk. parākrama-) > [¶] parākimi > [¶] parākimi > [¶] pārākimi > pārākmi [§10, 7d, 12].

4. Trisyllabic stems in compounds become disyllabic with the elision of the vowel of the third syllable after the second accented syllable. The fate of the vowel of the first unaccented syllable is discussed in §1d, 1,2.
- 4.a. Elision of -a- is first evident in the 8th c. A.D. in Mihid- (Gd. R.a) < Pa. Mahinda-. Also in the 10th c. in Mihind-; sirit-; veher-; Kiliṅg-; anat-; pirit-; samaṅg-; viyat-; nirind-; muḷ- < samūḍha- [§1d.1c]; ran- < hiranya- [1d.]
- 4.b. There are, on the contrary, two instances where -a- of the third syllable of trisyllabic stems in compounds is not elided but is reduced. In these cases the trisyllabic stems remain trisyllabic. [As aga. this v. §1d,4].

Reduction of -a- to -u- occurs in the 5th c. A.D. in payutu- (Md.S) < prayukta-.

Reduction of -a- to -i- is seen in the 10th c. A.D. in Mirisi- (An.Sk) < *maricca-.

In the following, however, -a- of the third unaccented syllable of trisyllabic stems in compounds is neither elided nor reduced, but is written -a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

vehera-; vicāra-.

5. Quadrisyllabic stems in compounds become trisyllabic with the elision of the vowel of the fourth unaccented syllable.

5.a. Elision of -a- occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in sohovur- (Tb; Mg)
 < saḥōdara-.

5.b. In the following, however, -a- of the fourth unaccented syllable of quadrisyllabic stems in compounds is not elided but is written -a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:
 upāsaka-; samāhita-; (anadara)-.

§33.

If the first two syllables are both light, the accent is on the second syllable, and not divided as suggested by Geiger (GSghG. §29). Consequently:-

1. An initial short vowel before the accented second syllable is elided.

1.a. Elision of a- first occurs in the 6th c. A.D. in biseva (An.S)
 < *abhi-sēka-. Also in the 10th c. in bisev-, bisevhu, bisevā; varad, varaj, varadaṭ, varadak < *apa-rāddha-; ṇayak < *anaya- < ṇa-ka-; (ya)- < aya-.

In the following, however, a- is not elided but is written a-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

abhiṣeka, abhiṣekayen; abhiyukta-; abhi-dham-; anusasā. Perhaps in akusal < akuśala- and aniyā, aniyāk < * aniyāya-, the a- has survived as it represents the negative prefix a-.

1.b. Elision of i- first occurs in the 2nd c. A.D. in ma- (Pkm) < ima-. Also in ma, me, mehi < ima-; and meya- etc. < imaka-. The elision of i-, however, may be due to ima- being a pronoun and therefore liable to special shortening.


1.c. Elision of u- is evident in the 10th c. A.D. in pahal if < *upa-kāra- and pahalavan if < *upa-kāraka-. In face of MSgh. vahā 'help; assistance', the writing p- in pahal, pahalavan is either a conservative spelling or denotes a loan-word [§40, 6f]. daka-, diya-, diye is to be derived from daka- and not from udaka-, since d is preserved.

In the following, however, u- is not elided but is written u-. This writing is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

Udā-, Udā-(error for Udā-); uva-.

2. Disyllabic stems $\cup \cup$ in compounds remain disyllabic since the vowel of the second syllable being accented is not elided. [As against this v. §29]:

para-; dasa-; kala-; taṇa-; uva-; (ma)la-; sara-; saya-; guṇa-; yuva-; yasa-; kula-; nava- < nava- 'new', sama-; mana-; daḷa-; baḷa-; nava- < nava- 'nine'; piya-; diya- < daka-; diya- < jaya-; giya-; siya-; siri-; sivu-.

3. When the accent is , the -a- of the first syllable if followed by -y- i.e. -y- < original -y- [§43,3d] or < original -k-, -g-, -t-, -d- [cf. Introduction; also §§34,6c,8a,8c; 37,6a,8a] is reduced to -i- or -u-. The vowel of the second syllable remains intact.

3.a. Reduction of -a- to -i- found mostly in disyllabic words is first evident in the 4th c. A.D. in siya (Tg.R) < svayam, Pa. sayam. Also in:

diya- < jaya-; siya, siya- < svaka-; diya-, diye < daka-; siyal- < sakala-; diyat < jagat-; jiyal, (di)yal; giya < gata-; siyak < śata-; siyan < * siyaya- < śataka-; sivu- < catu- [cf. §37,6d]; piya- < pada- as aga. paya < pāda-.

3.b. Reduction of -a- to -u- found in trisyllabic words first occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in nuvarā < nagara- [§34,8c]; guvanhi < gagana- [§1d.]; ruvan, ruvan-, ruvanhi < Pa. ratana- [§37,6d].

The writing of -a- as -a-, however, in nakarā i.e. for nagarā [§34,8a] is either a conservative spelling or denotes lw. Pa. nagara-.

4. When, however, the -a- of the first syllable is followed by a consonant other than the above-mentioned [§1d.3] -a- survives as -a-. The vowel of the second syllable remains intact: pacanahi; vadan, vajan; tana-; dana-; danavu, danavū; mana-; sama-; samay; sara; para-; pala; tala; ~~balat, balatun~~; nava- <

nava- 'nine'; nava- < nava- 'new'; dasa-; yasa-; vasanu;
vasanaka-; mahan; vahala; kala, kala-; dala-; bala-; (ma)la;
palamu-.

The reduction of -a- of the first syllable to -i- is unexpected in pisā, Ger. of pisanu, which is a confusion bet. pacati and pacyate. dena, dena-, denā, denaku, denakhat is not from Sk. jana- and thus does not show reduction of -a- to -e-. dena etc. stands for * dāna < Sgh.Nom. sg. * jāni [cf. §10,6,9] going back to Sk. janya- [cf. §6,1,2] as aga. dana- [v. above] < jana-.

The reduction of -a- of the second syllable to -i- in samiyen < samaya- may be due to the following -y-. The elision of -a- of the second syllable is unexpected in the following: vadnā if < vrajanāya; harnā if [<] haranāya; gannā if < grahanāya.

5. The vowel of the third unaccented syllable is reduced.

Reduction of -a- to -u- occurs in the 10th c. A.D. in danavu, danavū < janapada-; palamu-; vadāranuvan, vajāranuvan < vācā + karaṇa-ka-.

Gutturals1. Sk. k-

Initial k- remains:

karanu, karite, karavaya, karavā, kaṭu, koṭu, koṭ, ko(ṭa)vaya, kaḷa-, kaḷahu, kaḷavun, kaḷamanā, karana-, karaṇa-, karavika, kereyani, kārū, karu (error for kārū), kārāvū, kārvū, karay, karā, kāra, kārā, kaṭāyutu; Kudakana-; karanaka; kahāvaṇa; kāru-; Kama(la)-; Kasaba-, Kasub-; kavuḍu; kapa-; Kiliṅ-; kusalayan; kāmi-; kāmiyaṇaṭ, kāmiyan; (kukuḷ)-; kābāḷi; Kit-; kit; kushi; kavari-; kasun-; kam-; kālayehi; kulen; kuḷuṇ-; koṭhā, koṭā; keṭū; kī; kiya; kapanu; ~~kenavi~~.

2. Sk. kh-

kh- > k-

kaṇavaya; (kaṇi); kaḍaya.

3. Sk. g-

Initial g- remains.

According to Geiger [v. GES.362] kubara, kubura-, kumbur-, kumburaṭ, MSgh. kuṃbura 'rice-field; paddy-field' represents Sk. gambhīra-. But the difficulty of explaining the vowels and MSgh. gāṃburu 'deep' < gambhīra- prove Geiger wrong; the etymology remains obscure.

g- > g-

gapati-; G(o)na-giri-; gehi, ge-; guta-; gaṅ-; govī-; gon;

giya; gab; gas; gos; gihi-; galā; givisā; Gajaa-; gena, geneye, genä; ganvanu, ganvat; gäl.

4. Sk. gh-

gh- > g-

gat, gata-; gatuvaṇ, gattaha; gi-; gasanu; giṅgiriyaḥ [§22, 1].

5. Sk. k (kh) and g (gh) which constitute the first letter of the second member of a compound survive as k and g respectively. In these cases the compound has been formed in Sgh. or is a loan from Pa. or Sk..

5a. -k- > -k- (in cmpds.)

-kulaha, -kula-; -kama, -kam, -kamaṭ; -karisehi, -kerihi, -kiri(ye), -keriha, -kriya, -kiriyaḥ, -kiriya, -kiriya; -ka(ri)yaha; -koṭasa, -koṭasaḥ; -kara, -kāra; -kahavaṇa, -kahavaṇehi, -kavahaṇa, -kavaṇa; -Kasapi-, -Kasub-, -Kasbā-; -Kumaratasa-; -kadaraha; -kale; -kala-; -karaṇayehi; -kol-, -kolaṭ; -kāmiyaṇ; -karana; -kābāli; -kit, -kitti; -kukulaṇ; -kot; -kāmi-; -karuvaṇaṭ; -kushi, -kusiṇ; -katikā; -Kitā-; -kulunu-.

5.b. -kh- > -k- (in cmpds.)

-kaja-; -kajaka-; -kaḍaka-; -kānhi; -kaṇḍaṭ.

5.c. -g- > -g- (in cmpds.)

-gagahi; -gaṇaka-; -gon; -geri; -gehi, -geṭ; -ge; -gasa, -gas; -guṇa-; -gabhi; -guvanhi; -Goḷobā-; -giri-, -girī-, -giriya-, -giriye, -giriya.

5.d. -gh- > -g- (in cmpds.)
-gattan.

6. Sk.-k-

6a. In the earliest times, Sk.-k- is written -k-. But in the 2nd half of the 1st c. B.C. Sk. -g- is written -k- in baḍakarika- (And. C. VIII b) < bhāṇḍagārika- and this writing shows that the voicing of -k- had taken place by this time; the writing of -k- as -k- up to this time therefore shows that -k- survived as -k-.

-k- survived as -k-, in upaśika-, upasika-; upasaka-; parumaka-, purumaka-; Śirikita-.

6.b. Even after the time of the voicing of -k- i.e. And. C. VIII b Ins., -k- is written -k- and there is not a single instance where -k- is actually written -g-. This writing of -k- as -k- for a pronunciation -g- is either a conservative spelling or denotes loan-words:

baḍakarika- (2nd k); parumaka-; Kuḍakana-.

6.c. In the 2nd c. A.D. -k- is written -y- in ḍoraya- (Pkn) < ḍuvaraka- or baḍakariya- (Pkm) < bhāṇḍagārika- and this writing shows that -k- through -g- > -y- by this time. In the 8th c. A.D., however, -k- is written -v- in avul (Gd.R.b) < ākula-; here the -y- < Sk.-k- was replaced by -v- due to the following labial vowel -u-. As against this, -k- is written

-y- in spite of the preceding secondary vowel -u- < Sk. -a- [§27, 1c] in the 6th c. A.D. in daruyana, daruya < dāraka- and towards the end of the 8th c. A.D. in daruyun < dāraka-. However, circa 887-907 A.D., this -y- < Sk. -k- is replaced by -v- in daruvan < dāraka-; therefore the -y- < Sk. -k- when following a secondary -u- was replaced by -v- only by this time, whereas the -y- < Sk. -k- when followed by a Sk. -u- was replaced by -v- in the 8th c. A.D. as shown above in avul. The facts reveal that Sk. -k- > -y- in the 2nd c. A.D. and this -y- survived as -y- when the neighbouring vowel was Sk. -i- (or secondary -i- in Sgh. v. §27, 1a) or Sk. -a-, and from the 8th c. A.D. onwards this -y- was replaced by -v- when the neighbouring vowel was Sk. -u- (or secondary -u- in Sgh.) or Sk. -o-. In the 10th c. A.D., however, we find confusions of -y- and -v-. For instance, -y- is found after a secondary -u- < Sk. -a- in havuruduyehi < samvatsara-ka- [§28, 4a] and -v- is found after -a- in mahavar < *matsyakāra- or *māṃsekāra-, pahalavan < upakāra+ka-; after -ā- in sīmavat as aga. sīmāyen < sīmāka-, and after secondary -i- in mivan, mīvan < madhūka- [§15, 6]. -v- is found also in bisevhu, bisev-, bisevā < abhiśeka-. The expected form is with -y- as the preceding -e- is palatal cf. sey- < chēka-.

6.d. -k- > -y-

doraya-; badakariya-; vasiya-, vāsiyan; paṭisatariya-,

paṭisatiriya-; sama(te)ya-; patiya-; bo(ji)ya-; ra(ṭi)ya-;
 giriya-, giriye, gariya-, giriya; dariyana; siya- [§33,3a];
 gamayaha; Vasadavaya; Savaya; vaharaya; veheraleya; danmaye;
 himiyan, hāmiyana, himiyanat; karanayehi; kāmiyan; diya-, diye
 [§33,3a]; vāriyan [§14,1]; sabhāye, sabhāyen; sīmāyen;
 (he)-viṭṭiyen; kusalayan; pā-bala(ya)n; vetṭya; siyal- [§33,3a];
 sīyan [§id.] abhiṣekayen; ācāryayan; viseniy(ā); lābhayehi;
 nāyakayan; nāyak; vivādayak; meheyin [§25,2b]; vāḍiya(n);
 nāyan; dāyakayan; avasānayehi; kālayehi; sey-; meyin;
 vāpārayanat; bālayaṭa; ākulayak; vajāleyin, vadāleyin,
 vadālayin.

6.e. -k- > -v-

avul; daruvan, daruva-mo [§27,1c]; laduvan, laduvanat [id.];
 gatuvan [id.]; karuvanat [id.]; daṇḍuvam [id.]; situvam [id.];
 vanuvan [§28,4a]; purumuvo; dunuvan; viyavulak; vālandūvan;
 pinisvūvan; vadāranuvan, vajāranuvan [§33,5]; lov, lovak.

6.f. In the 10th c. A.D. -k- is written -h- in the two words
 Sāhā- < * Śākiya- and pahal if < upakāra- cf. MSgh. vahal
 'help', pahalavan if < upakāraka-.

6.g. The complete loss of Sk. -k- (through -y-) first occurs
 towards the last quarter of the 5th c. A.D. apparently in
 Mahadālī- Mahana- (Md.S), cf. Pa. Mahādāṭhika- Mahānāga- but
 clearly, however, in the beginning of the 6th c. A.D. in
 mapurumu- (An.S) < mahā + paramaka-.

-k- is lost:

Mahadali-; mapurumu-; vadu-, vadha; beji-, beja-; begi-; vāsi-; nāvhi; apa; rajol-, radolen, radolan; balu; kavudu; diva-; ladu-; mī- [§15,6]; sā; Ōkā-; talā; jiyal, (di)yal; mapurum-; paḷa-, pāḷa-; sā-; satu-; sesu-; kāmi-; navamat; govī-; daru-; lahā; (dāli)-; valā; ne-; talā; paṇḍuru; suvar; vadārannan, vadāranuvan etc.; vadāḷa, vadāḷayin etc.; hadāḷa-; le-.

6.h. Now, even after the time of the change of -k- to -y- (or -v-) or the complete loss of -k- as in MSgh., -k- is written -k-, either as a conservative spelling or in loan-words:

dorika-; . donika-; daka-; (na)vaka(ri)yaha; sataka-; karanaka; vibajakahi; Vadamanaka-; pari(bujanaka); dinaka; bojaka-; gaṇaka-; vasavasika-; haṭika; vānaka; maha(ḷa)ka-; [sa](kala)-; ayika; keta(kahi); paka-; uvanaka; legitaka; tinavanaka-; gamakehi; vasanaka-; vaherakehi, vaherakahi; hakaḍa-, hakaṭa-; akala-; pekaḍaka; vataka-; vedhavataka; kajaka-; nakaraka-; mapurumakahata, mapurmukā, mapurumukā; sataka-; sayaka-; (ḍukula); kaḍaka-; vatekaṭa; jahasaka-; abhiṣeka, abhiṣekayen; bimakat; aṭaki; akusal; nakay; nāyakayan; dāyaka-, dāyakayan; upāsaka-; katikā; pirikāpū; tānakat; ākulayak.

7. Sk. -kh-

Examples of Sk. -kh- are found only in the 10th c. A.D.

7.a. -kh- > -y- in hamuyehi; leyak.

7.b. -kh- is lost in le- < lēkhaka-; le- < lēkha-; sale-.

7.c. In the same century -kh- is written -g- in Vesāgā which represents Vaiśākha-. Now, Sk. -g- too > -y- in the 2nd c. A.D. [§1d.8], so that Vesāgā is a learned spelling in which -g- is wrongly written for -k- (i.e. for -kh-).

8. Sk. -g-

8.a. In the earliest times Sk. -g- is written -g-. In the 2nd c. A.D., however, -g- is written -k- in pohatakara (Vg.I) which represents Pa. pōsathāgāra-, cf. Sk. upavasathāgāra-. Now, -k- > -y- in the 2nd c. A.D. by the time of Pkn. [§1d.6] and the writing of -g- as -k- in pohatakara shows that -g- too > -y- by this time. Therefore pohatakara and the other instances (where -g- is written -k-) are incorrect learned spellings due to confusion of -g- and -k-.
-g- is written -k-, also in
Naka-; badakariya-; pohatakarahi; yaku, (yākuhaṭe); nakara-,
nakarahi, nakarā; S(i)ri-nakayī; nakaraka-.

8.b. The writing of -g- as -g- up to the time when -g- > -y- (i.e. Vg.I) shows that -g- survived as -g-.
-g- survived as -g-, in
agata-; anagata-; Naga-, (Na)ga(ha); Śivagutaha; Puśagutaha,
Puśagute, (Pu)śagutena.

8.c. -g- > -y- in the 2nd c. A.D. and it has survived as

such when the neighbouring vowel is Sk. -i- (or secondary -i- in Sgh.) or Sk. -a-. But when the neighbouring vowel is Sk. -u- (or secondary -u- in Sgh.) or Sk. -o-, this -y- < Sk. -g- was replaced by -v-. This is evident in the 10th c. A.D. in nuvarā < nagara- and guvanhi < gagana-. In both the -u- is secondary < Sk. -a- [§33, 3b]. After Sk. -o- in rov- < rōga-.

-g- > -y-

niyamatanahi; caya; diyaṭ [§33, 3a]; jiyal, (di)yal [§1d.].

-g- > -v-

nuvarā; guvanhi; rov-.

8.d. The complete loss of Sk. -g- (through -y-) first occurs in the 5th c. A.D. apparently in Mahadali- Mahana- cf. Pa.

Mahādāṭhika- Mahānāga- and in the 8th c. A.D. in Dalanā- cf.

Pa. Dāṭhanāga- but clearly however in the 10th c. A.D. in ā < āgata-; viyo- < viyōga-; piyo < prayōga-.

-g- is lost:

Mahana-; Dalanā-; ā; viyo-; piyo; piribo; lu-; pa(do)n-naru- if < -nagara- as aga. nuvara- < nagara- cf. also Marāṭhī ner < nagara- [BLLM. Index s.v. ner].

8.e. Even after the time of the change of -g- to -y- (or -v-) or the complete loss of -g- as in MSgh., -g- is written -g-, either as a conservative spelling or in loan-words: bhoga; viyagurak.

9. Sk. -gh-

9.a. Sk. -gh- is written -k- in the 4th c. A.D. in Sarimekavana- which represents ^{*}Śrīmēghavarna-. Sarimekavana- and (Siri)meka- (Rv.P) representing Śrīmēgha- are learned spellings where for the pronunciation -y-, -k- is wrongly written for -g- (i.e. for -gh-).

9.b. -gh- > -y- in meyin, meyak; Salameyvan-.

9.c. The complete loss of Sk. -gh- is evident towards the end of the 9th c. or beginning of the 10th c. A.D. in Salamevan- (Kv.P) cf. Pa. Silāmēghavanna-, as aga. this cf. Salameyvan-.

§35.

Palatals

1. Sk. c-

1.a. From the earliest times Sk. c- is written c-. In the 8th c. A.D., however, Sk. ch- is written s- in sidava (E.Z. IV, 3, 144, II) < √chid- cf. Pa. chindāpeti which shows that c- had become s- by this time.

This change of c- to s- in Sgh. has certain analogies in Modern Indian. Regarding the actual pronunciation of c we find divergences in Modern Indian. In Kaśmiri c frequently becomes

ts. [v. Grierson, ZDMG. 50, p.4]. Professor Turner in TND. p.745 gives the Kaśmiri forms with \dot{c} (= ts) and the five forms in which c is written he regards as loan-words in Kaśmiri. In Marāthi too c is pronounced \dot{c} (= ts) except before front vowels, when the palatal pronunciation is retained. In Marāthi the palatals have lost their 'chuintant' character before the vowels a, u and o. [v. Bloch LLM, §100, p.108]. In Oriya too there is a tendency to pronounce c as if it was ts. In Southern Oriya it is regularly pronounced ts except when vowel e, \bar{e} , i or \bar{i} follows when it has its proper sound. [v. LSI. Vol.V, Pt.II, p.379]. In the Carotar district the c in Gujarati is sounded ts [v. LSI. Vol.IX, Pt.II, p.339]. c is always pronounced s in Assamese and also in Western Hindi. [v. Grierson, ZDMG. 50, p.3]. In Eastern Bengali too c is pronounced s [v. LSI. Vol.V, Pt.I, p.31]. So with Marwari c is quite commonly pronounced s. [v. LSI. Vol.IX, Pt.II, p.20]. Over the rest of the area of Modern Indian c is normally found. According to Geiger [v. LSS. p.40, n.5] the affricate ts is to be taken as the intermediate stage between c- and s- in Sgh., and according to Bloch too [v. LIA. p.52], a pronunciation ts is to be supposed.

In Sgh. c- > s- regularly before all vowels. The s- (< c-) > h- and this h-falls together with h- < Sk. s- [§46, 3]. There is no example of Sk. c- > s- > h- in these Inss. but in the 10th c. occurs h- < s- < Sk. cy-, Pa. c- apparently in henu (K.429) if it represents an Infinitive from

Sk. cyavate, Pa. cavati. In MSgh. often double forms are found with s- and h-. The words with s- in MSgh. are presumably to be regarded as antique words imported from Old Sgh. and those with h- as the real modern forms, e.g. saṇḍa, haṇḍa < candra-; saṇḍun, haṇḍun < candana-.

- 1.b. Examples of c- written c- and pres. pron. ^{ts} up to the time when c- > s-.

catudisa-, catudiśa-; catiri, catara-; cara-; ceta, cata.

- 1.c. c- > s-

satar-, satara-; sorun; sit-; sivur-, sivur; situvam; (Solī); sā, se-, sey-.

Note: After the time when c- > s-, there is no instance where c- is written c-.

2. Sk. ch-

- 2.a. Examples of ch- written c- and pres. pron. ^{ts} up to the time when c- > s-.

cata; cidavi, cidavayaha.

- 2.b. ch- > s-

sidava, sindā; sat; sey-.

3. Sk. j-

- 3.a. Sk. j- first occurs in the 2nd c. B.C. in Vg. R.B.C. VI.

Here Sk. j- is written jh- in jhaya < jāyā. This is a learned reconstruction of Sk. jh- but is wrong since the aspirate did not exist in Sk. in this particular word. Then Sk. j- is written j- in jina- < jīrṇa- in Vg.II - 2nd c. A.D.; Jv. - 3rd c. A.D.; and Md.S. - 5th c. A.D. However, in the 2nd half of the 6th c. A.D. or the 1st half of the 7th c. A.D. Sk. d- is written j- apparently in jahasa- (B.P. Ins. III) and jahasaka- (B.P. Ins. VI) if < daśaśata-. (Both jahasa- and jahasaka- may be compounded with the preceding numerals, but as j- forms the first letter of the second member of the compound, it may be taken as initial). This writing presumably shows that Sk. j- had become d- in Sgh. by this time; jahasa- and jahasaka- are then learned spellings where the scribe wrongly wrote j- for d-. In the 8th c. A.D., however, Sk. j- is written d- clearly in Dam(b)- div (Gd.R.a) < Jambu- dvīpa- and dunu (Gd.R.a) < janita + bhūta-. From this time onwards Sk. j- and Sk. d- fell together in Sgh. as d-.

For the change of Sk. j- to d- in Sgh. a pronunciation dz is to be supposed according to Bloch [v. LIA. p.52]. This change too has certain analogies in Modern Indian. In Southern Oriya there is a tendency, which becomes more and more accentuated as we go South, to pronounce j as dz, but not before the vowels e, ē, i or ī. [v. LSI. Vol. V, Pt.II, p.379]. In the Carotar district, j in Gujarati is sounded dz. [v. LSI. Vol.IX, Pt. II, p.339]. j in Assamese is pronounced like z; so also in

vulgar Bengali and Bihari; also in Kaśmiri, it sometimes becomes z. [v. Grierson, ZDMG. 50, p.4]. Professor Turner in TND, gives only one Kaśmiri form with j [v. p.747] and all the rest he gives with z [v. p.752]. In Marāthi j retains the pronunciation as real palatal before the vowels i, ī, e, ē, ai and y. In other cases j is pronounced as dz. [v. LSI. Vol.IV, p.586]. In Sgh. j- > d- regularly before all vowels.

3.b. Example of j- written j- and pres. pron. ^z dz- up to the time when j- > d-.

jina-.

3.c. j- > d-

Damb-; dunu; dā; dunū-; diya; (di)yaḷ; Denā-; dānā; danvā; dāyin.

3.d. Even after the time when j- > d-, as in MSgh., j- is written j-, either as a conservative spelling or in loan-words:

jā; jiyaḷ.

4. Sk. jh-

There is no example of a Sk. jh- in these Inss.. Bloch in his LLM. §107, p.116 remarks "This phoneme is rare in Sk.; it appears in words without etymology or of a clearly Prakritic nature" [v. also Wackernagel, §141].

5. Sk. c and j which constitute the first letter of the second member of a compound behave like initial Sk. c- and j-

respectively. In these cases the compound has been formed in Sgh. or is a loan from Pa. or Sk.. Examples:

5.a. -c- written -c- in cmpds. and pres. pron. ṣ -ts-.

-catudiśa-, -catudidisa-; -Citaya; -cetahi, -ceya; -cada-;
-catara-.

5.b. -c- > -s- (in cmpds.)

-sorun; -sirit, -siriti, -siritat; -satar-; -sivu-; -sand,
-sandnen.

5.c. -j- written -j- in cmpds. and pres. pron. ṣ -dz-.

-jina-.

5.d. -j- > -d- (in cmpds.)

-danmaye; -diva-, -dīv-, -div-; -dana-; -dena, -dena-, -denā,
-denaku, -denakhat; -danavu, -danavū; -dāyin, -dā, -dāyak;
-dāla-; -diyat; -dā-.

5.e. The writing j in -jāyin occurring after the change of j- to d- is either a conservative spelling or denotes a lw..

6. Sk. -c-

6.a. Sk. -c- is first found in the 2nd c. A.D. in -ca (Tp.S) < -ca. As -ca is an enclitic, forming a unity with the preceding word, it may be considered as intervocalic. Here, Sk. -c- is written -c- but already in the 2nd c. A.D. Sk. -c- is written -j- in bikujarana (K.S.I) < V. ṣ $\bar{a}c\bar{a}riya-$, Sk. $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya-$ showing

that the voicing of -c- had taken place by this time. Again in the 5th c. A.D. -c- is written -j- in (pa)jina- (Lg.I) < prācīna- which shows that -c- was still pronounced -j-. After this there is no occurrence of Sk. -c- until the 10th c. A.D. when -c- is written -d- in ädur- (K.429) < V. ^u acāriya-, Sk. ācārya-, or -d (K.429) < -ca and this writing shows that -c- through -j- had become -d- by this time.

6.b. Presumably then, during the period between the KS.I Ins. (2nd c. A.D.) and the K.429 Ins. (915 A.D.) -c- was pronounced -j- (i.e.*dz). However, in the following instances occurring within this period, -c- is written -c- and not -j-, either as a conservative spelling or in loan-words:
-ca, -ce, ica; pacanahi.

6.c. Even after the time when Sk. -c- through -j- > -d-, Sk. -c- is written -j- and not -d- as seen in vajan (An.Sk.) which represents vacana- or ājara- (An.Sk.) which represents V. ^u acāriya-, Sk. ācārya-. Now, original Sk. -j- > -d- in the 10th c. A.D. [§id.7], so that -d- < original Sk. -j- and -d- < -j- < original Sk. -c- fell together in Sgh. and therefore the writing of Sk. -c- as -j- in the following are learned spellings and for the pronunciation -d- the scribe wrongly wrote -j- for -c-:
vajan; ājara-; -ij; -uj; vajāleyin, vajāranuvan.

As against these, the writing of Sk. -c- as -c- for a pronunciation -d- points to learned spellings correctly restored

in *acāryayan* and *vicāra-* or it shows that they are loan-words from Sk..

6.d. -c- > -d-

vadan; *ādur-*; -d, -da, -ud; *pādum-*; *vadāleyin*, *vadālayin*, *vadālein*, *vadārannan*, *vadāranuvan*, *vadāla*.

6.e. Geiger suggests that intervocalic Sk. -c- too > -s- in Sgh. [v. SghG. §44(2)]. This view is incorrect since Sk. -c- regularly > -d- as shown above. Geiger rightly points out that *isā* (Gd. R.a), however, as the long *ā* shows, has nothing to do with Sk. -ca. It is < *saha* with auxiliary *i-* cf. MSgh. *hā* [v.id. §45]. Of the many examples with -s- in MSgh. given by Geiger [v. id. §44,(2)] only five, namely, *risi*, *pisanu*, *miris*, *rusiru*, *nisulu* seem at first sight to represent a Sk. -c-. The rest, as pointed out by Geiger himself, clearly represent a Mid. Ind. -cc-, -cch-, -ñc-, -ñch-. But it is apparent that even the above-mentioned five instances represent a Mid. Ind. -cc- [§51, 1b] rather than a Sk. -c-. Hence, *risi* is < Pk. *ruccida-* [§11, 11, 2b.] rather than < Sk. *ruci-*; *pisanu* is due to a confusion between *pacati* and *pacyate* [§33, 4], cf. Pa. *paccati* rather than directly < Sk. *pacati*; *miris* is < Mid.Ind. * *maricca-* [TND. s.v. *maric*] rather than < Sk. *marica-*; *rusiru* is < Mid. Ind. * *ruccira-* cf. Sk. *rucya-*, Pa. *ruccati*, Pk. *ruccai* rather than < Sk. *rucira-*; *nisulu* 'name of a tree' is < Mid. Ind. * *niccula-* rather than < Sk. *nicula-*.

7. Sk. -j-

7.a. Sk. -j- is first found in the 1st c. B.C. in And. C.I. Here Sk. -j- is written -jh- in rajha- < rājan-. This is a learned reconstruction of Sk. -jh- but is wrong since the aspirate did not exist in Sk. in this particular word. Then from the 1st c. A.D. onwards Sk. -j- is written -j-. In the 10th c. A.D., however, Sk. -j- is written -d- apparently in Vadurā- (K.429) cf. Pa. vajira- cf. Sk. vajra-, but clearly in rad- (Rb) < rājan-, and this shows that Sk. -j- > -d- by this time.

7.b. Examples of -j- written -j- and pres. pron. ^z -dz- up to the time when -j- > -d-.

raja-, rajaha, raje, raji, raja, raje-mi, raj-, rajol-, raj;
r(e)jana-, rej(e)na; bojaka-, bo(ji)ya-, beji-, beja-.

7.c. -j- > -d-

Vadurā-; rad-, radhu, radahu, radolen, radolan, radānan,
(rā)dayan; vadnā; vādā; vāddā; ted-, tedin; yedmen; Viduragu-.

7.d. Now, even after the time when -j- > -d-, -j- is written -j-, either as a conservative spelling or in loan-words:
rajhu, raju-, raj-, rajhaṭ; rājna-, rājna-; tej-; vājāmbā;
Vijuragu-.

§36.

Cerebrals1. Sk. ṭ-

Initial ṭ- remains unchanged in Sgh.. Examples are, however, very rare [v. GSghG. §48 (1)]. In the 10th c. A.D. occurs ṭik < ṭikkikā-. This may be compounded with the preceding word talā- < tilaka-, but as ṭ forms the first letter of the second member of the compound, ṭ may be taken as initial.

2. Sk. ḍ-

Initial ḍ- remains as ḍ-, but examples are very rare [v. id. §48 (2)]. There is no example of a ḍ- in these Inss..

3. Intervocalic Cerebrals

On the other hand, intervocalic cerebrals are frequent in Sgh.. Already in the R̥gveda, -ḍ- and -ḍh- > -ḷ- and -ḷh- respectively [v. Wackernagel I, p.XXIII and §222]. Bloch in his LLM. §146 remarks "the change of -ḍ-, -ḍh- to -ḷ-, -ḷh- is constant in the R̥gveda; but Classical Sanskrit has restored the old pronunciation and reintroduced -ḍ- and -ḍh- everywhere". There need not be any question of a restoration of -ḍ- and -ḍh- in Classical Sanskrit. It is a question of dialect. The R̥gveda was based on a dialect where -ḍ-, -ḍh- > -ḷ-, -ḷh- regularly, whereas Classical Sanskrit was based on

a dialect where -ḍ-, -ḍh- were conserved.

The intervocalic cerebrals (-ṭ-, -ṭh-, -ḍ-, -ḍh-) all become -ḷ- in Sgh.. Geiger in his LSS. §14(6), p.39 remarks "this is a direct continuation of a sound-change which started already in the Pali-stage, is continued in the Prakrit-stage and is consequently accomplished in Sgh.; in Pali -ḍ-, -ḍh- > -ḷ-, -ḷh-, though one finds in isolated instances the change of -ṭ- to -ḷ- as in kakkhala- 'hard' < kakkhata-; in Prakrit similarly -ḍ- > -ḷ- and intervocalic cerebral surds are sonorized. By this, is the first step reached for the change as a whole, of the cerebral surds as well, to -ḷ- in Sgh.."

Geiger is not justified in going back only to the Pali-stage for the change of -ḍ-, -ḍh- to -ḷ- in Sgh.. Undoubtedly in Pali -ḍ-, -ḍh- > -ḷ-, -ḷh-. But this was the regular development in the Ṛgveda, so that the Sgh. change of -ḍ-, -ḍh- to -ḷ- may go back to the same stage as the Ṛgveda. The Pali change too was early like that of the Ṛgveda. This change in Sgh. cannot be connected with Prakrit, because although in Prakrit -ḍ- > -ḷ- [v. Pischel, PKG. §240], -ḍh- remained unchanged in all dialects [v. id. §242].

The change of Sk. -ṭ- to -ḷ- through -ḍ- in Sgh., as Geiger suggests, may go back to Prakrit, for Sk. -ṭ- > -ḍ- in Prakrit [v. Pischel, PKG. §198] and in Ardhamāgadhī and Māgadhī -ṭ- > -ḷ- [v. id. §238].

In Marathi alone, among Modern Indian, does there seem to be a differentiation between Sk. -ṭ- and -ḍ-, for in Marathi

Sk. -ṭ- > -ḍ- [v. Bloch, LLM. §111] and Sk. -ḍ- > -ḷ- [v. id. §146]. Everywhere else in Modern Indian, as well as in Sgh., Sk. -ṭ- ^{and} ~~and~~ -ḍ- seem to be confused. Bloch in his LLM. §146, p.150 remarks "Would the change of -ḍ- to -ḷ- in Marathi go back to the Vedic language? One would not dare to affirm it." Bloch in this statement is quite justified, for although in Marathi -ḍ- > -ḷ-, on the contrary -ḍh- is conserved as -ḍh- [v. id. §111], whereas both -ḍ-, -ḍh- > -ḷ-, -ḷh- in the Rgveda. On the other hand, there is no evidence to show that the change of -ḍ-, -ḍh- to -ḷ- in Sgh. does not go back to the Rgveda, except the fact that the other eastern dialects of India with which Sgh. is associated have preserved original -ḍ-, -ḍh- as -ṛ-, -ṛh-.

4. Sk. -ṭ-

4.a. Sk. -ṭ- is apparently first found in the 1st c.

A.D. in Kuḍakana- (Mv. I) if it represents Pa. Kuṭakanna- < Sk. ^ṛ Kuṭakarna-; here -ṭ- is written -ḍ- which presumably shows the voicing of -ṭ- by this time. Proof of -ṭ- written -ḍ- is found in the last quarter of the 2nd c.

A.D. in paḍi-dine (Vg. II) < prati- (or ^ṛ pṛti- ?) [v. Professor Turner, BSOS. VIII, p.205], and in atadi (KS.I) < ^ṛ astṛta-. In both Sk. -ṭ- > -ṭ- because of preceding -ṛ-, -ṛ- [§38, 7a, 7c], and the writing -ḍ- shows that the voicing of -ṭ- had taken place at least by the 2nd c. A.D. The writing of -ṭ- as -ṭ- in haṭika and paṭisatiriya- denotes either a

conservative spelling or loan-words.

4.b. Sk. -ḍ- had become -ḷ- by the 3rd c. A.D. [§1d., 6a] and -ḍ- < Sk. -ṭ- must have fallen together with original -ḍ- and become -ḷ- at the same time. The writing of -ṭ- as -ḍ- in the 4th c. in *hakada-* < *śakaṭa-* and *pekaḍaka* < *pēṭaka-ka-*? denotes incorrect learned spellings due to confusion of -ṭ- and -ḍ- which had both become -ḷ-. *āḍi-* (An.Sk; Vg.S.Dp.) < *ātōpa-*? is explained similarly (MSgh. *edī* cf. §10, 6, is presumably a spelling pronunciation based on *āḍi-*). As against these the writing of -ṭ- as -ṭ- in *hakata-* < Sk. *śakaṭa-* and *veṭayala-* < * *viṭiyālu-* denotes either learned spellings correctly restored or loan-words.

4.c. The actual writing -ḷ- for -ṭ- is attested in the 8th c. A.D. in *kaḷa-* (Gd.R.b) < * *kaṭa-* < *kṛta-*.

4.d. -ṭ- > -ḷ-

kaḷa, *kaḷavun*, *kaḷahu*, *kaḷamaṇā-*; *kukulaṇ*, (*kukul*)-; *taḷā*; *paḷa-*, *pāḷa-*; *baḷa-*; *piḷivelānen*; [*ma*]ḷa; *apiḷisarāṇa-*; *a(ḷa)*; *piḷima-*; *pataḷa-*; *vaḍāḷa*, *vaḍāḷayin* etc.; *haḍāḷa*. In *gāl* perh. due to a cross bet. *gantrī-* and *śakaṭa-*, the expected -ḷ is written -ḷ as -ḷ is not allowed at the end of a word in Sgh. [v. GSghG. p.12, n.4]; cf. however MSgh. *gāḷa* sg. fm. of *gāl* where -ṭ- has become -ḷ-; *bālayaṭa* if < * *bhāṭika-* is either error for *bāḷāyaṭa* or shows confusion of -ḷ- and -ḷ- in Sgh. [§45, 4c; also cf. Introduction].

5. Sk. -ṭh-

Sk. -ṭh- > -ḷ- probably at the time when -ṭ- > -ḷ- and is attested in the 5th c. in Mahadaḷi- Mahana- (Md.8) if representing Pa. Mahādāṭhika- Mahānāga-, and in the 8th c. in Daḷana- < Pa. Dāṭhanāga-.

-ṭh- > -ḷ-

Daḷana-; poḷo-, poḷov-; Goḷobā-; paḷamu-.

6. Sk. -ḍ-

- 6.a. In the 1st c. B.C. is found Anuḍi- (And. C.III; C. VIIla), Anuḍiya (And. C.II) 'Nom. Prop.'. In MSgh. occurs Anuḷā [v. also B.Z.I, 4, 143] which perhaps is a descendant of the 1st c. B.C. form Anuḍi-; both these forms presumably suggest a Sk. *Anuḍī-, in which case Sk. -ḍ- is written as -ḍ- showing thereby that Sk. -ḍ- survived as -ḍ- in the 1st c. B.C.. Then in the 1st c. A.D. occurs aḍi (Mv.I) which presumably goes back to a Sk. *aḍi- as is attested by Oriya āṛi-; the writing of Sk. -ḍ- as -ḍ- again in the 1st c. A.D. shows therefore that Sk. -ḍ- still survived as -ḍ-.^{††} There is no example of a Sk. -ḍ- in the 2nd c. A.D. However, the writing doḷasa- (Jv.) < EAś. duvāḍasa- in the 3rd c. A.D. shows that Sk. -ḍ- had become -ḷ- by this time, and therefore Sgh. -ḷ- < -ḍ- has no connection with R̥gvedic -ḷ-.

(xx) MSgh. āḷa, beside āḷa < āḷi-, also attests a Sk. -ḍ- and presumably has the 1st c. A.D. form aḍi i.e. aḍi [cf. §1,5] as its prototype.

6.b. -ḍ- > -ḷ-

elḷu; soḷos-; doḷasa-, doḷos- < EAs. duvāḍasa-; pasaloḷos- < * pañcaḍaśa-, cf. Sk. ṣoḍaśa-; ekaḷos- < * ekāḍaśa-, cf. Sk. ṣoḍaśa-; doḷnen < * dōhaḍa- < dauhrda-; illā, illanu, illat, illi(ye)min may represent Sk. $\sqrt{\text{īḍ-}}$, īḍayati. The writing -ḷ- is then an error for expected -ḷ- or it shows a confusion of -ḷ- and -ḷ- in Sgh. [§45,4c; also cf. Introduction.].

7. Sk. -ḍh-

Sk. -ḍh- > -ḷ- probably at the time when Sk. -ḍ- > -ḷ-, but examples are only found in the 10th c. A.D.: Aseḷā, Āseḷā, Āseḷ-, Āseḷa-; daḷa-; muḷ-, muḷin.

§37.

Dentals1. Sk. t-

1.a. Initial t- remains:

Taladara-; Tiśaha, Tiśa-, Tisa-, Tiśā-; Tiśaya; tumaha, tamahaṭ, tuman, tumanat, tamanat, taman, tumā, tamā; tela, tel; tak-; Tana-; tiyā; talā-; tāvī; tal, talan.

1.b. The initial t- of Sk. tiṣṭhati is changed to c-, as t- is followed by a palatal vowel and -ṣ-. Pali preserved the t- cf.

Pa. tiṭṭhati, but in Prakrit the change of t- to c- had taken place cf. Pk. ciṭṭhadi. This word is lost in India proper, but survives in Kalāṣa as ciṣṭim 'I stand' and in Sgh.. In the 4th c. A.D. occurs ciṭavaya (Tg.R) and in the 10th c. siṭā (Kb; Pl.S), siṭvami (An.Sk.), cf. MSgh. hiṭinu < Pk. √ ciṭṭh-. But when the following vowel is other than palatal Sk. t- survives as t- in these languages e.g. Sk. tuṣṭaḥ 'pleased', Pa.Pk. tuṭṭha-, Shina tuṭu, Sgh. tuṭu. Also when the next syllable begins with a palatal, there is a tendency to assimilation of initial t- to the palatal c- in some dialects. Pali preserves t- but in Prakrit the palatal is found, e.g. Sk. tucchyah 'empty', tucchah 'vain'; Pa. tuccho 'empty', Pk. chuccha-; Rom. cuco; B. chūc, chūcā; H.P. chūchā; N. chuco, chucco; as opposed to t- in D. tor. tūṣ; K.tāch [TND. s.v. chuco]. MSgh. has sis 'empty' < Pk. chuccha-.

2. Sk. th-

"In Sk. this consonant has no real existence initially."
[v. Bloch, LLM. §122].

3. Sk. d-

3.a. Initial d- remains:

Devaha, Deva-, Devayaha, (Da)va-; devanapiya-, devānapiya-; daka-, diya-, diye; di-, dihi-; dariyana; daruyana, daruya, daru-, daru; Daḷanā-; dasan; dakun-, dakini- (§27, 1d); davas; dorin; Demel-; daṇḍ, daṇḍā, daṇḍa-; des; daṇḍuvam; dāyakayan,

dāyaku, dāyaka-; Devā-; dala-; dolasa-, dolos-, dolos; dasa-; dasan-; dahasak, dahasa; dine, dini, dinaka, dina, di, da, daya, demi, deva, dun, demin, dennat, denu, dī, dinmi, denva(nu), dunuvan, dunmaha, dunnumaha, denu-ladi, denu-ladi, devā; dane, da(na), dāna-.

- 3.b. According to Professor Turner, Sk. d- appears as d- everywhere in Modern Indian except in Sindhī where it becomes a cerebral implosive ḍ- and words having an initial dental in Sindhī are to be regarded as loan-words. [TND. Sindhī p.873 v.s. d- section]. In only one word is there an apparent assimilation of Sk. d- to j- e.g. Sk. duhitā; Pa. dhītā; Pk. dhūā, dhīā; G.P.H. dhī, dhiyā; B. jhī; O. jhia etc. [v. Bloch, LLM. Index, s.v. dhūv]. In Vg. R.B.C. II b (2nd c. B.C.) occurs jhita. Wickremasinghe in E.Z.I, 1, 17, considers jhita an old Pali form, but there is no instance of a change of Sk. d- to j- (jh-) even in Pali. According to Professor Turner this may be an abnormal sound change in this particular nursery word. However, B. jhī and O. jhia may attest an actual * jhitā and Sgh. of the 2nd c. B.C. presumably kept the old spelling of * jhitā and the 5th c. form jitra (Rv.P) - Instr. sg. - represents * jhitā, whereas MSgh. dū, duva represents Sk. duhitā.

4. Sk. dh-

dh- > d-

Damarakita-; dariya; dunu; dunuvā; deruvanā, deruvanā, deruva(n); dā-.

5. Sk. t and Sk. d (dh) which constitute the first letter of the second member of a compound survive as t and d respectively. In these cases the compound has been formed in Sgh. or is a loan from Pa. or Sk..

5.a. -t- > -t- (in cmpds.)

-Ti(śa)ya; -Tisaha, -Tiśaha, -Tisa-, -Tiśe; -tila-; -tela-,
-telat, -tel-; -tuvāk-, -tuvak-, -tāk-; -tala; pa-tuḷ; -tej-,
-ted-, -tedin; -Tisaram-; -tik-; -talā.

5.b. -d- > -d- (in cmpds.)

-da(ne), -dan-; paḍi-dine; -dorika-, -doraya-, -dorahi, -dor;
-daka-, -diya-; -dasa-; -divasa, -davas, -davasakat; -(dukula);
-Dalānā-; -daruyun, -daruvan, -daruva-mo; -daḍ, -daṇḍ; -Dapula-,
-Dapulu-; -desen, -deshi; -desun; -dap; -dilind-; -dun; -da- <
-da- 'giving'; -das-; -dala-; -dolasa-, -dolos-.

5.c. -dh- > -d- (in cmpds.)

-Dham-; -(dārā).

6. Sk. -t-

- 6.a. In the earliest times Sk. -t- is written -t-. But in the 2nd c. A.D. -t- is written -y- in hiya- (Pkm.) < hita- showing that -t- was pronounced -y- by this time. The writing of -t- as -t- up to this time shows that -t- survived as -t-.

-t- survived as -t-:

Damarakita-; agata-; anagata-; catudiśa-, catudisa-, catudidisa-;

pitaha; jhita [§1d.3b]; gapati-; ya(te); Budarakita-; etehi;
 bhatu-; karite; patit̥h(i)te; pavata-; niyate; sate(hi);
 satehiya.

6.b. Sk. -d- is written -t- in pata- (KS.I) < pāda-. If KS.I was earlier than Pkm. (i.e. when -t- > -y-), the writing of -d- as -t- would point to the voicing of -t-. But if KS.I was contemporaneous with or later than Pkm., then this writing would show that Sk. -d- too was pronounced -y- by this time [§1d.8a].

6.c. -t- > -y-

hiya-; pavaya-, pa(viye), pā(vi)yehi; visiya-; vayu; ceya; saya-,
 siyak; sayaka-; kereyani; hoyā-; giya; dāyin, jāyin, dāyak;
 nimiyatā, nimiyata; -yi.

6.d. In the following instances, however, occurring in the 10th c. -t- is written -v-; here the -y- < Sk. -t- was replaced by -v- due perhaps to the following labial vowel -u- in sivu- < catu-, the preceding secondary labial vowel -u- in ruvan-, ruvan, ruvanhi < Pa. ratana- [§33, 3b], the preceding labial vowel -o- in povā if < pōtaka-. In kavari- < katara-, however, -v- occurs even without a neighbouring labial vowel.

6.e. In the 10th c. -t- is written -h- in pihit̥i, pihit̥i-lw. Pa. patit̥thita-.

6.f. Sk. -t- is written -k- in the 5th c. in karavika < kārāpita- and in the 2nd half of the 6th c. or 1st half of the

7th c. in jahasaka- < daśaśata- [§35, 3a]. Now, Sk. -k- > -y- in the 2nd c. A.D. [§34, 6c] and so did Sk. -t- [v. above], so from the 2nd c. A.D. a pronunciation -y- represented original -k- or -t-; hence karavika and jahasaka- are incorrect learned spellings.

6.g. The complete loss of -t- (through -y-) first occurs in the 4th c. in peni- < phāṇita-. Also in the following:

ama-; dāha(sa)-, jahasa-, dahasak, dahasa; rici-; cara-; dunu-; karu, kārū-; kārāvū, kārṇvū; lu-, lū; hindvū; visi-; māṇiyan; Hīlā; senevi-; ā; deruvanā, deruva(n); vū-, vū; lāṅgū, nāṅgū; pihīti-, pihīti; (he)viṭṭiyen (error for hoviṭṭiyen); kī; keṭū; sā-, se-; vādāvū-; vālāṇḍu, vālāṇḍūvan; dunuvā; heḷi-; dā, jā < jāta-; paha-; vāḍiya(n); dā- < dhātu-; piṇḍisvūvan; nāyan; ikmā; vānū; jiyal, (di)yal; ariyū; sīyan; sā-; ho; pavu; dā; Denā-; tābāvū, tābāvūhu; sādi; yāvū; pīrikāpū; vāsvū; itiri-; gi-; piri-; dā-; tāvī; siriti.

6.h. Now, even after the change of -t- to -y- or the complete loss of -t-, -t- is written -t- either as a conservative spelling or in loan-words:

pita-; Ratana-; visiti-; ceta, cetahi, cata; vadita; batavaṭṭita-; sama(te)ya-; (huti); legitaka; niyata; pava(ta)-; anumovatu; vaṭṭitani; sataka-; patin; vat, vatā, vatin; samvatā; samahita; nimiyatā, nimiyata; katikā; suta-.

7. Sk. -th-

7.a. -th- written -t- in the 2nd c. A.D. in pohatakara (Vg.I) occurring before -t- > -y- shows that -th- survived as -t- at that time, but in pohatakarahi (Vg.II) after -t- > -y- denotes ^{either} a conservative spelling or loan-word Pali.

7.b. -th- > -y- in the following occurring in the 10th c.:
kiyā, kiyena-; veyā.

7.c. Loss of -th- is also found in the 10th c. A.D., in poho-, pohoyā; kī.

8. Sk. -d-

8.a. -d- is written -d- in the 1st c. B.C. in Bamadata- < Brahmadatta- and śudaśane < sudarśana-. There is no instance of -d- in the 1st c. A.D.

In the 2nd c. A.D., however, -d- is written -t- in pata- (KS.I) < pāda-. -t- > -y- by the time of Pkm. [§1d.6b] and the writing of -d- as -t- in pata- shows that -d- too > -y- by the 2nd c. A.D. because pata- is an incorrect learned spelling due to confusion of -t- and -d-, which both > -y- by this time. Kumaratasa- (Ng.R) < Kumāradāsa- is explained similarly.

Up to the time when -d- > -y-, Sk. -d- survived as -d-. The writing -d- in the 1st c. B.C. in Bamadata- and śudaśane [v. above] points therefore to a pronunciation of -d- as -d- at that time.

8.b. -d- > -y-

bayali-, bayalihi; piya-; payak, paya-, payha; pe-; naynen; pahayā.

8.c. -d- is written -v-, however, in the 5th c. in anumovatu < anumōdatu and in the 10th c. in sohovur- < sahōdara-; here the -y- < Sk. -d- was replaced by -v- due to the preceding labial vowel -o-.

8.d. Examples of the complete loss of -d- are found in the 10th c., in

danavu, danavū; pā-; pa-tul; mahāpānan; (nā)nen; pā-, pahāhi < prāsada-; āpā-, āpāhu; ā-; mahayā-; -se; -sey, -seyin; -seyekin.

8.e. Now, even after the time of the change of -d- to -y- or the complete loss of -d-, -d- is written -d-, either as a conservative spelling or in loan-words:

Budadasa-, Buddas-; Parideva- (error for Paridadeva-); Mahadara-galaha; Vasadavaya (error for Vasudevaya-); ~~bedum~~; Uda-, Udā-; ādihi; vivādayak; adan; manda [cf. §58,5]; (anadara)-Māndindinā.

9. Sk. -dh-

9.a. -dh- is written -d- in the 2nd c. B.C. in Taladara- < Tulādhāra-. After this there is no occurrence of -dh- until the 4th c. A.D. when -dh- is written -y- in miya- < madhu-,

showing that -dh- > -y- at least by this time. The writing of -dh- as -d- in the 2nd c. B.C. in Taladara- shows therefore that -dh- survived as -d- at that time.

9.b. -dh- > -y-

B(o)ya-, Boy-, Boyim; ariyū; ariyay; soyay.

9.c. -dh- is lost in the 4th c. A.D. in di- < dadhi-. Also in Bo-; mī-, mīvan, mivan.

9.d. In the 10th c. -dh- is written -h- in dihi- < dadhi-, ~~sāha~~ < ~~sāhanam~~? and sāhun < sādhitā- ??.

9.e. In the 5th c. -dh- is written -t- in Saratarayaha if representing Sk. Śrīdhara + ārya-. Now, -t- > -y- in the 2nd c. A.D. and -dh- > -y- at least by the 4th c., so that from the 4th c. a pronunciation -y- represented an original -t- or -dh-; hence Saratarayaha is an incorrect learned spelling.

§38.

r or ṛ + Dental

1. Professor Turner [v. JRAS. Oct. 1921, 'Gujarati Phonology' §43] remarks "The Indo-European single series of dentals has, in India, split into two series, dental and cerebral; the

Primitive Indian cerebrals, having their origin in dentals, were due to contact with *s* or *z* [v. Wackernagel, I, §145a.]. But in the earliest Sanskrit monuments there are words containing cerebrals derived from dentals under the influence of a neighbouring *r* or *ṛ*." [v. Wackernagel, id. §146-147].

After an examination of the Aśoka Inscriptions, T. Michelson considers the cerebralization in Middle Indian as an eastern phenomenon. [v. Am.PJ. XXX, pp.240,294,416,418]. In Ardha-Māgadhī the treatment is predominantly cerebral, while in Saurāśenī and Mahārāṣṭrī it is dental [v. Pischel, PKG. §§219; 288-291]. Pali for the most part has the dental treatment, beside the cerebral. [v. also Geiger, PLS. §42].

In Modern Indian, an exact dialectical division is not certain owing to the mixture of vocabulary. But, in the West the treatment is regularly dental, as shown for Marathi by Bloch in LLM. §116, p.124. According to Professor Turner, in Gujarati and Sindhi too the development is dental, while in the East, such as Bengali and Oriya, and in the extreme North-West, the resultant consonant is a cerebral.

2. In Sgh. the development is undoubtedly that of Ardha-Māgadhī i.e. cerebral, which attests an eastern origin for it. The forms with the dental in MSgh. are presumably due to their being loan-words from Pali or they have been borrowed from some western dialect of India.

Bloch in LLM. §114 derives MSgh. *vat* < *vartman*- 'road'

and shows it an isolated instance with a dental form. Professor Turner shows that vartman- appears with the cerebral in Middle and Modern Indian [TND. s.v. *bāto*] and gives Sgh. *vātu* < ^z *vaṭṭi-* beside *vat*. MSgh. *vātu* with the expected cerebral shows that *vat* does not directly represent *vartman-* but is perhaps the result of a contamination between *vartman-* and *pantha-* 'road' and *-t-* represents *-nth-* of *pantha-*. Cf. also MSgh. *māvata* 'highway' < *mahāpantha-*, cf. Sk. Pa. *mahāpatha-*.

3. Sk. -rt-

3.a. *-rt-* appears as *-ṭ-*, in *vaṭavi*; *vaṭitani*; *vaṭanu*, *vāṭena-*; *vaṭa*; *vāṭ-*, *vaṭha*.

parivavaṭa (Tp.S) according to Parānavitana [E.Z.III, 3, 119] represents ^z *parivyāvarta-* in view of the two *v*'s. But *parivavaṭa* may be from Sk. *parivarta-* 'exchange; barter' or Sk. *parivṛtta-* 'exchanged' and the two *v*'s an instance of ditto-graphy. Parānavitana in E.Z. 1d. takes *parivavaṭa* as the precursor of mediaeval Sgh. *pirul* (*pirulu* 'answer; reply') and MSgh. *pirivaṭa* (*piruvaṭa-* 'cloth or dress lent by a washerman to a person to be worn while his own is being washed' CSghD.). But, both *pirul* and *pirivaṭa* cannot have the same origin, because *-l-* in Sgh. would represent a single intervocalic cerebral of Sk., whereas a *-ṭ-* of Sgh. would represent a Sk. *-rt-*, *-rth-*, Mid.Ind. *-ṭṭ-*, *-ṭṭh-*. MSgh. *pirivaṭa* (*piruvaṭa*) may be a descendant of the inscriptional *parivavaṭa* and rightly attests

Sk. parivarta- or parivṛtta- for the origin of parivavāṭa, where the scribe wrote two v's by mistake. I am unable to offer any etymology for pirulu.

3.b. As against these, -rt- appears as -t- in the following:

Kit-, Kit, Kitim, Śiri-kita- lw. Pa. kitti-; kitti lw. Pa. id.; pavatnā lw. Pa. pavattanāya; vaturen lw.? Sk. vartarūka-, ~~has the dental instead of the cerebral.~~

4. Sk. -rth-

4.a. -rth- appears as -ṭ- in visiyāṭi- < vasi + arthin-; also in the Dative sg. and pl. Postfixes - aṭaya, -aṭa, -aṭ [v. GSghG. §112]. -aṭaya corresponds to Mid.Ind. * -aṭṭhāya, Sk. * -arthāya. -aṭa, -aṭ correspond to Mid.Ind. * -aṭṭham, Sk. * -artham: sagahataya; vaṭataya; vaherataya; hamāṇana(ya) (error for hamāṇanataya); sagahata; mapurumakahata; Apayahata; vaharata; pacayata; vaṭakata; vattata; avasata; bālayata; satanata; meknata; lenat; kumburat; gamat; sangnat; satnat; batat; dennat; payalat; pirivenat; Poonavullat; (bandva)nnat; (Ki)tambavāhat; hindvannat; bimat, bimakat; halat; kāmiyanat; Kapāramulat; meyat; peret; get; eyat; kuḍīnat; vattat; sīmavat; tamahat; tānat, tanat, tānakat; (sthāna)yat; divat; varadat; navamat; paṭavannat; yavannat; minisnat; avasat; kulat; rajhat; vadnat; annat; laduvanat; pasayat; davasakat; milāyat; karuvanat; meheyat; veherat; tumanat, tamanat; Mahagāpiyovat; himiyanat;

ranat; eknat, ekkeneknat, keneknat; budnat; telat; diyat;
denakhat; lakat; siritat; kamat; rākmat; vāpārayanat.

- 4.b. As against these, -rth- appears as -t- in the following:
Patana- lw. Pa. patthana-; patā lw. Pa. pattheti.

5. Sk. -rd-

- 5.a. -rd- appears as -ḍ-, in māṇḍā (An.Sk.) (with intrusive nasal cf. §58,5) < mardati [TND. s.v. māṇu] but also perh. < *mrndati ? cf. mrnatti.

- 5.b. In the following, however, -rd- appears as -d-:
catudiśa-, catudisa-, catudidisa- (-d- written twice erroneously)
lw. Pa. catuddisa-; tudus- represents Sk. caturdaśa-; here the dental is found in Mid.Ind. and everywhere in Mod.Ind. [TND. s.v. cauda].

6. Sk. -rdh-

- 6.a. -rdh- appears as -ḍ-, in Vāḍamanaka-; poḍavaya; aḍa-, aḍ-; here the dental is found everywhere in Mod.Ind. [TND. s.v. ādha]; vaḍu-, vaḍha, vāḍu; vaḍā, vāḍā; vāḍiya(n); vāḍāvū-.

- 6.b. However, in vadita (KS.I) cf. Sk. vardhita-, the dental is presumably borrowed from a Pa. form like vaddhana- 'increase' found beside Pa. vaddhana-, cf. Sk. vardhana-.

7. Sk. -ṛt-

- 7.a. -t- immediately following -r_o- becomes cerebralized.
 The writing atadī < āstṛta- in the 2nd c. A.D. shows that -t- > -ṭ- because of preceding -r_o- and was then voiced. Then, from the time when Sk. -ṭ- > -ḷ- [§36,4a] the -ṭ- < Sk. -(r)t- too > -ḷ-. For examples v.s. -ṭ- > -ḷ- [§36,4d].
- 7.b. However, in sata- (Pkm) the dental is due perhaps to its being a lw. Pa. sata- < smṛta-. Also in tiyā (Mg) which represents Sk. tr̥tīyā- or tṛtīyikā-; here it is the dental development found in Mid. Ind. and everywhere in Mod. Ind. [TND. s.v. tij].
- 7.c. Pa. paṭi- is connected with Sk. prati- and the cerebral is usually explained as due to the preceding r. Professor Turner [v. BSOS, VIII, p.205], however, suggests that it may represent a *pṛti-. As shown above, a dental immediately following vowel -r_o- is cerebralized, so a *pṛti- beside paṭi- may account for the origin of Pa. paṭi-. The cerebral is found in paṭi- satarīya- (Pkm), paṭi- satirīya- (Jv), paḍi-dine (Vg.II), apili-saraṇa- (An.Sk). As against these, the dental occurs in paṭiṭṭh(i)te (And. C.X.a) which presumably is a lw. Pa. paṭiṭṭhita-. In Pa. itself, the dental survived probably because when -ṛt- was followed by a syllable beginning with a cerebral, dissimilation took place. Also in patisavanu (Pkm) presumably a lw. Pa. *patissavana-, cf. Sk. pratiśravaṇa-.

Similarly pilima- (An.Sk.) may represent a * pṛtima-,
cf. Sk. pratimā-.

8. Sk. -r̥th-

The cerebral development is found in polo-, polov- <
pr̥thivī-; palamu- < * pṛthama-, cf. Sk. prathama-.

9. Sk. -r̥d-

The cerebral is found in dolnen < * dōla- < * dōhada- <
dauhr̥da-.

10. Sk. -r̥tt-

-(r̥)tt- > -t̥-, in
vaṭaha, vaṭakata, vaṭataya; vaṭa-, vaṭā-.

kaṭu, koṭu, koṭ may be connected with AMg. Pk. kaṭṭu
kṛtva-.

11. Sk. -r̥ddh-

-(r̥)ddh- > -d̥-, in
veḍa, veḍha; kavuḍu, kavuḍu-.

§39.

Spontaneous Cerebralization

1. In Sanskrit itself there are a few cases where an ancient dental has become a cerebral without an assignable cause. Bloch in LLM. §117 calls this "spontaneous cerebralization". According to Bloch [v. id. §§117, 119], cerebralization of the initial dental is almost unknown in Sanskrit; the only clear example is the root $\dot{d}\bar{i}$ - 'to fly', the Vedic root being $d\bar{i}$ -. The cerebral is again found in the interior of a few words in Sanskrit e.g. $\dot{a}tati$, $\dot{u}dumbara$ - as against Vedic $atati$, $udumbara$ -. [v. Wackernagel, I, §148(b), p.173]. Professor Turner in JRAS. Oct. 1921, 'Gujarati Phonology' §44 remarks "This list grows with time, and the number of these cerebrals is greatly increased in Middle Indian and Modern Indian." For Pali [v. Geiger, PLS. §42, p.59]; for Prakrit [v. Pischel, PkG. §§218, 220-223]; for Modern Indian [v. Bloch, LLM. §119].

2. In Sinhalese too some initial cerebrals are found without assignable cause. In these cases Sinhalese follows Middle Indian.

For instance, the d - of Sk. $daśati$ which appears as \dot{d} - in Mid. Ind. and everywhere in Mod. Ind. [TND. s.v. $\dot{d}asnu$] is attested as \dot{d} - in MŚgh. $\dot{d}ahanu$ (contr. $\dot{d}ānu$) 'to bite' [v. Geiger, SghG. §48(2)]. Again the d - of Sk. $dahati$, Sk. $dāha$ - which occurs as \dot{d} - in Mid. Ind. and Mod. Ind. [TND. s.v.

ḍahanu, ḍāh] is attested as ḍ- in MSgh. in ḍaha-diya (contr. ḍādiya) 'sweat; perspiration' < dāha- 'heat' + daka- 'water' [v. Geiger, id.].

Also initial Sk. st-, sth- have become ṭ- in a few words in Sgh.. This change is found in such particular words as given below.

2.a. Words having the root sthā-:

ṭāna beside tāna, tan which are generally found < sthāna-, cf. Pa. ṭhāna-; Pk. thāna-, thāna-. In these Inss. only the dental form is found (§56, 1e.). Marathi also has the cerebral cf. M. ṭhāṇē. Elsewhere in Mod. Ind. the dental occurs [TND. s.v. thān¹].

2.b. Words which could be associated with the root sthā-:

ṭabī (Rv.P. — 5th c.), MSgh. ṭāmba < stambha- as aga. Pa. thambha- but Pk. thambha-, thambha-. Everywhere in Mod. Ind. the dental occurs [TND. s.v. thām]. But the dental occurs in MSgh. tada 'firm' < stabdha-, cf. Pa.Pk. thaddha-; Pk. thaddha-, thaddha-. Mod. Ind. has the cerebral [TND. s.v. thāro]. The dental occurs also in MSgh. tabanu 'to place; put' which may represent Sk. stambhate or stabhyate [v. also Bloch, LLM. Index s.v. thāmbnem]. The dental is found in Mid. and Mod. Ind. [TND.s.v. thāmnū and Bloch id.]

2.c. Other words not associated with the root sthā-:

MSgh. ṭika 'a little' < stōkya- (der. fr. stōka-). The dental

is found in Mid. and Mod. Ind. [TND. s.v. thok, thor].

3. Again, in the 2nd c. A.D. there is an isolated instance of -t- written as -ḍ- in paḍavaya (Tp.S.) cf. Sk. √ pat-. This change of -t- to the voiced cerebral is found in Prakrit e.g. Mh. AMg. Jmh. Ap. paḍai = patati [v. Pischel, PKG. §218], and in Mod. Ind. [TND. s.v. parnu² and Bloch, LLM.Index s.v. paḍnem]. Pali, however, has preserved -t- cf. Pa. patati. As pointed out by Bloch, this may be a case of Dravidian influence. paḍu means 'falling' in Telegu, 'lying' in Canarese and Tamil. cf. Canarese, Tamil paḷ, Telegu paḍu 'ruin'. [v. Bloch, BSOS. V, p.739].

§40.

Labials

1. Sk. p-

Initial p- remains:

parumaka-, purumaka-, purumuvo; pute, puti, puta, putaha;
pohatakara, pohatakarahi, poho-; paca -, pas, (pā)s-, pasalos- <
pañca-; pasu < pāmsu-; pita-; pari(bujanaka); paḍavaya;
parivavata; (pa)ṭa; pata-, pā < pāda-; piya- < pada-; puviya- <
* pūrviya-; palaha-; pacanahi, pahan, pahana; para-; pura-,
pur- < pūra-; pere < Pa. purē; pisā; Pāṇḍi-; pasa-, (pas)- <

pārśva-; piṭat-, piṭat, piṭatā; pirivenat, piriven, pirivenhi, pirivenā; pāl-; puja; pujay, pujanemi; puray, purā; pugul; paha- < pārśvat; piyā; Pirit-; Pel; piṇḍ-; piribo-; pirikāpū; pilivelānen; piritās- < * paritrāsin- cf. Pa. parittāsin-; pirihelā; pa(viye); Puvaram-; paṇḍuru; Posonā < * puvasavan- < pūrvaśrāvāna-; piṭi-; pārahār; pera-, perā-; paṭisatariya-, paṭisatiriya-, paḍidine < * pṛti- [§38,7c]; pilima- < * pṛtima- [id.]; palamu- < * pṛthama- [§38,8].

2. Sk. ph-

2.a. ph- > p-

peni-; pala.

2.b. ph- written ph-, however, in phala (E.Z.IV,3,149,VII) is either a learned spelling or a lw. Pa. phala-.

3. Sk. b-

Initial b- remains:

Budarakita-; bayali-, bayalihi; Budadasa-; B(o)ya-, Bo-; Bud-, bud, Buj-; bāndā, (bandva)nnat; ~~bahā~~ bili-; bad-, bad, baj-; bāhār, bāhāri, (bāhāra); balakarin; balat, bālātun; bandu; bānd; budnat.

According to Professor Turner, Sk. b- appears as b- everywhere in Modern Indian except in Sindhi where it becomes implosive b- and words having an initial b- in Sindhi are to be regarded as loan-words (TND. Sindhi, pp.875,876,v.s. b-, b- sections].

4. Sk. bh-

4.a. bh- > b-

bariya < bhāriyā- ; Batapalaha; bata-; bada-; badakarika-,
 badakariya-; bera; biku-, bika-, buku-; bojaka-, bo(ji)ya-,
 beji-, beja-; batavaṭita-; bata, bat, batak < bhakta- 'rice';
 budenā; balu; bāvin; bedum; bimā; bindā; bālayata.

4.b. However, the writing of bh- as bh- in the following two words is either a learned spelling or shows that bhoga (Mg) is a lw. Pa. bhōga- and bhiku- (Vg.I; Mr) is a lw. Pa. bhikkhu-.

4.c. bh- of words with the root bhū- appear as v-, and this v- is to be traced thus: Sk. bhavati > Pa. hoti > Pk. hoi > Sgh. oi (with the disappearance of h- as in ata < Sk. hasta-, Pa.Pk. hattha-). Then in Sgh. oi > vi , o- being replaced by v-. This v- is found in the P.P. vū-, vū cf. Sk. bhūta-; in the Ger. vā; in the Inf. vanu; in the Opt. 3rd. sg. vayu, vayavaya, veyavaya cf. Sk. bhavatu; in the Opt. 3rd.pl. vetvay, vetvā; in vanaya- cf. Sk. bhavanīya- and in vana- cf. Sk. bhavana- or bhāvana-.

5. Sk. p(ph) and b(bh) which constitute the first letter of the second member of a compound survive as p and b respectively. In these cases the compound has been formed in Sgh. or is a loan from Pa. or Sk.

5.a. -p- > -p- (in cmpds.)

-pitaha; -puta, -pute; -Puśagutaha, -Puśagute, -(Pu)śagutena;
 -pavata-, -pavaya-, -pavu, -pā(vi)yehi; -paribujana; -paka-;
 -pasahi, -pas-, -pasā < -pārāva-; -paheja-; -paca-, -pan- <
 -pañca-; -pekadaka; -(pari)kara-; -puṇa-, -pun-; -paka-, -pak-;
 -purumakahata, -purumu-, -purmukā, -purumukā, -purum-;
 -Parideva-; -payak, -payha, -pā, -paya- < -pāda-; -piya- <
 -pada-; -poho-, -pohoyā; -pirivenat, -piriven-, -pirivenā;
 -pārāhār, -pārāhāra, -pārāhar, -pārahār, -perāhāra, -perāhār,
 -perāhar, -perhār; -piḍ; -poḷo-, -poḷov-; -(pi)ṭṭiyen;
 -(pilīma)- < * -pṛtīmā- [§38, 7c]; -pahan; -pura-; -petā;
 -Pa(do)nnaru-; -pa-; -(pora)-; -patul; -pat; -pujā; -pugul-;
 -povā; -piri-; -pin-; -pārākmen [§32, 3b]; -parapuren,
 -parpuren [§32, 3a].

5.b. -ph- > -p- (in cmpds.)

-pala.

5.c. -b- > -b- (in cmpds.)

-Budadasa-, -Buddas-; -Budu-; -Bo-, -Boyim; -bad-; -ba(du);
 -bādi-; -bala(ya)n; -balat, -balatun; -band.

5.d. -bh- > -b- (in cmpds.)

-biku-, -bika-, -buka-; -bava; -begi; -bat, -batak, -batat;
 -ballanāt; -bedum; -bim, -bimā, -bimhi, -bimat, -bimin,
 -bimakat; -behed-; ek-bitten; -bar, -bara-; -bera-; -biya,

-biyen; -basnen; -batī-; -baṇvar; -Baṇḍay; -barā-; -bala-.

6. Sk. -p-

6.a. In the earliest times, Sk. -p- is written -p-. In the 2nd c. A.D., however, -p- is written -v- in vavi (Vg.I) < vāpi- and this writing shows that -p- had become -v- by this time; the writing of -p- as -p- up to this time therefore shows that -p- survived as -p-.

-p- survived as -p-, in

upaśika-, upasika-; upasaka-; gapati-; Batapalaha.

6.b. There is no evidence for the voicing of -p-, but it is quite likely that the voicing of -p- was earlier than the change of -p- to -v-. tube (Vt.C - 1st c. B.C.) is no evidence for the change of -p- to -b- as it represents * stūbha- [§1d.9a] rather than stūpa-.

6.c. -p- > -v-

vavi, vaviya, veva-; kahavaṇa, kahavaṇehi, kahāvaṇa, kavahaṇa, kavāṇa; uvanikeva; div, divaṭ, divhi; senevi-; suvar-; danavu, danavū; govī-, govi-; rakval; uva-; varad, varadaṭ, varadak, varaj; uvak; uvanaka; karavika; ava-; tāvī; avanaka-, van-, van, vana-, vanne, vanney, vannehi, vanna, vannaṇun, vanuṇan; karavaya, karavā, kārāvū; paharavaya; kaṇavaya; poḍavaya; samatavaya; cidavi, cidavayaha, sīdava; hindvā, hindvanu-ladi, hindvana-ladi, hindvūmaha, hindvannaṭ; deva, devā; harvā;

danvā; vasavay, vasavanu, vāsvū; aravay; yavā, yavanu, yavannaṭ,
yāvū; nimavā, nimavanu; ganvanu, ganvat; dakvā; tābāvū, tābāvūhu;
hevā; huvay; suvadā.

6.d. The -v- < Sk. -p- is lost in the following:

An instance of this is first found in the 3rd. c. in
uvanaka < upapanna-ka-. In the 10th c. occur dī < dvīpa-
beside div- [v. above]; vā- < vāpi- beside vavi, veva- etc.
[v. above]; mahayā- < * mahāryapāda-?; ādi- < ātōpa-? [§36,4c.].
In this respect Sgh. resembles the Modern Indian languages such
as Hindi, Bengali and Nepali where -v- < -p- disappears e.g.
H.B. diyā; N. diyo < dīpah [TND. s.v. diyo].

6.e. In the following, p which constitutes the first letter of
the second member of a compound has become v:

-vak, -vak-, -vākā < -pakṣa- as aga. -pak- [v. -p- > -p- (in
cmpds.)];

-vitiyen < -pr̥sthi-ka-; -viri- < - * pūruva-, cf. pūrva-.

6.f. Now, even after the time of the change of -p- to -v- as in
MSgh. -p- is written -p-, either as a conservative spelling or
in loan-words:

upāsaka-; anatapirise-, anatapirisey-; āpā-, āpāhu; mahapāṇan,
mahāpāṇan-; Kasapi-; yapeni-; rupu-; vāpara-, vāparayanat;
pahal, pahalavan.

6.g. Parānavitana [E.Z. III, 3, 121] suggests that -p- represents -bh- in Apayaha (Rv.P) i.e. for Abhaya-. In E.2.III, 3, 124 he remarks "In this and other records of the period, this name is used as an honorific suffix after maharaja- and not as forming part of the personal name. It occupies about the same position as of pā in rajapā of mediaeval records. It is also probable that instead of being derived from Abhaya-, it may be representing Sk. * āryapāda-".

It is possible that Apaya- represents Sk. * āryapāda- rather than Sk. Abhaya-, in which case -p- would represent an original Sk. -p-, this writing pointing either to a conservative spelling or to a loan-word. The first occurrence of this word is in the 5th c. in [Siri]mekā-Jeṭatīsa-maharaja-apayaha (Rv.P) and again in the 6th c. in ma-purumu-Budadāsa-La-Parideva-maharaja-apayahata (An.3) and maha-Kumaratasa-raja-apaya[ha] (Ng.R) presumably for Kumaratasa-maharaja-apaya[ha]. In these two centuries, apaya- was used as an honorific, because in every case the word apaya- follows maharaja-; if it had formed part of the personal name, its place would be before maharaja-. In Sanskrit itself, the plural of pāda- is sometimes used as an honorific when added to Proper Names or titles [MWSkD. s.v. pāda-]. In Pali, ayyā (pl.) is used in the sense of 'the worthy gentlemen, the worthies' [PTSPaD. s.v. ayya-]. In these Inss., aya- < ārya- is used as an honorific in (Vaha)bayaha (Pm), Sivayaha (Tg.R; Rv.P), Sumanayaha (Rv.P) etc. (§53, 1h.). The

loss of -ya- in apaya- < *ayapaya- < *āryapāda- may be due to the -ya- following or more probably the shortening is due to its being an honorific term. Cf. mahayā- (Ng; Vg.S.Dp;Pl.S) < *mahāryapāda- where -p- > -v- and is lost [v. above].

7. Sk. -ph-

There is no instance of Sk. intervocalic -ph- in these Inss.; besides, in Sanskrit itself -ph- is relatively rare and often of obscure origin [v. Bloch, LLM. §159 and Wackernagel, Vol.I, §158].

8. Sk. -b-

Geiger in SghG. §55 says that -b- is preserved as -b-, but the only example he cites in support of his theory is labu 'pumpkin' = Sk.Pa. lābu-, alābu- [v. §55 (2)].

The only example of -b- in these Inss. is found in the Nom. Prop. Saṃbo-, Saṅbo-, Saṅboy- < Saṅhabōdhi-. The writing of -b- as -b- does not necessarily point to the survival of -b- as -b-.

In the 6th c. is found Apahaya-gara- (B.P.Ins. I,II,III,V, VII) which may represent Sk.Pa. Abhaya-giri- [v.E.2.IV,3,140, fn.7]. Apahaya- cannot however go back directly to Abhaya- but to *Abahaya- (the aspirate -bh- being split up by the insertion of vowel -a- cf. MSgh. daḥam lw. Pa. dhamma-). Now, Sk. -p- > -v- (§1d.,6a.) and the writing -p- for -b- in Apahaya-

< * Abahaya- may be indirect evidence for the change of Sk. -b- too to -v-. Apaya- (B.P.Ins.IV), A[pa]ya- (B.P.Ins.VI), Apaha- (B.P.Ins.VIII) are errors for Apahaya-.

Despite the absence of any other confirmatory evidence, it seems that just as Sk. -p- > -v- in Sgh., similarly Sk. -b- too > -v-, as in Prakrit [v. Pischel, PkG. §201] and Modern Indian. Therefore the writing -b- in the above-cited example points either to a conservative spelling or to Saṅgho- etc. [v. above] being a lw. Pa. Saṅghabōdhi-. MSgh. labu quoted by Geiger is not an inherited Sgh. form but is a lw. Pa. lābu-.

9. Sk. -bh-

9.a. Intervocalic -bh- is preserved in Pali; but in Prakrit as well as in Modern Indian, the occlusion is lost and -bh- appears as -h-. In Sinhalese, however, the fate of Sk. -bh- is somewhat uncertain.

The Inscriptional evidence is as follows:

- 1) -bh- is written -b- in the 1st c. B.C. in A[baya]ha (And.C.I) cf. Abhaya- and tube (Vt.C.) cf. * stūbha- as attested by Pk. thūbha-, thūha- [TND. s.v. thupro].
- 2) In the same century, -bh- is written -h- in etehi (Vt.R) < ētēbhih; (however -bh- had become -h- in this termination already in Pali.).

Geiger in SghG. §55 says that -bh- is preserved as -b- in Sgh.. On the contrary, it seems that Sgh. too, like the Modern Indian, followed Prakrit and preserved -bh- as -h-, as shown by

the following examples:

-bh- > -h-

etehi (Vt.R) < ētēbhih; satehiya (Vg.I) < *śatēbhiyah, cf. śatēbhiyah; sate(hi) (Vg.I) < śatēbhih; pahayay (Vg.S.Dp.) < pra + √bhā-, cf. prabhāti; vahan-se (Ng; Bd) < *vabhān- (by metathesis) < bhavān- [v. also E.2, I, 3, 114] rather than < Pa. upahana- acc. to Geiger [v. SghG. §§105(3); 27(2)]. Cf. also MSgh. poho-satā 'rich man' < prabhu + sattva-.

The instances of -bh- written -b- are far more predominant than those of -bh- written -h- in these Inss.. In MSgh. too the -b- forms greatly predominate. Nevertheless, the presence of the -h- forms, although few, suggest that the -b- forms are not characteristically Sinhalese, since these -b- forms would be expected to become -v-, following the change of original Sk. -b- to -v- [§id.8]. The instances where -bh- is written -b- in these Inss. as well as words with -b- in the modern language, may be cases of loan-words from Pali (where Sk. -bh- survived as -bh-), and thus these -b- forms show de-aspiration even in loan-words [cf. §48]. Therefore, the genuine Sinhalese development appears to be of -bh- to -h-.

9.b. Examples of -bh- written -b-

A[baya]ha, Abaye, Abeye, Aba-, Abaya, Abaya-, Abā-; Aba lw. Pa. Abhayā-; Saba-; Vahaba-, (Vaha)bayaha; Golobā-; sulab-; lab-; piribo-; ambaranin; paribujana, pari[bujanaka]; vibangha-; biseva-, bisev-, bisevhu, bisevā; vibajakahi; tube; Kasaba-, Kasub-, Kasbā-, Kasbā; kābāli.

9.c. In the following, -bh- is written -bh-. This writing -bh- is a learned spelling in the following words which are already loan-words in Sgh:

Abhaya-, Abhay-, Abhā-, Abhaya; sabhāye, sabhāyen; Abhi-dham-; lābha, lābhayehi.

9.d. In Abahay- the -bh- is split up by the insertion of vowel -a-.

§41.

Nasals

"The guttural and palatal nasals have no independent existence in Sanskrit; the only nasals found elsewhere in Sanskrit other than in contact with the plosives of their order, and especially in intervocalic position, are the cerebral, dental and labial nasals." [v. Bloch, LLM. §131].

1. Sk. ṇ and n

In Sanskrit these two nasals were clearly distinct [v. Bloch, id. §132]. In Pali too they were held apart as a rule [v. also Geiger, PLS. §35]. In Prakrit, according to Pischel [v. PkG. §224], n was cerebralized in every position. Professor Turner remarks "Primitive Indian intervocalic -n- became Middle Indian -ṇ- (it is doubtful whether initial n- became ṇ- , although so shown in most of the Prakrits). This ṇ remained in the W. and N.W. groups (it lies as far west in

the Himalayas as Kumaon), but has become n again in the central and eastern group. On the other hand, Middle Indian -ṇ- has become generally n" [v. JRAS. July 1921, 'Gujarati Phonology' §48].

Consequently the fate of Sk. -n- and -ṇ- can be traced as follows:

<u>Sk.</u>	<u>Pk.</u>	<u>Mod. Ind.</u>
-n-	-ṇ-	(W. and N.W. -n- (E. and C. -ṇ-
-ṇ-	-ṇ-	(W. and N.W. -ṇ- (E. and C. -n-

[It may be noted here that in Oriya (in the South-east), Sk. -n- and -ṇ- > -ṇ- and has remained -ṇ-.]

As may be seen from the above, Sk. -n- and -ṇ- were confused both in Prakrit and in Modern Indian.

2.a. In the 2nd c. B.C. -n- is written -n- in anagata- < anāgata-; Sumanaha, Sumanaha < Sumana-; Yaheśini- < Yaśasvinī-? and -ṇ- is written -ṇ- in Śoṇa- < Sōṇa-; Sōṇutara-, Sōṇutara(ha) < * Sōṇuttara-; (Śamana)ya < Śramanā-. This writing shows that -n- and -ṇ- were differentiated in Ceylon in the 2nd c. B.C. or even earlier. This distinction is due to the fact that Sinhalese left the mainland before the confusion arose there between -n- and -ṇ-.

An apparent contradiction, however, to the theory that -n- and -ṇ- were differentiated in the 2nd c. B.C. would be lene

(Vg.R.B.C. I—IV, VI, VII, IX—XII; Vg. R.C.C. VI, VIII) cf. Sk. layana-. But this particular word may be influenced by * rayana-, in which r- would cerebralize the -n-.

2.b. In the 1st c. B.C. -n- is written -n- in anagata- < anāgata-; devanapiya- < devānāmpriya-; dane, da(ne), da(na) < dāna-; śudaśane < sudarśana-; (Pu)śagutena < * Pusaḡaguptēna; Anuḡi-, Anuḡiya < * Anuḡi- and -n- is written -n- in Sōḡaśa < Sōḡa-; gamiḡi- < grāmaḡi-; bamana- < brāhmaḡa-. But in the 2nd half of the same century is found (Śo)naha (And.C.IX). The (Śo) is not clear on the plate, so that it is doubtful whether this word represents Sk. Śōḡa- or some other Sk. word. Granted that it goes back to Sk. Śōḡa-, the writing of -n- as -n- would show that -n- had become -n- by this time. But no conclusive theory can be formed from this doubtful example.

2.c. In the 1st c. A.D. -n- is written -n- in devanapiya- < devānāmpriya-; there is no example of Sk. -n- in this century.

2.d. In the 2nd c. A.D. -n- is written -n- in devanapiya-, devānapiya- < devānāmpriya-; adasana- < adhyāsaḡa-; atane < āsthāḡa-; nani < jḡnānin-; rajini < Pa. rājini-; Vaḡamanaka- < Vardhamāḡaka-; paribujana, pari[bujanaka] < ^{Pa.} paribhuḡjana-; Ratana- < Pa. ratana-; vāḡaka < vāḡa-ka-; hamāḡana(ya) [error for hamaḡanāḡa(ya)] < śramaḡanāḡam + arthāḡa; bikujarana < bhikḡṣu + ācāriyāḡam; (kani) < khani- and -n- is written -n- in Gamiḡi- < grāmaḡi-; donika- < drōḡikā-; kahāḡana < karṣāḡana-;

gaṇaka- < gaṇaka-; patisavaṇu < * pr̥ti + śravaṇa-; kin̄iya < kr̄in̄ati; haṁaṇana(ya), haṁaṇa < śramaṇa-. But, in the same century -n- is written -ṇ- in kaṇavaya (Pm) Ger. fr.

* khaṇāpayati, cf. khaṇati; paṇi (Pm) < pratyayāni? and -ṇ- is written -n- in karanaka (Pkm) < k̄araṇa-ka-. However, this writing does not prove that a confusion existed between -n- and -ṇ- at this time. The -ṇ- in kaṇavaya is presumably influenced by Pali khaṇati where already -ṇ- is found. The -ṇ- in paṇi is unexplained. The -n- in karanaka may be influenced by the -ana suffix where the dental n is found in Sanskrit itself. cf. Sk. māṇana-, yāṇa-, dāna- etc..

2.e. In the 10th c. certainly confusions exist between -n- and -ṇ-. For instance, -n- is written -ṇ- in attāṇi- cf. āsthānī-; ulaḡhaṇa < ullaḡghana-; rāhāṇ a cross bet. raśāṇa- and raśmi- and -ṇ- is written -n- in viṣeṇī- < viṣaṇin-; pavaraṇa < pravarāṇa-; Poṣoṇā < * puvasavan- < pūrva-śravaṇa-.

3. The history of Middle Indian -ṇṇ- affords us a clue to the determining of the date of the confusion between -n- and -ṇ-. Middle Indian -ṇṇ- is written -ṇ- up to the end of the 5th c. e.g. sovaṇa- (Mv.I; Tp.S) cf. Pa. sovaṇṇa-, Pk. soaṇṇa-, Sk. sauvarṇa-; Saṛimeka-vaṇa- (Tg.R), vaṇahi (Tg.R) cf. Pa. Pk. vaṇṇa-, Sk. varṇa-; puṇa- (Tg.R) cf. Pa. Pk. puṇṇa-, Sk. pūrṇa-; tiṇ (Tg.R) cf. Pk. tiṇṇi, Pa. tīṇi, Sk. trīṇi; jiṇa- (Pkm; Vg.II; Jv; Md.S) cf. Pa.Pk. jiṇṇa-, Sk. jīrṇa-. In the 6th c.,

however, Middle Indian -nn- is written -n- as in Opula-vana- (R.Vg.I) cf. Pa. Uppala-vannā-, Sk. Utpala-varṇā-; hunā- (B.P. Ins. IV) cf. Pa. Pk. suvannā-, Sk. suvarṇa-; arana- (B.P. Ins. VII) cf. Pk. aranna-, Pa. aranna-, Sk. aranya-. From the 6th c. onwards it is the writing -n- that is found, e.g. tun- (Gd.Ra; Bd; Av; Kb) cf. Pk. tinni; pun- (Av) cf. Pa. Pk. punna-; Salamevan- (Kv.P.etc.) cf. Pa. Pk. vanna-; vānū (An.Sk) cf. Pa. vannita-, Pk. vannida-, Sk. varṇita-; ran- (K.429 etc.) cf. Pk. hiranna-, Pa. hiranna-, Sk. hiraṇya-. [For the date when double nasals became single nasals, v. §50,2.]

4. Since Middle Indian -nn- was written -n- up to the end of the 5th c. and written -n- from the 6th c. onwards, then a fortiori it follows that Sk. -n- was written and pronounced -n- at any rate up to the end of the 5th c. and from the 6th c. Sk. -n- > -n- and fell together with original -n-. But, even after the 6th c. Sk. -n- is written -n-. In modern literature too we find the writing -n-. This writing points to a traditional spelling due to a learned influence.

Lanerolle is of opinion that in modern pronunciation both n and n have a cerebral character [v. SghD., Vol.I, Pt.I, pp.xxxix, xl]. No doubt, the position of the tongue in the pronunciation of the dental nasal is not the same as in that of the dental plosive, e.g. t,d is pronounced at the teeth-ridge, whereas n is pronounced with the tongue retracted further back, so that one is inclined to believe that n is a cerebral sound. But

this is not the case. As shown above, the Inscriptional evidence shows that Sk. ṇ > n by the 6th c.. As against Lanerolle, I believe that both ṇ and n have a dental character. No more in Sinhalese than in Hindi etc. is the cerebral nasal found.

5. Examples:

Sk. n remains.

5.a. n- > n-

niyate, niyata; Naka-, Nā-; nakara-, nakarahi; (na)vaka(ri)yaha; Nila-; nikata; nava- < nava- 'nine'; Nadana-; no; nivay, nivā; nerā; nan-; navā-; nimavanu, nimavā; nimat; nāmin; nam.

5.b. -n- > -n- (in cmpds.)

-Naga-, -(Na)ga(ha), -Naka-, -Nakayi; -Nadsha, -Nada-; -niyamatanahi; -nava- < -nava- 'new'; -nāvhi; -nuvarā, -nakarā, -naru-; -nāmā-; -nam; -nil-, -(Ni)la-; -niyamen; -naynen, -[nā]nen; -nimala-; -nakay-; -net-; -nimiyata, -nimiyatā; -navām, -navāmat; -niṅgā; -nirind-; -niyata-; -nāyakayan.

The writing ṇ is found in -ṇakaraka- (Rv.P) < -nāgaraka-. In no other instance in these Inss. is Sk. n (either initially or in cmpds.) written ṇ. Comparison may be made here with the Gavīmāṭh Inscription of Aśoka in which initial ṇ- is found in no 'not' < no. In no other Ins. of Aśoka do we find ṇ- for Sk. n-. [v. Professor Turner, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No.10, "The Gavīmāṭh and Pāḷkīguṇḍu Inss. of Aśoka", pp.8 and 11].

5.c. -n- > -n-

Exx. occurring in the 2nd c. B.C., 1st c. B.C., 1st c. A.D. and 2nd c. A.D. were given above.

Other exx. are:

asana-, asanin; Mahasena-; Sumanayaha; niyamatanahi; dan-, (dana)-; dāna-; Patana-; rej(e)na, r(e)jana-, rājna-, rājna-, rājñāṇiyan; vasana, vasanaka-; pacanahi; vanaya-; yapeni-; anumovatu; (pa)jina-; uvanikeva; agana; atano; Nadana-; Daḷanā-; dunu-; lena, lenat; senasuna, (senasana); budenā; vadnā; kenek, kenekun, kenakun, ekkenekun, keneknat, ekkeneknat; onā; pavatnā; aḍmanāk; senevi-, Sen-, Senā-, Senu, Sanā (error for Senā); tān-, tān, tānat, tānakat, tan, tanin, tanā, tanhi, tanat; (sthāna)yaṭ; dana- < jana-; tān- < āsthānī-; dunu-, dunu, danavu, danavū; yona-, yon-; vahan-; ulā(gha)nā, u(la)ṅgnā, [ula]ṅghanā; rākka-manā-; aniyā, aniyāk; danvā; Māndindinā; vana-; pānā; dunuvā-; sihasun; vadan-, vajan-; sasun, sasnehi; mehesana-; dunū-; nan-; desun; kasun-; unu-; viyakhan; minis-, minisun, minisnat, minī; anatapirisey-, anatapirise-; dannā; kānhi; senhi; anusasā; Denā-; ruvan-, ruvanhi; ne-; mana-; adan; guvanhi; padana; anantarayen; (anadara)-; avasāṇayehi; visin.

If (val)- = Sk.Pa. vana-, according to Geiger [v. SghG. §60, (1)] the l is difficult to explain, as we find MSgh. vana < vana-. However, this l may be a case of interchange of n and l. [cf. §45, 4d].

5.d. Initial \dot{n} - is not found in Sanskrit. [v. Bloch, LIA., p.71].

Sk. \dot{n} - survived as \dot{n} - up to the end of the 5th c.

[v above].

5.e. \dot{n} - survived as \dot{n} -

Exx. occurring in the 2nd c. B.C., 1st c. B.C., and 2nd c. A.D. were given above. Other exx. are:

Ga \dot{m} i \dot{n} i-; ki \dot{n} iya; ka \dot{h} ava \dot{n} a, ka \dot{h} ava \dot{n} ehi; (ava)ra \dot{n} eha, (ava)ra \dot{n} a; a \dot{v} iyaki \dot{n} iyeni; ama \dot{n} a, ama \dot{n} aka; pe \dot{n} i-; lo \dot{n} a-.

Sk. \dot{n} - > \dot{n} - from the 6th c. onwards, as shown above.

5.f. \dot{n} - > \dot{n} -

vi \dot{s} evi \dot{n} i-, vi \dot{s} eni-, vi \dot{s} eni-, vi \dot{s} eniy[ä]; Po \dot{s} onā; pa \dot{v} ara \dot{n} a; pi \dot{r} iven, pi \dot{r} ivenat, pi \dot{r} ivenā, pi \dot{r} ivenhi.

5.g. The following instances may show the influence of the -ana suffix, where the dental \dot{n} - is found in Sanskrit itself, rather than the change of \dot{n} - to \dot{n} -.

ka \dot{r} ana \dot{k} a, ka \dot{r} ana; va \dot{d} āra \dot{n} an, va \dot{d} āra \dot{n} uvan, va \dot{d} āra \dot{n} uvan; ga \dot{n} nā; ba \dot{s} nen; a \dot{p} i \dot{l} i \dot{s} ara \dot{n} a-; ha \dot{r} nā; ra \dot{k} nā.

5.h. The examples occurring from the 6th c. onwards in which \dot{n} - is written \dot{n} - point to traditional spellings. The pronunciation was, however, \dot{n} - [v. above].

Ba \dot{m} a \dot{n} a-, Ba \dot{m} u \dot{n} -; ka \dot{h} ava \dot{n} a, ka \dot{v} aha \dot{n} a, ka \dot{v} a \dot{n} a; a \dot{m} u \dot{n} ak, a \dot{m} u \dot{n} akat; ma \dot{h} a \dot{n} ; pa \dot{h} a \dot{n} , pa \dot{h} a \dot{n} a; da \dot{k} i \dot{n} i-, da \dot{k} u \dot{n} -; ka \dot{r} a \dot{n} ayehi, ka \dot{r} a \dot{n} ayen; ka \dot{n} u; pa \dot{m} a \dot{n} u; ta \dot{n} a-; me \dot{h} e \dot{n} i \dot{v} ar, me \dot{h} e \dot{n} i \dot{v} arhi; va \dot{r} a \dot{n} an; gu \dot{n} a-;

pamaṇin; ṇayak; apilīsarāṇa-; baṇvar; kuṇṇ-, kuṇṇu-; karaṇa-;
ambaraṇin; herāṇ-; Ruḥuṇu-; sāṇāhi, sāṇen; pāmāṇā; piṇisā;
piṇisvā; piṇisvūvan.

- 5.1. The writing -ṇ- for -n- in the following is a misspelling.
This is due to a learned influence introducing the cerebral nasal
even where no cerebral existed in Sanskrit.
attāṇi-; ulaghāṇa; rāhāṇ.

§42.

Sk. m

1. Initial m- is preserved in Middle and Modern Indian. Also
in Sinhalese.

But in Modern Indian, intervocalic -m- has become the nasal-
ized labial spirant -ṃ- except in the North-West group. Bloch
remarks "This spirantization of intervocalic -m-, universal in
Indo-Aryan with the exception of Sinhalese and the mountainous
dialects of the north-west, seems rather late; traces found of
it in Sanskrit are rare and suspect [v. Wackernagel, I, §§177,
196]; Classical Prakrit only admits it in certain positions par-
ticularly favourable; at any rate, the rule of spirantization of
intervocalic -m- is admitted in its generality by Hemacandra only
for Apabhraṃśa." [v. LLM. §137, p.141].

2. In these Inss. -m- is written -m- from the earliest times.
This writing points to the survival of intervocalic -m-. This is

the case in MSgh. too. [cf. Introduction].

In MSgh. -v- is found, however, for Sk. -m- in navanu (beside namanu) 'to bend' = Sk. Pa. namati. The alteration here goes back to Pre-Sinhalese times. cf. Pk. *ṇavaĩ* and *ṇamaĩ*. As pointed out by Bloch [v. LLM. §137], -m- in the root nam- has been done away with by the dissimilation of the nasals. It is perhaps this dissimilation that is found also in MSgh. *niviti-* beside *nimiti-* 'omen' < Sk. *nimitta-*.

On the other hand, -m- is found for Sk. -v- in nama- (beside nava-) 'nine' = Sk. Pa. nava-, Pk. *ṇava-*. Presumably in this word the nasal n- nasalizes -v- to *-ṽ-* and this *-ṽ-* has become -m- in Sinhalese. In these Inss. only the -v- form is found e.g. nava- (An.S.; Blv; Avg), (na)va- (Nt). Here is to be included MSgh. *pāminenu* 'to arrive at; obtain' = Pa. *pāpunāti*. We have to assume here a form * *pāvun-* < Pa. *pāpunāti* and the following nasal -n- nasalizes * -v- to *-ṽ-* and this *-ṽ-* has become -m-. In the 10th c. we find *pāmānā* (An.Sk; Pl.S). The 10th c. *pamanu* (Ng; An.Sk) 'a descendible grant of land' has been made equivalent to Sk. *pravēni-* by Wickremasinghe [v. E.2. II, 1, 19, fn.3]. This etymology is open to doubt. But if it is likely we have to assume that Sk. *pravēni-* > * *pāvēni-* (on account of the following nasal -n-) and then has become *pamanu*.

3. Examples:

3.a. m- > m-

mahamata-; maha-, ma-; mahā-; mahayaha, mahayā-; mula; made-,

māndi-; magala-, maṅgul-, magul-; Mahadali- Mahana-; Mihid-,
Mihida-, Mihind-; may; mama; māniyan; maṅg-, ma[ṅ]-; maṅgiva-,
magiv-; mī-, mivan; minisun, minī; misā; Māndindinā; Mayurā-;
māṇḍā; Mirisi-; mut; mas; [ma]la; marumakane, marumanaka,
maṇumaraka? etc.

3.b. -m- > -m- (in cmpds.)

-maha-, -ma-; -mahā-; -Mite; -miya-; -Mahasena-; -miliya,
-milāyat; -masa-, -mashi, -masā; -Mahana-; -mula; -Mihinda-,
-Mihind, -Mihindu; -Mete-; -māṇḍā, -māndi-; -Mahamalun; -maṇḍulu,
-maṇḍlan, -maṇḍa(len), -maḍulu-, -maḍula; -Māḍili-; -manā-;
-Maṅgul-; -me-, -meyak, -meyin; -maṅga, -maṅgu-; -manda;
-mehesana-; -mahayā-; -mena-; -minis-, -minisun; -maṅguru;
-Majhimaha.

3.c. -m- > -m-

parumaka-, purumaka-, purumu- etc.; Sumanaha, Sumanaha,
Sumanayaha; Gamiṇi-; mahamata-; gam, gama etc.; gamayaha,
gamayahi etc.; (ga)misahi; gamika-; Majhimaha; tamā, tumā etc.;
Vaḍamanaka-; haṁaṇana(ya), haṁaṇa, mahaṇ; ma-, me etc.; meya-
etc.; Sarimekavaṇa-, [Siri]meka-; niyamatanahi; ameti-, āmāti-;
Kama[la]-; anumovatu; ama-; thema; Kumaratasa-; sime, him,
(hi)min; sīmā, sīmavat, sīmāyen; sam-, himi, himiyan etc.;
demi; Mahamalun; vandmi; aram, aramā; Salamevan-, Salameyvan-;
admanāk; mama; paḷamu-; Demel-; samiyan; bim-, bimat etc.;
nāmā-; nam; pilima-; meheṇivar, meheṇivarhi; sama; niyamen;
pārākmen; somi-; vikmen; samay; pamaṇin; mehe, meheyat, meheyin;

mul-, mulin; amā; ikmā; samāṅg-; sāmāṅgin; vimal-; nam, nāmin;
muhundhi; sartumā; marumakane? etc.; Buddhamitra-; samāhita.

The m in pādum- (Kb) cf. Sk. prācīna- is apparently due to the -m- of Sk. paścima-.

§43.

Semi-Vowels y and v

1. Sk. y-

In Pali initial y- survives regularly. In Prakrit initial y- becomes j- [v. Pischel, PkG. §252] except in Māgadhi where initial y- is preserved as y- [v. Pischel id.].

According to Professor Turner, initial y- remains unchanged generally in Dardic; everywhere else in Modern Indian initial y- appears as j- and this j- falls together with original Sk. j- except in Sindhi where original Sk. j- > j̣- (implosive) and original Sk. y- > j- (explosive). v. TND. s.v. jāto; jo; jānu; jot.

2. In these Inss., as well as in the Modern language, initial y- is maintained and original Sk. y- is clearly distinguished from original Sk. j- [§35,3]. Herein Sinhalese follows Māgadhi Prakrit. [cf. Introduction].

2.a. y- > y-

ya[te]; Yahaṣini-; yāku, (yākuhaṭe); Yasa-, yasa, yesen; yat,

yanu, yav; yuva-; yavanu, yavā, yavannaṭ, yāvū; yam; yud-; yut-; yedunavumⁿ, yedmen.

Sk. y which constitutes the first letter of the second member of a compound survives as y. In these cases the compound has been formed in Sgh. or is a loan from Pa. or Sk..

2.b. -y- > -y- (in cmpds.)

-yona-, -yon-; -yutu, -yut; -yuva-; -yapeni-.

3. Sk. -y-

3.a. Intervocalic -y- remains in Pali; it disappears as a rule in Prakrit [v. Pischel, PkG. §§252;186] as well as in Modern Indian.

3.b. In these Ines., Sk. -y- is written -y- in the 2nd c. B.C. in bariya (Vg. R B.C. I, Iib) < * bhāriyā-; jhaya (Vg.R.B.C. VI) < jāyā- etc. [v. below]. In the 2nd half of the 1st c. B.C. -y- is lost in Uti- (And. C.Xb) probably < Pa. Uttiya-; but this is not a very reliable source of evidence as we have only an eye-copy of the And. C. Xb Ins.. However, clear examples of the loss of Sk. -y- are found in the 2nd c. A.D. in paca- (Tp.S), pacani (Pm.) < Pa. paccaya-; Aba- (Vg.II) < Abhaya-; ceta (KS.I) < * caitiya- etc., so that at least by the 2nd c. A.D. Sk. -y- was lost in Sgh.. The writing of -y- as -y- up to this time therefore shows that -y- survived as -y-.

-y- survived as -y-:

bariya; jhaya; devanapiya-; Abaye, A[baya]ha; Tisaya; Citaya;

(Sāmana)ya; Utiya-; Anudiya [§36,6a]; sagaya; niyate.

3.c. Examples of loss of -y-

paca-, pacani, pasa; ceta, cetahi, ceya, se-, sey-, sā-; Aba-, Abā-, Abhā-; Aba; raji-; bikujarana, ādur-, ājara-; Golobā-; Mete-; ā-; Pāṇḍi-; sandaha, sandhā; isiri, isir, isi(ra); Udā-, Udā-; somi-; hir-; arī; āmā; Sāhā-; kāt-, kāta-; dā-; pin-; budenā; pavatnā; onā; vadnā; gannā; u(la)ṅgnā, ulā(gha)nā, [ula]ṅghana; aniyā, aniyak; sahā, sahak; pānā; harnā; hadāla; raknā; adahas.

The gerund in -aya as in karavaya (Vg.I), kanavaya (Pm) which has as its prototype the Sk. Gerund in -āya of roots ending in ā cf. Sk. dāya Ger. fr. √ dā- 'to give' etc.

[v. Whitney, SkG. §992 (a); v. also Geiger, SghG. §157 II (1)] appears from the 8th c. as -ā with the loss of -y-, in hindvā; karavā; patā; danvā; kiyā; harvā; bahā; koṭā; nimavā; yavā; piyā; vadā; dakvā; arā; devā; nivā; purā; galā; naṅgā; piriheḷā.

3.d. Now, even after the time of the loss of -y-, -y- is written -y-. According to Geiger [v. SghG. §77(2)], intervocalic -y- survives in Sinhalese. But, it seems that words in which intervocalic -y- has disappeared are the genuine Sinhalese words. As regards the words in which -y- is written -y-, after the time of the loss of -y-, there are two possibilities.

1) Since Sk. -y- disappeared in Prakrit, they may be loan-words from Pali.

2) They may show that -y- remains as -y- as an alternative development in Sinhalese. cf. ariya- beside arī < V. ^uariya-, Sk. ārya-; aya- beside ā- < Sk. Pa. āya-.

Examples of -y- written -y-

ariya-; aya-; may; piyo-; viyo-; aviya-; siya; niyamen; isirāyen; Abaya-, Abhaya-, Abhay-; devānapiya-; pacayaṭa, pasayen, pasayaṭ, pasayak; payutu-; samiyeṇ; diya-; (ya)-; paḍiya; vanaya-; viyaṭ-; naḥaya-; viyavulak; viyakhan; hāriyā-; biya, biyeṇ; aniyā, aniyāk; puviya-; miliya, milāyaṭ; vaviya; satehiya; sagahaṭaya; veṭayaḷa; visiyāṭi-; niyata; anantarayeṇ; anvayeṇ; dāyaka-, dāyakayaṇ, dāyaku; nāyakayaṇ; tiyā.

As regards the Gerund in -aya, -ay in the following, compare the Sk. Pa. Gerund in -āya [§1d.3c].

karavaya; kaṇavaya; kaḍaya; ovaya; paḥaravaya; poḍavaya; paḍavaya; samatavaya; ciṭavaya; ko[ṭa]vaya; aray; sanahay; karay; vasavay; pujay; huvay; samay; nivay; soyay; ariyay; puray; aravay.

§44.

Sk. v-

1. The western languages of India viz. Marathi, Gujarati, Sindhi, Panjabi, as well as Kaśmiri in the north-west, have preserved initial v-. The central and eastern languages of India, on the contrary, have confused it with initial b-. [v. Bloch, LLM. §150].

Bloch [v. id.p.153] remarks "The Classical Prakrit does not note this innovation in any of its dialects; but it is known that sporadic exchanges of b and v have been made as early as the Veda." [v. also Wackernagel, I §161]. Pali preserves initial v-.

Even in the north-west of India, there are some languages in which initial v- > b-; but this development, in the opinion of Professor Turner, is quite independent of the general change in the eastern languages. v. TND. s.v. bis¹; biknu; bat¹; bacho; baro; barsa; baṭo.

It may be remarked here that, according to Professor Turner, all languages of Modern Indian that distinguish original Sk. y- from original Sk. j-, such as Sindhi, Kaśmiri, also distinguish original Sk. v- from original Sk. b-; but the converse is not true; for Gujarati, Marathi, Panjabi which distinguish original Sk. v- from b- do not however distinguish original Sk. y- from j-, so that the development of Sk. y- and Sk. v- was not parallel over the whole area.

2. In these Inss., as well as in Modern Sinhalese, initial v- is maintained and original Sk. v- is clearly distinguished from original Sk. b- [§40,3.] just as original Sk. y- is clearly distinguished from original Sk. j- [§43,1.].

But in SghG. §53(3), Geiger remarks "In a few words initial b- seems to be substituted for v-. As initial v- generally survives in Sinhalese, we must assume that the words are borrowed from an eastern dialect." He quotes the following

examples in his LSS. §28 (c) and SghG. §53 (3): baka- beside vaka- 'crane'. In this word, Sanskrit itself had both forms baka-, vaka- 'crane'. Moreover, the very fact that -k- is preserved shows that these two words are loans from Sanskrit, and therefore they could not enter into our argument. bak is made equivalent to Sk. vaiśākha- 'name of a month, April-May'. Although the meaning in Sanskrit and Sinhalese is the same in this word, this etymology seems rather strange. One might expect a Sgh. form *ve(h)aya or *vē < Sk. vaiśākha-. Therefore this example too cannot be given. bāri 'impossible' is derived from *vāri- < *avāri- < apārya. bāri also means 'heavy' cf. Sgh. bāri-kamek 'heavy work' [v. Jay. Gloss.]. But bāri represents Sk. bhārika- 'heavy' or bhārin- 'heavy; ponderous', so that b- of bāri represents Sk. #bh-. boru^u 'false' is derived from Sk. aparādha-, but Professor Turner gives Sgh. boru < *bhora-, cf. *bhola- in Pk. bholai 'deceives' [TND. s.v. bhor²] in which case b- of boru goes back to a Sk. *bh-. beti 'ball of dung' is regarded by Geiger as perhaps = Sk. viṣṭhā- 'faeces; excrement', but Professor Turner gives Sgh. betṭa perhaps < *vaiṣṭya-, with b- due to deformation, as in K. both^u, M. bitā [TND. s.v. bitulo]. buhuru 'hole; pit' is quoted by Geiger as perhaps = Sk. vivara-, but buhuru also means 'vacuity; emptiness' [v. RMN. §127] and so buhuru may represent a *bhōsa-ra- [v. also TND. s.v. bhutte] or *bhucca-ra- [TND. s.v. bhuccuk] so that b- of buhuru may denote a Sk. *bh-. burul 'loose; infirm' is given by Geiger as perhaps = Sk. virala-, but this

seems very doubtful, although the meaning 'loose' is found in Sanskrit and Sinhalese. Perhaps it denotes a [±] bhiru-la-?, cf. Sk. bhīru-, bhīlu-, 'timid'? As the foregoing etymologies are disputable, as also suggested by Geiger, no definite conclusion can be based on them. I maintain that initial Sk. v- > v- regularly in Sinhalese, in spite of its being an eastern language, as Sinhalese had left its Indian home before the change of Sk. v- to b- occurred in the eastern languages of India.

[cf. Introduction].

2.a. v- > v-

Vahaba-, (Vaha)bayaha; Vadamana-; visiti-, visiya-, visi-,
 vanaka; vadita; vasavasika-; veda, vedha; vatavi; vasanaka-,
 vasana; vatitani; vetayala-; vatataya, vatakata; vahara, veher-,
 vehera- etc.; veherala, vaharala etc.; v[e]va, vā-; vahala;
 vāsi-, vāssan; vandmi, vāndā, (vānda); vadāla, vadālayin etc.;
 viyagurak; Vadurā; vāriyan, vāri, vadā, vādā; vādāvū-; vādiya[n],
 vādīyāk; varā, varin; vat-, vatin; Vāp-, Vāpā; visin; Vesāgā;
 vahan-se; valandanu, vālā(nda)nu, vālāndu, vālāndūvan; vela-,
 vel-, velā; (val)-; vetya-; ved-; vāl-; vānū; vajan-, vadan-;
 vājāmbā, vā(ja)mbā; vasanu, vasavanu, vasavay, vāsvū; viyo-;
 Vāli-gamu-; vasaga, vāsāgin; vātā, (vāta); vātānu, vātēna-;
 vāsā; vindā; vāsā; vāt-; visiyāti-; vid-; vimal-; vicāra;
 vivādayak; vāsa-.

Sk. v which constitutes the first letter of the second member of a compound survives as v. In these cases the

compound has been formed in Sgh. or is a loan from Sk. or Pa.

2.b. -v- > -v- (in cmpds.)

-vaharata, -vihara, -viharahi, -veher, -veherat, -vaherahi, -vaherakehi, -vaherataya; -vavi, -vaviya, -veva-; -vibajakahi; -[Vaha]bayaha; -vasiya-, -vāssan, -vāsiyan; -vaṭaha; -vaṭa-; -vasahi; -vasa; -visiya-, -visi-, -vissak; -vaṇahi; -vaṭeha; -vaḍu-, -vaḍha, -(vāḍu)-; -vana-; -vasana; -Vasadavaya; -visevinī-, -visenī-, -viseni-, -viseniy[ä]; -vadāranannan, -vadāranuvannan, -vajāranuvannan; -varā, -varin; -Vāpā, -Vap-; -Vadurā; -vasa-, -vas-, -vasin, -vasā < -vaṃśa-; -vatta, -vatu, -vattat etc.; -ved-; -vel-; -veyā; -Vijuragu-, -Viduragu-; -varañan; -vaturen; -vikmen; -viṭi-; -viyakhan; -vatak; -valā-; -viyat-; -viyavulak; -vahare.

3. Sk. -v-

3.a. Intervocalic -v- survives in Middle Indian; it remains in Modern Indian in principle, but it disappears in the same languages in which -v- < Sk. -p- too disappears, such as Hindi, Bengali and Nepali.

3.b. In these Inss. Sk. -v- is written -v- in the earliest times as in Devaha (Vg.R.B.C.III) < Dēva-; Śivagutaha (And. C.VII) < Śivagupta-; sovaṇa- (Mv.I) < sauvarṇa-. In the 2nd c. A.D., however, -v- is lost in dorika- (Vg.I) < *duvārika-; doraya- (Pkm̃; Vg.II) < *duvāraka-, cf. Pk. duvāra- [v. also

TND. s.v. duwār]. But even after this time -v- is written -v-.

The forms with -v- greatly outnumber the forms in which -v- is lost. This is the case in the modern language too. In view of the fact that Sk. -v- survives in Prakrit as well as in Modern Indian for the most part, it is presumable that Sk. -v- survives in Sinhalese too, and the loss of -v- seems to be an alternative development in Sinhalese. There are a few instances where the same word appears in both forms - the one retaining -v-, the other dropping it e.g. poḷov beside poḷo- (i.e. for poḷō-) < Pa. paṭhavi-, Sk. pṛthivī-; tuvāk- beside tāk- < tāvatka-; davas < divasa-, cf. MSgh. davasa beside dā.

3.c. -v- > -v-

Devaha, Deva-, Devayaha, (Da)va-; devanapiya-, devānapiya-; Śivagutaha; sovaṇa-; parivavata; vasavasika-; (na)vaka(ri)yaha; patisavaṇu; (avarana), (ava)raṇcha; nava-; Sivayaha, Sivayi, Savaya; Sarimekavaṇa-; divasa, davas, davasakat; Parideva-; Vasadavaya; nava- < nava- 'nine'; bava, bāvin; nāvhi; Salamevan-, Salameyvan-; diva-, div-, dīv-; ovaya; pavatnā; piriven, pirivenā, pirivenhi, pirivenat; tuvāk-, tuvak-; poḷov-; rivi-; givisā; avas, avasa- etc.; navām, navāmat; baṇvar; navā-; asvanu; pinisvā; Devā-; sivur-; yuva-; pavarana; pāvāsi-; vivādayak; avasānayehi.

3.d. -v- is lost

dorika-; doraya-; dorahi, dorin, dor; doḷasa-, doḷos; tāk-; bera-; poḷo-; yona-, yon-; Denā-; huna-; Posonā; -viri-.

Liquids r and l

1. These two phonemes can at no moment in the linguistic history of Indo-Aryan be considered independently.

Professor Turner remarks "There were at least three dialects which, as early as the Rigveda, differed in their treatment of Indo-European r and l. One distinguished r and l, the second confused them as r, and the third confused them as l." [v. JRAS. Oct. 1921, 'Gujarati Phonology' §52].

Geiger in SghG. §74 (2) states "The interchange of r and l is very old in the Indian languages and is caused by an early dialectal mixture. It is not unknown in the Vedic language, and in Classical Sanskrit the number of words with l is considerably increasing. [v. also Wackernagel, I, §§191-193]. The process continues in Pali." [v. also Geiger, PLS. §§44-45].

In Prakrit r always becomes l in Māgadhī and Dhakkī [v. Pischel, PkG. §256]; in other dialects, the change of r to l is isolated and uncertain [v. id. §257]; but Ardha-Māgadhī has l for r more frequently than the other dialects [v. id. p.179].

When we come to the Modern Indian stage, we find that there exists no longer any dialect which has generalized either r or l in every position [v. Bloch, LLM. §139, p.143]. It is not possible to say that this or that dialect is predominantly a r or l dialect.

Where Classical Sanskrit had initial r-, we find this r- predominantly in Modern Indian and so it is with initial l-. e.g. TND. s.v. $\bar{r}ai^1$; rukh; $\bar{r}akhnu$; $\bar{l}aj$; lipnu; lahanā.

But where there is hesitation in Sanskrit itself, Modern Indian also has the two forms side by side. e.g. TND. s.v. $\bar{r}a\ddot{u}$, $\bar{r}ewa$; $\bar{l}ohu^2$.

2. Sinhalese too has inherited the Sanskrit forms, and initially Sk. r- is clearly differentiated from Sk. l-.

2.a. r- > r-

raj, raja-, rad-; raj- < $\bar{r}ajya$ -; radol-, rajol-, radolen, radolan; rat; ra(\dot{t})iya-; rivi-; rupu-; rakval; $\bar{r}akna$, $\bar{r}akmat$, $\bar{r}akkamana$ -, $\bar{r}akkayutu$; rov-; Ratana-, ruvan-; rici-; Ruhunu-; $\bar{r}ahān$.

2.b. l- > l-

lene, lena; $\bar{l}ona$ -; Lak-; lov, lovak; le-; lad, ladi, laddan, laduvanat, $\bar{l}abet$, lab-, $\bar{l}abha$ -, $\bar{l}abhayehi$; $\bar{l}a$, $\bar{l}u$, lu-, lanu; legitaka, $\bar{l}āngū$.

2.c. -r- > -r- (in cmpds.)

-raja, -raji, -raje, -rad- etc.; -raja- < $\bar{r}ajya$ -; -raji- < $\bar{r}ajiya$ -; -rajini, -rej(e)na, $\bar{r}ajna$ - etc.; -rat, -rathi; -ruk; -ruvan, -ruvanhi; -rupu-.

2.d. -l- > -l- (in cmpds.)

-lenat; -le-; -Lak, -Lakat; -leyak; -lamb-; -ladu-, -laddan, -laduvan; -lākkan.

3. Sk. -r-

3.a. Intervocalic -r- survives in Modern Indian. e.g. TND. s.v. carnu; dharnu; bairo.

3.b. Sinhalese too has preserved intervocalic -r-.

-r- > -r-

teraśa, tere, tera-, teraha; Taladara-; Damarakita-; bariya; parumaka-, purumaka-, purumu- etc.; siri-, Śirikita-, Sarimekavaṇa-, Saratarayaha, S[i]rinakayi, [Siri]mekā-; Sōṇutara-, Sōṇutara(ha); Utara-, utur-, uturu-; Budarakita-; karanu etc.; Ariṭa- Arite; Riṭi-; baḍakariṭa^k-, baḍakariya-; atara-; vahaṛaṭa, vihara, viharahi, veher, veheraṭ, vahaṛakahi, vahaṛaṭaya etc.; pohatakara, pohatakarahi; doraya-, dorika-, dorahi, dorin, dor; bera; paṭisatariya-, paṭisatiriya-; (na)vaka(ri)yaha; karanaka, karanayehi, karanayen; karisehi, kiriya etc.; karana-, karaṇa-; paharavaya; nakara-, naru- etc.; paribujana, pari[bujanaka]; dariya, deruvanā etc.; catara-, satar etc.; catiri; cara-; parivavata; bikujarana, ādur-, ājara-; kara, kārā; (avarana), (ava)raṇeha, Nilarajiya-; arī, ariya-; (pari)kara-; ṇakaraka-; havajarana, havurud- etc.; Parideva-; dariyana; daruya, daruvan, daru etc.; sara, sar-; Kumaratasa-; veherala etc.; kadaraha; arana-; Mahadaragalaha;

para-; vāpara-, vāpārayanaṭ; heran-; aramā, aram, Tisaram-,
Mihindaram-, Puvaram-; pura-, pur-; ran, ranat; pera-, pere-
etc.; hir-; piriven, pirivenat etc.; viyagurak; Vadurā;
vadārannan, vadāranuvan, vajāranuvan; kir; kiri- < ksīrin-;
sorun; suvar-; mahavar-; vāriyan, vāri; pārāhār, pārāhāra etc.;
varā, varin; sirit, siritat, siriti; sakur, sakar; isiri, isir,
isirāyen, isi(ra); piribo-; sohovur-; geri; tirā-; parapuren,
parpuren; māruvā; mehenivar, mehenivarhi; arākkan; (pora)-;
harvā; (dārā); bāhār, bāhāri, (bāhāra); bar, bara-; barā-;
Vijuragu-, Viduragu-; rak-; arā, aray; ariyay; Mayurā-; aravay;
bera-; varanan; pārākmen; vaturen; saturan; ariyū; Mirisi-;
nerā; kavari-; puray, purā; varad, varadat, varadak, varaj;
-viri- < * pūruva-, cf. pūrva-; however, it cannot be < pūrva-,
bec. -rv- > -v-; harnā; balakarin; baṇvar; Pirit-; sivur;
anatapirise-, anatapirisey-; suran; sakur-; pavarana; pāhārā;
itiri-; pirikāpū; muṅguru-; sarahu, sartumā; piritās-; piri-;
ambaranin; nirind-; piriheḷā; paṇḍuru; uturat; vahare; hāriyā-;
giṅgiriyaḥ [§22, 1]; marumakane etc.; (uti)rika; ārogya;
anantarayen; vicāra; (anadara)-; giri-, giriya-, giriye, giriya,
giri-.

- 3.c. Nevertheless a few words represent Sk. -r- as -l- due to
the influence of the Eastern Prakrits which changed Sk. r to l.
e.g. kulun- (Pl.S.), kulunu- (Pl.S.-10th c.), MSgh. kulunu
represents Sk. karuṇā-. For -l- in this word cf. AMg.Pk.
kaluna- = Sk. karuṇa- 'compassionate' [v.Pischel, PkG. §257].

3.d. In the following words, however, -r- appears as -l- but is written -ḷ-, due perhaps to a confusion in writing of Sgh. -l- and Sgh. -ḷ- [§1d.4c]. I am not inclined to agree with Geiger who remarks "In a few words we have to assume that -r- (through -l-) has changed to -ḷ- " [v. SghG. §75 (2)]. e.g. in the 10th c. ātuḷ, ātuḷa-, ātuḷu-, ātuḷā-, ātuḷat, MSgh. ātuḷ, ātuḷa represents a form \equiv antira- [§10,7d], cf. Sk. antara-. For -l- cf. Mg.Pk. antala- = Sk. antara- [v. Pischel, PkG. §256]. As against the above-quoted forms there exists also Sgh. atara- cf. atara- (Mv.I; Tg.R) < antara-. diḷind- (Pl.S), MSgh. diḷindu represents Sk. daridra-. In this particular word -ḷ- may be influenced by Pa. daḷidda- (but Pa. ḷ ?) beside Pa. daḷidda- [v. PTS PaD.], cf. Mg.Pk. daḷidda- [v. Pischel, id.]. piriheḷā (Pl.S) is the Ger. of piriheḷanava which, if representing Sk. pariharati?, is influenced by a Mg.Pk. form \equiv palihaladi. pahaḷ (An.Sk), pahaḷavan (An.Sk.), cf. ^{MSgh.} vahal beside vahara 'assistance' if representing Sk. upakāra-? [v. also GES. s.v. vahara] is influenced by a Mg.Pk. form \equiv uvagāla-.

4. Sk. -l-

4.a. Professor Turner remarks "Primitive Indian -r- has retained its pronunciation, but Primitive Indian -l- between vowels has become -ḷ-, a change parallel with those of -n- to -ṇ- and -m- to -ṃ-." [v. JRAS. Oct.1921, 'Gujarati Phonology' §53]. According to him, the area in which -l- > -ḷ-

corresponds to the area in which $-n- > -ṇ-$ i.e. West and North-West groups; but where this $-ṇ-$ has become $-n-$ again as in the Central and Eastern groups, the $-ḷ-$ too seems to have become $-l-$ again. In Oriya, however, the $-ḷ-$ $< -l-$ has remained $-ḷ-$. But in Sindhi, also in Eastern Hindi and Bihari one finds $-r-$ and not $-ḷ-$, and this intervocalic $-r-$ seems to be a further modification of $-ḷ-$.

- 4.b. Sinhalese has preserved intervocalic $-l-$, and $-ḷ-$ in Sinhalese represents the single intervocalic cerebral occlusives of Sanskrit [§36].

$-l- > -ḷ-$

Taladara-; kulaha, kula-, kulat, kulan; Batapalaha; upala-, opula-; [sa](kala)-, siyal-; tel, tela, telat; mula; miliya, milāyat; Nila-, nil-; hala, hal, halā, halat; bayali-, bayalihi; tila-; palaha-; vetayala-; pala, phala; vahala; veherala etc.; avul; kale; Salamevan-, Salameyvan-; laha-; Hilā; bili-; tal, talan; rakval; akusal; Kiling-; kusalayan; kābāli; vel-, vela-, velā; talā-; tala; balat, balatun, bālātun; nimala-; tala $<$ tala- 'surface'; pugul; vimal-; valā-; viyavulak; galā; Kama[la]-; kol-, kolat, kolen; maḍula, maṇḍulu etc.; (Solī); (dāli)-; Maṅgul-; ula-, ulu-, ul-, olu-; akala-; (dukula); kālayehi; sāle, sāl; sulab-; dāla-; ākulayak; vāli-.

- 4.c. However, there are some instances where Sk. $-l-$ is written $-ḷ-$.

1) The writing $-ḷ-$ in the following words is presumably

influenced by the -l- in the corresponding Pali words (but Pali ḷ is obscure). In Pali itself, in some words only the -l- form is found, while in the others the -ḷ- form is found beside the -l- form.

e.g. Hel- (Rb; Ip) cf. Pa. Sīhala- < Siṃhala-; Pel (An.Sk) cf. Pa. Pālī- beside Pālī- < pālī-, for ḷ in Pa. [cf. TND. s.v. pālī²]; valandanu (Mg; Bd), vālā(nda)nu (Bd), (valanda)nu (Ng), vālāndu (Bd), vālandūvan (An.Sk) cf. Pa. valañjēti beside valañjēti [v. GSghG. §75 (1)] < ava + √lañj-, lañjayati [GPLS. §66 (1)]; Kala- (B.P.Ins. V) 'Nom. prop'? cf. Pa. kāla- beside kāla- < kāla-, for ḷ in Pa. [cf. TND. s.v. kālo].

ii) In the following, the writing of Sk. -l- as -ḷ- points to a confusion in writing of Sgh. -l- (< -l-) and Sgh. -ḷ- (< the single intervocalic cerebral occlusives of Sanskrit).

e.g. kalaha (An.Sk) < Sk.Pa. kalaha- 'quarrel'; patul (An.Sk) < Sk.Pa. pādātala-; jiyal (An.Sk.), (di)yal (Vg.S.Dp) < jagat + sakala-?, Pa. sakala-; heli- (Mdg) perh. < *svētalī- [v. also TND. s.v. seto]; Dāpula- (Nt; Kb; Vg. S.Dp), Dāpulu- (Mdg), Dāpu[ḷu]- (Mdg.) < Pa. Dappula-?. This confusion perhaps accounts for the writing ḷ in the instances where -r- > -l-, as shown above, in ātul, dilind- piriheḷā, pahal [§id.3d]. Again, the writing -l- for the expected -ḷ- in bālayaṭa (Pl.S) if < *bhāṭika- and illat (An.Sk), illā (An.Sk.), illanu (An.Sk), illi(ye)min (Pl.S) if < īḍayati [§36,4d,6b.], is due to this confusion. All these instances occur in the 10th c.. Lanerolle in SghD. Vol.I, Pt.I, p.xxxix, remarks "Sinhalese

had a settled system of spelling in respect of the four letters n,ṇ and l,ḷ right up to the end of the 16th century, when, owing to diverse circumstances, the tradition became interrupted. Thereafter in the transcription of old texts as well as in original writings the mode of spelling began to be confused. This confusion is seen in a large number of printed editions of old texts as well as in modern literature." But, as shown above, the confusion in the writing of -l- and -ḷ- had occurred in the 10th c.. For the confusion between -n- and -ṇ- [v. §41; also cf. Introduction].

- 4.d. Sk. l- > n- in nāṅgū (Kg;Blv), nāṅganu (Kg;Mdg), nāṅga (Pl.S), nāṅgiya (K.429) [10th c.] < Sk. laṅghayati, Pa. laṅghēti, Pk. laṅghēi, perhaps due to assimilation on account of the following nasal. As against these, l- is found in the 4th c. in legitaka (Tg.R) and in the 10th c. in lāṅgū (An.Sk; Vg.S.Dp; Pl.S), lā[ṅgū] (Avg). It is perhaps this assimilation we find in MSgh. naḍa 'filth' < Sk.Pa. laṇḍa- [v.GSghG. §60 (2)]. As remarked by Geiger [v.id.], "In other words the change l- > n- belongs to Pre-Sinhalese time":
- e.g. nagal (or nagul) 'plough' cf. Pk. naṅgala-, laṅgala-, Pa. naṅgala-, Sk. laṅgala-, lāṅgala- [v.Bloch, LLM. Index, s.v. nāgar]; nagal (or nagul) 'tail' cf. Pk. naṅgūla-, naṅgōla-, laṅgūla-, laṅgōla-, Pa. naṅgula-, laṅgula-, Sk. lāṅgūla- [v. TND. s.v. laṅgur¹; also Bloch, id. s.v. nāṅgā]; nalala 'forehead' cf. Pk. naḷāḍa-, ṇilāḍa-, Pa. naḷaṭa-,

lalāṭa-, Sk. lalāṭa-, rarāṭa-, nitāla- [v. TND. s.v. nidhār; also Bloch, id. s.v. nidhāl]. As pointed out by Bloch [v.LLM. §170] these are cases of dissimilation.

§46.

Sibilants and h

1. In Pali, the sibilants ś, ṣ, s of Sanskrit have all become s [v. Geiger, PLS. §35, p55].

The Shahbazgarhi Inss. of Aśoka distinguish the three sibilants ś, ṣ, s. Hultzsch remarks "While at Kalsi these three symbols are used indiscriminately, the Shahbazgarhi text generally employs each of them where it would have been in its proper place in Sanskrit" [v. Hultzsch, Aś. Inss. p.lxxxvi]. The dialect of the Mansehra text is nearly identical with the Shahbazgarhi one [v.id.p.xcvii].

In Prakrit only the dental sibilant is found [v. Pischel, PKG. §227] except Māgadhi which has only ś to represent all the three sibilants of Sanskrit [v.id. §229].

In Modern Indian, in the North-West, the three sibilants are distinguished. In India proper, there is no distinction; both initially and intervocalically, the three sibilants have become s. It may be mentioned here that in Sindhi, Pañjabi, Lahnda, and Assamese, the intervocalic sibilants have become -h-, while initially they have become s-.

e.g. v. TND. s.v. sir¹; sora; sāt¹; das; bis²; ghas.

2. In Ceylon, the most ancient Inss. yet discovered, according to Wickremasinghe [v. E.Z.I, 1, p.12], are the Vessagiri Cave Inss.. It is not possible to assign any relative dates to them. The similarity in their script as well as in their phraseology suggests that they probably belonged to the same age. Wickremasinghe [v.id. p.14] assigns them all "to a period earlier than the latter half of the 2nd c. B.C."

When we examine the writing of the Vessagiri Cave Inss. as a whole, we find that s' represents Sk. s', s in a great majority of cases. This is so in the 1st c. B.C. too.

- 2.a. In the 2nd c. B.C. Sk. s' is written s' eight times and s twice.

Sk. s' is written s', in

Sōṇa- < Sōṇa-; catudisā- (four times) < catur'disā-; Śīri- < * śīrī-, cf. Pa. sirī- (sirī-), Sk. śrī-; Sōṇutara-, Sōṇutara(ha) < *Sōṇuttara-.

Sk. s' is written s, in

catudisa- (twice) < caturdisā-.

In the same century Sk. s is written s' fourteen times and s thrice.

Sk. s is written s', in

śagasa (nine times), śagasa (twice), < saṅgha-; [u]paśika-, upaśika- < upāsikā-; Sumanaha < Sumana-.

Sk. s is written s, in

upasaka- < upāsaka-; upasika- < upāsikā-; Sumanaha < Sumana-.

2.b. In the 1st c. B.C. Sk. ś is written ś seven times and s once.

Sk. ś is written ś, in

catudisā- (five times) < caturdisā-; Sōṇasā < Sōṇa-;

Sīvagutaha < Sīvagupta-.

Sk. ś is written s, in

catudidisa- (dittography for catudisa-) < caturdisā-.

In the same century Sk. s is written ś eleven times and s once.

Sk. s is written ś, in

śagasa (eight times), śaghasā, śagha- < saṅgha-; śūdasāne < sudarsāna-.

Sk. s is written s, in

sagasa < saṅgha-.

2.c. In the 1st c. A.D., however, there is no occurrence of the writing of ś. Only s is written as in sagaya, sagasa < saṅgha-; sovana- < sauvarṇa-; siddham cf. siddham.

It is quite possible then that in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. or even earlier, ś was the representative of the three sibilants of Sanskrit.^{xx} Herein Sinhalese follows the Māgadhi Prakrit [v. above] and shows itself as an Eastern language [v. Introduction].

(xx) There is no occurrence of Sk. s in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. Despite the negative evidence, it is presumable that the fate of Sk. s was identical with that of Sk. ś and of Sk. ś.

Furthermore, the confusions in the writing of ś and s in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. may be compared with the indiscriminate writing of the three sibilants in the Kalsi Inss. of Aśoka.

3. The ś of the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. had become s by the 1st c.A.D. as attested by the writing s in sagaya, sagasa, sovana-, siddham. This s > h by the 2nd c. A.D. as is evidenced by the writing h in hātika < śātīkā-; hamana, hamānana(ya) (error for hamānānata(ya)) < Pa. samana-, cf. Sk. śramaṇa-; pohatakara, pohatakarahi < Pa. pōsathagāra-, cf. Sk. upavasathagāra-; Vahaba-, (Vaha)bayaha < Vṛṣabha-. It is to be noted here that Yahaśini- (Vg.R.C.C.VI), if representing Sk. Yaśasvinī-? would not necessarily point to this change as far back as the 2nd c. B.C.. In this particular word the h is perhaps due to dissimilation on account of the following sibilant.

4. Examples of h

hātika; hala, hal, halā, halat; hakata-, hakada-; laha-; Hilā; palaha-; dahasa, dahasak, jahasa-, jahasaka-; rāhān; Vahaba-, (Vaha)bayaha; vahala; veherala etc.; pahan, pahana; behed-; hamana, hamānana(ya), mahan; hasahi, hapi-; heran-; havajarana, havurud- etc.; huna-; hir-; Hel-; hoya-; him, (hi)min; hamuyehi; mehenivar, mehenivarhi; himi-, himiyan etc.; hindā, hindvanu etc.; hā; mehe, meheyin, meheyat;

muhundhi; pohatakara, pohatakarahi; poho-, pohoyā; pahāhi,
pahayā; vahare; bahā.

5. Geiger in SghG. §80 (1) remarks "Frequently s has changed to h. Alternating forms with s or h are very numerous, and it is obvious that those with h are more modern and their use in literature is increasing from century to century. The change itself is very old." These statements of Geiger are inconsistent. The change of s to h cannot be very old and at the same time show that forms with h are more modern. There is no question here of alternating forms with s or h as suggested by Geiger. From the inscriptional evidence, as shown above, the change of s to h goes back to the 2nd c. A.D., so that forms with h in the Inss. after the 2nd c. A.D. as well as in MSgh. show the inherited forms, whereas forms with s are either learned spellings or loans from Pali. At least they have been influenced by the Pali forms.

e.g. sate(hi), satehiya, sataka-, saya-, sayaka-, siyak,
sīyan; Sivayaha, Sivayi, Savaya; senasuna, (senasana); sāl,
sāle; sasun, sasnehi; Salamevan-, Salameyvan-; suran; Sak-;
sesu-; sāt-; sakur-; saturan; samay; soyay; Yasa-, yasa,
yesen; dasa-; visin; des, desen, deshi; akusal; kusalayan;
Vesāgā; desun; anusasā; apilīsarana-, apilīsarana-;
anatapirise-, anatapirisey-; doḷosa-, doḷos-; soḷos-;
ekaḷos-; paṣaḷos-; tudus-; sa-, sā-; sātak; biseva-, bisev-,
bisevhu, bisevā; Aseḷā, Āseḷā, Āseḷa-, Āseḷ-; visenī-, visenī-,

viseniy[ā], visevinī-; des, basnen; satos-; gasanu; givisā;
 saga-, saṅg- etc.; sovaṇa-; Saba-; sata-; saha; [sa](kala)-,
 siyal-; sava-, sav-; sime, sīmā, sīmavat, sīmāyen; suvar-;
 sat-, sata-; sabhāye, sabhāyen; sandhā, sandaha; senevi-;
 sulab-; sama-; suta-; samaṅg-; sāmāṅgin; senhi; sale-;
 Sumanayaha; sādi; Saṅg-Baṇḍay; sataka-, satu-; sama(te)ya-;
 satanata, satnat; sara, sar-; Saṃbo-, Saṅgbo-, Saṅgboy-;
 sādā; Sammā-; Sambudun; sakur, sakar;-se,-sey,-seyin; samiyen;
 sarahu, sartumā; somi-; siri, sari-; siddham, sidha etc.;
 samāhita; Sen-, Senā-, Senu-; siddhanta; sāṅgā-; suvadā;
 sāvaddā-; Si-, Sī-, sī-; adasana-; paṭisatariya-, paṭisatiriya-;
 karisehi; koṭasa, koṭasahi; visiti-, visiya-, visi-, vissak;
 vasavasika-; vasiya-, vāsi-, vāsiyan, vāssan; asana-, asanin;
 Mahasena-; vasana, vasanaka-; masa-, mas, mashi, masā; divasa,
 davas, davasakat; Budadasa-, Buddas-; Kumaratasa-; Vasadavaya;
 isā; S(ī)sen-; vasanu, vasavanu, vasavay, vāsvū; asanhi;
 upāsaka-; avasānayehi; avasa-, avas, avasin etc.; vāsa-; das-,
 dasan; piritās-; visiyāti-.

6. In these particular words, the presence of s would not necessarily point either to learned spellings or to loans from Pali, s may be due to dissimilation on account of the preceding or succeeding h.

e.g. dahasa, dahasak, jahasa-, jahasaka- < daśaśata-; mehesana-
 < mahēśāna-; sohovur- < sahodara-; saha, sahak < sahāya-;
 saha(si)- < sahasra-; sihasun < Pa. sīhāsana-, Sk. simhāsana-.

7. In certain words s > h which is lost. This is a secondary loss in Sinhalese following the loss of original Sk. h. [§47]. The normal development is s to h [v. above]. e.g. kiri, kiriya etc. < * kariha- < Pa. karīsa-; pā- < * paha- < prāsada-; nava- < * navaha- < nivāsa-; similarly mīvun, mivun, mivan; e, eyat; jiyal, (di)yal; ulu-, ula-, ul-, olu-; minī; abadi-, abādi-.

§47.

Sk. h

1. Sk. h- is written h- in the 2nd c. A.D. in hiya- (Pkm., 126-170 A.D.) < hita-. In the same century the loss of Sk. h- is evident in ata (Tp.S., 173-195 A.D.) < hasta-.

1.a. Examples of the loss of h-

ata, at, atin < hasta-; āt-, āti- < hastin-.

But even after the time when h- is lost, h- is written h-. In modern times too we find,

i) Forms without h- as e.g. ata < hasta-; ātā < hastin-; īyē 'yesterday' < Pa. hiyyo, Sk. hyah.

ii) Forms with h- as e.g. harinu; hidolu; hiṅgul; has
[For etymologies, v. below].

An important fact is that in every case where forms with h- are found, there are also found forms without h- beside them.

e.g. arinu beside harinu 'to dismiss', Inf. fr. Sk. harati;
 idolu beside hidolu 'swing' < hindōlaka-; iṅgul beside
 hiṅgul 'vermillion' < hiṅgula-; as 'seal; signet' beside
 has 'goose' < haṁśa-.

- 1.b. Therefore, forms without h- seem to be the inherited
 Sinhalese words and forms with h- loans from Pali. The spell-
 ings with h- after the time of the loss of h- are either
 conservative spellings or denote loans from Pali.

e.g. (hati)-; hasin; harvā, harnā, hāriyā-; hiya-; (huti).

2. Sk. -h-

Sk. -h- is written -h- in the 2nd c. B.C. in maha-
 (Vg. R.B.C. IV) < mahā-. But already in the same century
 there is an apparent loss of -h- in gapati- (Vg.R.B.C. IX) i.e.
 gāpati- if < gṛhapati-. Again in the 2nd c. A.D. -h- is
 lost presumably in ovaya (Vg.I) i.e. for ovāya, Ger. fr.
 apavāhayati, Pa. apavāhēti. In the 4th c. A.D., however, there
 is a clear instance of the loss of -h- in vi- (Tg.R) i.e. for
 vī- < vrīhi-, so that at least by the 4th c. Sk. -h- was lost
 in Sinhalese.

3. Examples of the loss of -h-

gapati-; ovaya; vi-; ma-; ge, geṭ, gehi; Hel-; mīvun, mivun,
 mivan; Si-, Sī-, sī-; hā; nerā; valā-; -ge; isā.

The following are examples of the loss of secondary -h-:

kavana (B.P. Ins. IV) < kahavana- < karsāpana-; varala (B.P. Ins. VIII) < *vaharala- < *varisala-.

The -h- of -aha (Gen. sg. termination) is lost, in mapu[r]mukā (Gd.R.a) and in the 10th c., in mapurmukā, mapurumukā; Vadurā; samvatā; tamā, tumā; vasā.

4. But, even after the loss of -h-, -h- is written -h-. When we consider the modern language we find,

(i) Forms with -h- beside forms in which -h- is lost.

e.g. mahalu, mālu 'old; aged' < mahallaka-; boho, bō 'many; much' < bahu-; moho, mō 'ignorance' < mōha-; lehe, lē 'blood' < lōhita-; loho, lō 'iron; metal' < lōha-; mihi, mī 'earth' < mahī-.

(ii) Forms where -h- is lost.

e.g. vī 'paddy' cf. 4th c. vi i.e. vī < vrīhi-; hā 'with; together with' cf. 10th c. hā < saha; neranu 'to set aside' cf. 10th c. nerā < *neranu < ^{Pa.}niharati; sī 'lion' cf. 10th c. sī- < Pa. sīha-; valā 'cloud' cf. 10th c. valā- < valāhaka-; gē 'house' cf. 10th c. ge < gēha-; nigā 'scorn' < nigrāha-; bā 'arm' < bahu-; varā 'pig' < varāha-; avā, vivā 'marriage' < avāha-, vivāha-.

The fact that in some words only forms without -h- are found suggests that the words in which -h- is lost are the genuine Sinhalese words and words having -h- are loans from Pali. The spellings with -h- after the time of the loss of -h- are either conservative spellings or denote loans from Pali.

e.g. maha-, mahā-, mahayaha, mahayā-, mahapāṇan, mahāpāṇan;
 vahara, vehera, veheraṭ, vaheraṭaya etc.; saha; Mahasena-;
 Mahamalun; Mahadali-Mahana-; ~~baha~~, pārāhār, pārāhāra, perāhār
 etc.; sahā, sahak; Mihind, Mihindu, Mihindaram-; bāhār, bāhārī,
 (bāhāra); mehesena-; samāhita; sihasun; pāhārā; gihi-; sohovur-.

§48.

Aspirates of Sanskrit

1. Sgh. has de-aspirated the Sk. aspirates. This may be due to a Dravidian influence - cf. Tamil which has no aspirates [v. Bloch, LIA. p.62], or more probably to a native Ceylon substratum.

Sgh. shows this de-aspiration from the earliest times as evidenced by these Inss.. It cannot be argued that this de-aspiration was only graphic, since the fate of the Sk. aspirates has been the same as that of the Sk. non-aspirates in Sgh.. As previously shown under their respective sections, for instance,

Sk. k-, kh- > k-; Sk. g-, gh- > g-;

Sk. c-, ch- > s-; Sk. d-, dh- > d-;

Sk. p-, ph- > p-; Sk. b-, bh- > b-.

Again, in intervocalic position,

Sk. -k-, -kh- > -y- or was lost

Sk. -g-, -gh- > -y- or was lost

Sk. -t-, -th- > -y- or was lost

Sk. -d-, -dh- > -y- or was lost

Sk. -ṭ-, -ṭh- > -ḷ-

Sk. -ḍ-, -ḍh- > -ḷ-

Also compare,

Sk. -kk-, Mid.Ind. -kkh- (< Sk. -kṣ-, -ṣk-) > -k-

Sk. -ṭṭ-, Mid.Ind. -ṭṭh- (< Sk. -ṣṭ-, -ṣṭh-) > -ṭ-

Sk. -tt-, Mid.Ind. -tth- (< Sk. -st-, -sth-) > -t-

Sk. -jj-, Mid.Ind. -jjh- (< Sk. -dhy-) > -d-

Mid.Ind. -pp- (< Sk. -tp-), Mid.Ind. -pph- (< Sk. -ṣp-) > -p- etc..

2. Sk. intervocalic -bh-, however, offers a striking instance where the aspiration is preserved, since it was shown that Sk. -bh- > -h- in Sgh. [§40, 9a].

3. In the following instances, the aspirates are actually written. These are not to be explained as exceptions as suggested by Geiger [v. SghG. §36 (1)]. This writing is either learned spelling after Sk., Pa. or denotes loan-words from Sk., Pa..

bhatu-; bhiku-; thama; phala; bhoga; Dhamu-; śagha-, śaghaśa; Majhimaha; patith(1)te; Abhā-, Abhay-, Abhaya-, abhaya; vedha; vadha; sabhāye, sabhāyen; sandhā; ulaghana, [ula]ṅghana, ulā(gha)nā; Abhidham-; lābha, lābhayehi; abhiyukta-; abhiṣeka,

abhiṣekayen; viyakhan; vibangha- (error for vibhanga-);
 siddham, siddhim, sidham, sidha; siddhi; Buddhamitra-;
 siddhānta; jhita [§37,3b].

§49.

Metathesis of Consonants

1. Instances of metathesis of consonants are found occasionally in Mid. Ind. [cf. Geiger, PLS. §47; Pischel, PkG. §354].

Some Sgh. words are the result of this early metathesis e.g. MSgh. keṇera 'she-elephant' cf. Pa.Pk. kaṇēru- < Sk. karēṇu-; vahan 'sandals' cf. Pa. upāhanā, Pk. uvāṇahā, pāṇahā, pāhanā, vāhanā < Sk. upānah-.

2. The following are examples of metathesis found in these Inss.. Their corresponding Mid. Ind. forms, however, show no metathesis:

kavahana met. fr. kahavana < kāṣāpāna-, cf. Pa. kahāpāna-, Pk. kahāvāna-; laha- met. fr. ^hhala- < śalākā-, cf. Pa. salākā-, Pk. salāyā-; mahan met. fr. ^hhamana < śramana-, cf. Pa. Pk. samana-; mehenivar, mehenivar-, mehenivarhi met. fr. ^hhemenivar- < śramaṇīghara-, cf. Pa.Pk. samanī-. Similarly mehe, meheyin, meheyat < śrama-, cf. Pa. Pk. sama-; muhundhi i.e. writing for muhundhi [§58,5.] < samudra-, cf. Pa. samudda-; itiri- < atirikta-, cf. Pa. atiritta-;

havurudu, havurudu-, havurud-, havuruduyehi, havurudyehi,
 havurudden pres. < samvatsara-, cf. Pa. samvacchara-; vahare <
 Pk. varisa- [\$53,3c]; veherala, veheraleya, veharala, vaharila,
 vaharala < * varisala-; herañ- < BSk. śramaṇera-?, cf. Pa.
 sāmaṇera-; pekaḍaka lw. Sk. Pa. pēṭaka-ka-? [\$36,4a]; vahan-se <
 * vabhān met. fr. Sk. bhavān [\$40,9a].

marumakane, marumaṇaka, maṇumaraka, marumakaṇakane (error
 for marumakane) cf. MSgh. munuburā 'grandson', acc. to Geiger,
 "are probably various transpositions of * maṇōramaka-" [v.
 GSghG. §88 (1)], but acc. to Wickremasinghe, "seem to be no
 more than the Tamil word maru-makaṇ" [v. E.Z. I, 1, p.17].

§50.

Double Consonants and Consonant-groups of Sk.

1. The double consonants of Sk. were preserved in Mid.Ind.
 e.g. Sk. lajjā > Pa.Pk. lajjā; Sk. śuddha- > Pa.Pk. suddha-.
 The consonant-groups of Sk. were assimilated into double con-
 sonants in Mid.Ind., and this assimilation primarily marked
 off Mid. Ind. from Primitive Indian. [cf. Chatterji, ODBLang.
 §134]. In the consonant-group the explosive consonant absorbed
 the implosive. Hence in a group like -kt- the resulting sound
 was -tt- e.g. bhaktam > bhattam. Professor Turner in JRAS.
 Oct. 1921, 'Gujarati Phonology' §73 remarks "Where both sounds

were explosive, i.e. when both formed a syllable with the following vowel, that having the greater degree of closure was the dominant. Hence groups like stop + r or stop + nasal became double stop e.g. takram > takkam; agnih > aggī. A sibilant being absorbed imparted aspiration to the group. In some cases the more open of two explosive consonants exercised a certain influence (owing to the position assumed by the tongue, etc. in the passage from one sound to another) on the more closed or dominant consonant, e.g. dental + y or dental + s > double palatal; ks in the western dialects > cch; dental + v or m > double labial (double dental in some dialects). In the groups hy, ry the y became j and so the dominant consonant."

These Mid. Ind. double consonants (< original double consonants or < consonant-groups of Sk.) have the following 3 developments in Mod. Ind.:-

- 1) Double consonants remain unchanged in Panjabi and Lahnda [cf. also Bloch, LIA. p.89].
- 2) They have become single without any effect on the preceding vowel in Sindhi [cf. also Bloch, LLM. §68].
- 3) Elsewhere we find that they have become single with lengthening of the preceding vowel by way of compensation. [cf. also Chatterji, ODBLang. §138, p.259].
e.g. P. lajj; S. laja; H. lāj etc. < lajjā- [v. TND. s.v. lāj]; P. mattā; S. mato; H. mātā etc. < matta- [v.id. s.v. mā]; P.L. ratta; S. rato; H. rātā etc. < rakta-, Mid.Ind.

ratta- [v. id. s.v. rāto]; P.L. satt; S. sata; H. sāt etc. < sapta-, Mid. Ind. satta- [v. id. s.v. sāt¹].

2. From the earliest times, the Brāhmī Inss. of Ceylon give evidence of assimilation of groups of consonants into double consonants. These double consonants, however, are written single, not "made single" as remarked by Wickremasinghe [v. E.Z. I, 1, p.15]. e.g. Damarakita- (Vg.R.B.C.I) < Dharmaraksita-; puta (Vg. R.B.C. IIa) < putra-; catudiśa- (Vg. R.B.C.I) lw. Pa. catuddisa- < caturdiśa- etc. Hultzsch remarks "The inscriptions of Asoka and of the Andhra kings express every double consonant by a single letter" [v. Hultzsch, Aś.Inss. p.lix], and it is taken for granted that this is only graphic. Geiger [v. SghG. §37 (2)] rightly remarks "The same holds good with regard to the Brāhmī Inss. of Ceylon."

This theory is supported by the following observations. The 2nd c. A.D. heralded the following changes in the single intervocalic guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental and labial consonants of Sk.. For instance, Sk. -k-, -g- > -y- [§34,6,8] Sk. -c- > -j- [§35,6.]; Sk. -ṭ- > -ḍ- [§36,4.]; Sk. -t-, -d- > -y- [§37,6,8.]; Sk. -p- > -v- [§40,6.]. Up to this time (2nd c. A.D.), all consonants representing original Sk. double consonants with these or groups of consonants having as their explosive sounds a consonant belonging to one of the above-mentioned five classes were pronounced as double consonants although written single; otherwise, these consonants too

should have fallen together with the original single intervocalic consonants (guttural, palatal, cerebral, dental and labial) of Sk. and eventually shared their fate. Then, from the 2nd c. A.D. onwards, these double consonants, still written single, were pronounced single as in MSgh.. Evidence for the change of Sk. -s- to -h- is also first found in the 2nd c. A.D. [§46,3]. Therefore -ss- < Sk. -śy-, -sy-, -sy-, -śr-, -sr-, -rś-, -rs- etc. was pronounced as double sibilant up to the 2nd c. A.D. and from the 2nd c. A.D. onwards became single sibilant. The 2nd c. A.D. also shows evidence for the loss of Sk. -y- and of Sk. -v- [§§43,3; 44,3]. Up to the 2nd c. A.D. then -yy- < Sk. -ry- or -vv- < Sk. -rv- were pronounced as -yy- and -vv- respectively and from the 2nd c. A.D. onwards became single -y- and -v-. It is also presumable that -ll- and the double nasals -nn-, -mm- were pronounced as double before the 2nd c. A.D. and as single from the 2nd c. A.D. onwards.

3. By the 2nd c. A.D., then, all double consonants had become single in Sgh.. This change brought in its train compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, although MSgh. shows no such lengthening. These Inss. provide us with no direct written evidence for this compensatory lengthening, but there is certain indirect evidence which suggests this.

As shown previously, $\bar{a} - i > \bar{a}$, and the first appearance of this change was in the 4th c. A.D. [§10,1.].

We find in the 2nd c. A.D. *pati* (Pkm; Tp.S) and in the 3rd c. A.D. *pati* (Jv) which represents Sk. *prāpti-*. Since *-tt-* < *-pt-* would have become *-t-* by the 2nd c. A.D. [v. above] we cannot assume that the writing *pati* of the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. denotes *patti*. In the 5th and 6th c. A.D. this word is written *peta* (Rv.P; Ng.R) i.e. for *pāta* [§10, 1, 7b]. To explain this *ā* we have to postulate a form **pāti* for the writing *pati* of the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D.. This **pāti* does not represent an original Sk. **pāti-* but a pre-2nd c. A.D. *patti* < Sk. *prāpti-*; hence the *-t-* survives. On the contrary, if we assume that the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. writing *pati* represents an actual pronunciation *pati*, we cannot explain the later *ā*. Similarly the 2nd c. A.D. writing *hati-* (Pkm) denotes a form **hāti-* < pre-2nd c. A.D. *hatti-* < Sk. *hastin-* which would have given a 4th c. A.D. **hāti-* (**āti-*) as attested by the 10th c. *āt-*, *āti-* and MSgh. *āt*.

These two words therefore indirectly attest that a preceding a shortened double consonant was lengthened to *ā*, but this *ā* was written short, just as original Sk. *ā* was written *a*. We cannot say definitely when this *ā* > *a*. This shortening probably happened at the same time as the shortening of original Sk. *ā* to *a* in Sgh. i.e. 8th c. A.D. [§1, 4, 5]; therefore there was no compensatorily lengthened *ā* after the 8th c. A.D. [§6, 2b].

The fact that *ā* is written in the 10th c. in *vādu* <

vardhakin- and Dāpula-, Dāpulu- cf. Pa. Dappula- would again suggest that the lengthened ā had existed, although not written before this time. Perhaps these appeared as learned forms.

Indirect evidence for compensatory lengthening of i is as follows:- We find in the 2nd c. A.D. jina- (Pkm; Vg.II) and in the 3rd c. A.D. jina- (Jv) which represents Sk. jīrna-. Since -nn- < -rn- would have become -n- by the 2nd c. A.D. [v. above] the writing jina- of the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. cannot denote jinna-. Perhaps it denotes * jīna- < pre-2nd c. A.D. jinna- < Sk. jīrna-. This * jīna- form can be upheld thus: i — a > a — a in the 4th c. A.D. [§18], so that if the writing jina- in the 2nd and 3rd c. A.D. is to be construed as jina-, we would expect a 4th c. A.D. form * jana-; but that this is not the case is proved by the 5th c. A.D. writing jina- (Md.S).

Indirect evidence for compensatory lengthening of u is afforded thus: u — a > a — a in the 2nd c. B.C. [§21]. Since -tt- would have become -t- by the 2nd c. A.D. [v. above] the writing puta (Jv) in the 3rd c. A.D. and puta (Tg.R) in the 4th c. A.D. etc. cannot denote putta. We have to postulate * pūta < pre-2nd c. A.D. putta- < Sk. putra-, and therefore would not be expected to give * pata in the 3rd and 4th c. A.D., following the change of original u — a to a — a.

It is apparent then that i and u preceding a shortened double consonant were lengthened to ī, ū, but were written

short, just as original Sk. \bar{i} , \bar{u} were written i, u. It is probable that this \bar{i} , \bar{u} > i, u at the same time as original Sk. \bar{i} , \bar{u} > i, u in Sgh. i.e. 8th c. A.D. [§2,3].

§51.

Stop + Stop

1. Homorganic

1.a. Sk. -kk-

-kk- > -k-: kukulaṇ, (kukul)-; tik, tik-.

Pk. ekka- is probably lw. Sk. $\bar{e}ka$ - [TND. s.v. ek; cf. also BLLM. §213]. Chatterji [v. ODBLang. §136, p.256] explains "Sanskrit words in Mid. Ind. also had to conform to the phonetic habit of Mid. Ind. which would tolerate only double stops in the middle of a word, and not single ones, as single ones would be voiced and spirantised: thus $\bar{e}ka$ -, reintroduced in Mid. Ind., became ekka-, whence a Common Mod. Ind. $\bar{e}k$." These Inss. show $\bar{e}ka$ -, $\bar{e}k$ -, $\bar{e}kak$, $\bar{e}knaṭ$, $\bar{e}kaḷos$ -, cf. MSgh. $\bar{e}k$; $\bar{e}kenek$, $\bar{e}kenekun$, $\bar{e}kenakun$, $\bar{e}keneknaṭ$, $\bar{e}kkenekun$, $\bar{e}kkeneknaṭ$. is perhaps < a Pk. form * $\bar{e}kken$ 'ekka-?

1.b. Sk. -cch-

-cch- > -s-, in the 10th c., in gasa, gas; apis.

Mirisi- is perhaps < Mid. Ind. * $\bar{m}aricca$ - rather than directly from Sk. $\bar{m}arīca$ -, since Sk. -c- > -d- [§35,6].

1.c. Sk. -jj-

-jj- > -d-, in the 10th c., in sādi. Thus -jj- shared the fate of original Sk. -j- [§35, 7a].

1.d. Sk. -ṭṭ-

-ṭṭ- > -ṭ- :

(pa)ṭa; koṭa, koṭa, keṭū.

1.e. Sk. -tt-

-tt- written -t- but pron. -tt- before the 2nd c. A.D.

Sōnutara-, Sōnutara(ha); Bamadata-; Uta(ra)-; Utiya-, Uti-.

Then > -t-:

Utara-, utur-, uturu-; sit-; utarat; ek-bitten; sartumā;
(uti)rika; Kitā-.

1.f. Sk. -ddh-

-ddh- written -d- but pron. -dd- in Budarakita- occurring in the 1st c. B.C.

-ddh- > -d-:

Budu-, Bud-, bud; Sambudun; Budadasa-, Buddas-; bad-; yud-;
varad, varadaṭ, varadak.

The writing of -ddh- as -ddh-, in siddham, siddhim; siddhi; Buddhamitra-; siddhānta; points either to learned spellings or to loan-words from Sk.

si represents Sk. siddham; since -ddh- cannot disappear, it was probably a shortened form of writing of the familiar auspicious word.

By the 10th c. A.D. Sgh. -d- also represented Sk. -j- [§35,7]; therefore in the following 10th c. words are found incorrect learned spellings where -j- is written for -d-: Buj- < Buddha-; baj- < baddha-; varaj- < aparāddha-.

1.g. Sk. -ll-

-ll- > -l- :

balu; ulaghana, ulā(gha)nā, u(la)ṅgnā, [ula]ṅghanā; vāl-; pāl-; Mahamalun.

1.h. Sk. -nn-

-nn- written -n- but pres. pron. -nn- in the following instance occurring in the 1st c. B.C. and 1st c. A.D.:
dine.

-nn- > -n- :

dine, dini, dina, dinaka, paḍidine, dun, dunuvan, dinmi; van, vana-; avanaka-, vanuvan, vanne, vannehi, vanney, vanna, vannaun, vann(e) [§§28,4b; 61,2]; asanhi; uvanaka; unu-.

1.i. Sk. -mm-

-mm- > -m- :

samatavaya; sama(te)ya-; hamuyehi.

1.j. Mid. Ind. -gg-

e.g. vasaga, vasāgin cf. Pa. vassagga-; Viduragu-, Vijuragu- cf. Pa. Vajiragga-.

1.k. Mid. Ind. -pp-

e.g. Dāpula-, Dāpulu- cf. Pa. Dappula-.

1.l. Mid. Ind. -ss-

e.g. vasavasika- cf. Pa. vassāvasika-; vasa cf. Pa. vassa-;
vasaga, vasāgin cf. Pa. vassagga-; vāsvū cf. Pa. vassāpita +
bhūta-.

1.m. Mid. Ind. -ṇṇ-

Mid. Ind. -ṇṇ- > -ṇ- :

tin < Mid. Ind. tiṇṇi; G(o)ṇa- < Mid. Ind. * gonṇa-.

From the 6th c. A.D. onwards this -ṇ- > -n- [§41, 3, 4]:

tun, tunu- < Mid. Ind. tiṇṇi; gon < Mid. Ind. * gonṇa-.

Mid. Ind. -ṇṇ- appears as -ṇḍ- in the word paṇḍuru
 (Pl.S. - 10th c.) which Geiger connects with Pa. pañṇākara-
 [v. GSghG. §63]. If this connection is acceptable -ṇḍ-
 remains unexplained.

2. Heterorganic

In heterorganic groups the first stop is assimilated to
 the second.

2.a. Sk. -tk-

-tk- (Mid. Ind. -kk-) > -k-:

sakur, sakar; balakarin; tāk-, tuvāk-, tuvak-.

The inherited Pa. form of Sk. tāvataka- would be
 * tāvakka-, but instead Pa. shows tāvataka- (with svarabhakti

vowel -a-) as lw. from Sk., whence *tuvāt-* (An.Sk.).

2.b. Sk. -dg-

-dg- (Mid.Ind. -gg-) > -g- :

pugul-; *mūṅguru-* [For ñ, §58,5.].

2.c. Sk. -kt-

-kt- (Mid. Ind. -tt-) written -t- but pron. -tt- in the foll. instances occurring before the 2nd c. A.D.:

bata- < *bhakta-* 'devoted'; *Batapalaha*.

Then > -t- :

bata, *bat*, *batak*, *batat* < *bhakta-* 'rice'; *payutu-*; *batavaṭita-*; *sāt-*; *yut-*, *yutu*; *itiri-* [§49,2]; *viyat-*; *batī-*; *petā*.

vataka- (error for *vutaka-*) is prob. lw. Pa. *vutta-ka-*, cf. Sk. *ukta-*. The writing of -kt- as -kt- in *abhiyukta-* is either a learned spelling or denotes lw. Sk. *id.*.

2.d. Sk. -pt-

-pt- (Mid.Ind. -tt-) written -t- but pron. -tt- before the 2nd c. A.D.:

Sivagutaha; *Puśagute*, *Puśagutaha*, (Pu)śagutena.

Then > -t- :

pati, *peta*, *pet*; *patiya-*; *Guta-*; *sata-*, *sat-*; *pat-*; *gat*, *gata-*; *gattan*, *gatuva-*; *nikata* (error for *nikita*).

2.e. Sk. -bdh-

-bdh- (Mid. Ind. -ddh-) > -d-:

lad, ladi, ladī; ladu-, laddan, laduvan, laduvanat̄.

2.f. Sk. -tp-

-tp- (Mid. Ind. -pp-) > -p- :

Upala-, Opula-.

§52.

Groups with y

In all groups y is assimilated.

1. Stop + y

1.a. Sk. -khy-

-khy- (Mid. Ind. -kkh-) > -k-:

viyakhan < ^z viyākhyāna-, cf. vyākhyāna-. [The aspirate is a learned spelling after a Pa. form ^z vyakkhāna- or ^z vakkhāna-, cf. Pa. vyakkhissam̐ 'I shall tell']].

1.b. Sk. -gy-

-gy- (Mid. Ind. -gg-) > -g- : cf. MSgh. laginu 'to rest in' < lagyati [TND. s.v. lāgnu]. The only example of -gy- is ārogya- (Mdg - 10th c.); the writing of -gy- as -gy- is either a learned spelling or denotes lw. Sk. id..

1.c. Sk. cy-

cy- (Mid. Ind. c-) > c- > s- > h- [§35, 1a]. henu (K.429) < cyavate.

1.d. Sk. -cy-

-cy- (Mid. Ind. -cc-) appears as -c- in the 6th c. in rici- < ^z rucyita-, cf. Pk. ruccida-, MSgh. risi, but in the 10th c. as -s- in pisā < pacyate and not < pacati (since Sk. -c- > -j- > -d- §35,6). The writing -s- in pisā shows that -c- < pre-2nd c. A.D. -cc- < Sk. -cy- had become -s- by the 10th c.

1.e. Sk. jy-

jy- (Mid. Ind. j-) appears as j- in the 1st c. A.D. in jeta- < jyēṣṭha- and again in the 5th c. in Jeṭatissa-. This word does not occur after this period, and there is no other example of Sk. jy-. MSgh. has deta, detu which shows that j- < Sk. jy- > d-. This change probably had occurred at the same time as the change of original Sk. j- to d- 1.e. 8th c. [§35,3a].

1.f. Sk. -jy-

-jy- (Mid. Ind. -jj-) appears as -j- in the 2nd c. A.D. in vibajakahi < vibhājya-ka-; again in the 6th c. in raja- < rājya-. But in the 10th c. it appears as -d- in behed- < bhaisajya- and avud < āvrajya and this writing shows that -j- < pre-2nd c. A.D. -jj- < Sk. -jy- had become -d- by this time, and thus shared the fate of original Sk. -j- [§35,7a]; therefore avuj as aga. avud is a conservative spelling.

N.B. Dental + y

The y is assimilated and the dental is changed to the corresponding palatal both in Mid. and Mod. Ind.. So it is

in Sgh..

1.g. Sk. ty-

ty- (Mid. Ind. c-) appears as c- in the 6th c. in caya < tyāga-.

1.h. Sk. -ty-

-ty- (Mid. Ind. -cc-) appears as -c- in the 2nd c. A.D. in paca-, pacani < Pa. paccaya-, Sk. pratyaya-, and again in the 6th c. in pacayata, but in the 10th c. it appears as -s- in pasa, pasayen, pasayat, pasayak < id. and gos prob. < -gatya; this writing shows that -c- < pre-2nd c. A.D. -cc- < Sk. -ty- had become -s- by the 10th c.

1.i. Sk. -dy-

-dy- (Mid. Ind. -jj-) appears as -j- in the 4th c. in kaja- < khadya-; kajaka- < khadya+ka-; paheja- < pārṣadya-?, but in the 10th c. as -d- in ved- < vaidya-; vid- < vidyut-; sāvaddā- < sāvadya-ka- [v. §61,2]; suvadā < *supadya-ka-?; this writing shows that -j- < pre-2nd c. A.D. -jj- < Sk. -dy- had become -d- by this time, and thus shared the fate of original Sk. -j- [§35,7a].

1.j. Sk. -dhy-

-dhy- (Mid. Ind. -jjh-) is written -jh- in the 1st c. B.C. in Majhimaha < Pa. majjhima-, cf. Sk. madhyama-. The aspirate is a learned spelling after the Pa. form. (In this word -j- represents -jj-).

We find in the 10th c. māndī-, mändā [with intrusive nasal §58,5] < madhya-; Māndindinā [§id.] < Madhyamdina-; hadaḷa < svādhyāya + kṛta-; budnat < budhyate; this writing shows that -j- < pre-2nd c. A.D. -jj- < Sk. -dhy- had become -d- by this time, and thus shared the fate of original Sk. -j- [§35,7a].

1.k. Sk. -ny- and -ny-

Like the Dental + y group, the groups -ny- and -ny- had undergone palatalization after the assimilation of y in Pali e.g. Pa. ^{double} -ññ- < Sk. -ny-, -ny-. Prakrit, having no palatal nasal, has replaced it by the ^{double} cerebral nasal i.e. Pk. -ṇṇ- < Sk. -ny-, -ny-. In Mod. Ind., Sindhi retains the palatal nasal, while the other languages have the dental nasal. e.g. TND. s.v. dhān; sun²; mānu; thun²; arnu and Addenda.

Sgh. has the dental nasal e.g. arana-; ran-, ran, ranat; pin- [of. §41,3]; ana-; annat; dānā; dena, dena-, denā, denaku, denakhat.

1.1 Sk. -my-

The only example of -my- (Mid. Ind. -mm-) is found in Samma- (10th c.), and -mm- shows lw. Pa. samma- < Sk. samyak-.

1.m. Sk. -ly-

-ly- (Mid. Ind. -ll-) > -l-:

magala-, maṅgul-, magul-; bala(ya)n.

1.n. Sk. vy-

vy- > Pa. vy-, v-; Pk. v-. In Mod. Ind. it remains as v- in the v- languages and becomes b- in the b- languages [§44.1.]. Sgh. being a v- language [§44,2.] has v- < vy-. e.g. vāpara-; vāparayanat.

1.o. Sk. -vy-

-vy- > Pa. -bb-, Pk. -vv-, Mod. Ind. -v-. It is to be noted that, according to Professor Turner, Sindhi has -b- < Pk. -vv- < Sk. -vy- e.g. S. sibanu < sīvyati [TND. s.v. siunu] as against -b- (implosive -b-) < Pk. -vv- < Sk. -rv- e.g. S. cabanu < carvayati [TND. s.v. cabaunu].

Sgh. has -v- < -vy- e.g. aviya-.

2. Sibilant + y

The y being assimilated, this group resulted in Mid.Ind. in a double sibilant, which is reduced to a single sibilant in Mod. Ind..

2.a. Sk. -śy-, -sy-, -sy- (Mid. Ind. -ss-)

-sy- is written -ś- in the 2nd c. B.C. in Tisāha < Tisya-; Tisāya, Ti(śa)ya < Tisya- and in the 1st c. B.C. in Tisāha, Tisā-, Tise < Tisya-; Pusāgutaha, Pusāgute, (Pu)śagutena < P^{xx}usyagupta-. In these words the writing -ś- represents

(***) The writing -s- in the 1st c. B.C. in Tisaha and Tisa- is due to the confusion in the writing of s' and s at this time [§46,2].

-śś- [§50,2], cf. Mg.Pk. -śś- < Sk. -sy- [v. PPkG. §315] and v. §46,2. This -śś- > -ss- by the 1st c. A.D. as attested by Tisa- i.e. for Tissa-[§46,3] and > -s- by the 2nd c.A.D. [§50,2] e.g. Tisa-. Later are found Tisa-, Tisā-, Tisāye; minisnat, minisun, minis-; hasahi; Kasapi-, Kasaba-, Kasbā, Kasub-.

2.b.

The -sy- of the Gen. sg. termination -asya is written in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C. as -ś- i.e. for -śś-, in śagaśa, śaghaśa; teraśa; Śonaśa. (For the writing -s- in Harumasa; śagasa, sagasa; Palikadasa v. §46,2).

Beside these forms is found the writing -h- in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C.. In Mid. Ind. the normal treatment of Sk. -sy-, -sy- was -ss-, but in certain terminations the change was to -h- with lengthening of the preceding vowel. For instance, in the Future Tense termination -h- is found. e.g. Pa. kāhāmi etc. < [±] karsyāmi [v. GPLS. §153; §150 foll.], Pk. kāhimi etc. [v. PPkG. §520 foll.]. Again, the Gen. sg. termination Sk. -asya appeared as -āha beside -aśśa in Mg. Pk. and as -aha, -aho, -ahō beside -assu, -asu in Ap. Pk. [v. PPkG. §366].

Old Sgh., like Mg. Pk., had -aha (-āha ?)^{±±} beside -aśśa [v. above] in the 2nd and 1st c. B.C.. In the 1st c. A.D. there is a solitary instance where -asa (i.e. -assa) is found in sagasa. From this time onwards only the

(**) It is probable that up to the time when Sk. ā > a i.e. 8th c. [§1,4,5.], the writing -aha denoted -āha.

-aha (-āha ?) form is found.

-aha is written in:-

Devaha; Harumaha; Sūmanaha, Sumanaha; kulaha; pitaha; Tīśaha, Tisaha; Batapalaha; teraha; Nadaha; Puśagutaha; Śivagutaha; Majhimaha; rajaha; sagaha, sagahata, sagahataya; Batakayaha; Mahayaha; Asalayaha; putaha; tumaha; vataha; Sivayaha; Devayaha; Apayaha, Apayahata; Sumanayaha; purumakahata; Sagayaha; kadaraha; Mahadaragalaha; gamayaha; (Na)ga(ha); Sōnutara(ha); A[baya]ha; (Sō)naha; raja(ha); (ava)raṇeha (error for avaranaha); (na)vaka(ri)yaha; (yākuhate); (Vaha)bayaha.

Then in the 8th c. this -aha(-āha ?) appears as -ā (with the loss of -h-, v. §47,2,3) as attested by mapu[r]mukā; this -ā has come down to the modern language as the termination of the Oblique Case singular.

-ā occurs also in the 10th c., in mapurmukā, mapurumukā; Vadurā; samvatā; tamā, tumā; vasa.

Beside the -ā forms are found forms in -ahu, -hu in the 10th c. e.g. sarahu; radhu, radahu, rajhu; bisevhu; āpahu. These represent the older -aha in its uncontracted form, and are no longer existent in the modern times [v. also GSghG. §99], but u remains unexplained.

General Note:

It is to be observed that the development of Mid. Ind.

-ss- < Sk. -śy- , -sy-, -sy- or < Sk. -śr-, -sr-, -rś-,

-rs-, -rsv- [§53,3] or < Sk. -śv-, -sv- [§55,2] was to -s-. Any forms with -h- are only secondary developments of this -s-, following the development of original Sk. -ś-, -s-, -s- to -h- [§46,3,4].

§53.

Groups with r

In all groups r is assimilated.

1. Groups in which r forms the 1st letter

1.a. Sk. -rk-

-rk- (Mid.Ind. -kk-) > -k-:

sakur-; āki-.

1.b. Sk. -rg-

-rg- (Mid.Ind. -gg-) > -g-:

maṅg-, maṅga, maṅgu- (with intrusive ṅ, §58,5) < mārga-;

maṅgiva [§1d.] < mārgika-; magiv- < mārgika-.

1.c. Sk. -rgh-

-rgh- (Mid. Ind. -ggh-) > -g-:

giṅgiriyaḥ [For ṅ, §58,5] < ghurghurā-, ghurghurikā-.

1.d. Sk. -rp-

-rp- (Mid.Ind. -pp-) > -p-:

hapi-; dap.

1.e. Sk. -rbh-

-rbh- (Mid. Ind. -bbh-) > -b-:

gab, gabhi.

1.f. Sk. -rṇ-

-rṇ- (Mid. Ind. -ṇṇ-) written -ṇ- but pres. pron. -ṇṇ- before the 2nd c. A.D.:

sovaṇa-; Kuḍakana-.

Then > -ṇ-:

sovaṇa-; jīṇa-; Sarimekavaṇa-; vaṇahi; puṇa-.

From the 6th c. A.D. onwards this -ṇ- > -n- [§41, 3, 4]:

Opulavana-; huna-; pun-; Salamevan, Salameyvan-; vānū.

1.g. Sk. -rm-

-rm- (Mid. Ind. -mm-) written -m- but pres. pron. -mm-, in Damarakita- occurring before the 2nd c. A.D.

Then > -m-:

kama, kam, kamat; kāmiyan, kāmiyanat, kāmi-; amana, amanaka, amunak, amunakat; nimala-; Dhamu-; Abhidham-; navam, navamat; nimavanu, nimavā; nimat; nimiyatā, nimiyata; situvam; daṇḍuvam.

1.h. Sk. -ry-

-ry- > Pa. -yy-. In Pk. it becomes -jj- and in Mod. Ind.

-j-, thus corresponding to the change of Sk. y- to j-

[§43, 1]. In Sindhi it has become -j- (implosive -j-)

e.g. S. kāju [TND. s.v. kāj], whereas Sk. y- has become j-

in Sindhi e.g. jotro [TND. s.v. jot].

In Sgh., Sk. -ry- > -y- just as Sk. y- survives as y- [§43,2].

e.g. Batakayaha; Sivayaha; Devayaha; Sumanayaha; Sagayaha; Sivayi, Savaya; Saratarayaha; S[i]rinakayi; (Vaha)bayaha < -ārya-; mahayaha, mahayā- < * mahāryapāda-.

ayika is probably < Sk. āryakam; Wickremasinghe [E.Z.I, 6,p.258] has made it equivalent to Pa. agghika- but he is wrong since Pa. -ggh- > -g- in Sgh., though the meaning of ayika may have been influenced by Pa. agghika-.

1.1. Sk. -rv-

-rv- > Pa. -bb-, Pk. -vv-. In Mod. Ind. in the v- languages [§44,1] it has become -v- but in the b- languages [§44,1] it has become -b-. In Sindhi it has become -b- (implosive -b-) [§52,10].

Sgh. which is a v- language [§44,2] has -v- < Sk. -rv-. In pavata- occurring before the 2nd c. A.D. the writing -v- represents -vv-.

Then > -v-:

pavaya-, pavu, pava[ta]-, pa(viye), pä(vi)yehi; puviya-; sava-, sav-; dunuvā-; nivay, nivā; Puvaram-.

The -v- < -rv- is lost in Posonā < * puvasavan- < pūrvaśrāvana-.

1.j. Sk. -rt-, -rth-, -rd-, -rdh-

v. § on r or r₀ + Dental, §38.

2. Groups in which r forms the 2nd letter

2.a. Sk. kr-

kr- (Mid. Ind. k-) > k-:

kinīya < krīṇāti.

2.b. Sk. -kr-

-kr- (Mid. Ind. -kk-) > -k-:

Sak-; vikmen; ikmä; päräkmen [§§10, 7d; 32, 3b].

2.c. Sk. gr-

gr- (Mid. Ind. g-) > g-:

Gamiṇi-; gama, gamat, gam, gamä, gämā, gamu, gamhi, gäma-,
gāmin, gāmhi, gāmāhi; (ga)misahi; gamakehi, gamayaha, gamayahi;
gamika-; gimin; gahe; gannā.

2.d. Sk. -gr-

-gr- (Mid. Ind. -gg-) > -g- :

niṅgā [For ṅ, §58, 5]; samāṅg- [§1d.]; sāmāṅgin [§1d.]

Agbo-, Agboyim, Agboy-.

2.e. Sk. tr-

tr- (Mid. Ind. t-) > t-:

te; tin, tun, tunu.

2.f. Sk. -tr-

It was shown previously [§38] that r preceding a dental
cerebralized it. But when r follows a dental there is no
cerebralization.

-tr- (Mid. Ind. -tt-) written -t- but pron. -tt- before the 2nd c. A.D.:

puta, pute; Citaya; Mite; ~~mahamata~~.

Then > -t-:

puta, pute, puti, putaha; cata, sat; ~~Mete~~, sirit, siritat, siriti; ket-; keta(kahi); pat; ~~net~~ situvam; kät-, kätä-; piritäs-; Pirit-.

The writing of -tr- as -tr- in Buddhāmītra- is either a learned spelling or denotes lw. Sk. id..

saturan is lw. Sk. śātru-, with svarabhakti vowel -u-.

2.g. Sk. dr-

dr- (Mid. Ind. d-) > d-:

donika-; dakvā.

2.h. Sk. -dr-

-dr- (Mid. Ind. -dd-) written -d- but pron. -dd- in bada- occurring before the 2nd c. A.D..

Then > -d- :

muhundhi [For n, §58,5]; dilind- [§id.].

2.i. Sk. pr-

pr- (Mid. Ind. p-) > p-:

pati, peta, pet; patiya-; poḍavaya; paṇi, paca-, pacayata, pasa, pasayen, pasayat, pasayak; padiya; padana; payutu-; (pa)jina-, pādum-; pavatnā; piyo-; pānā; pahayay; paḷa-, pāḷa-, (pa)lā-; pat-; pā-, pahayā, pahāhi; pamaṇin; pavarana;

pataḷa-; pāvāsi-; Patana-; pāhārā; paharavaya; patā; pamaṇu;
piṇisā; piṇisvā; piṇisvūvan.

2.j. Sk. -pr-

-pr- (Mid. Ind. -pp-) > -p-:

Vap-, Vāp-, Vāpā.

2.k. Sk. br-

br- (Mid. Ind. b-) > b-:

bamaṇa-, Bamaṇ-, [Bamaṇa]- < brāhmaṇa- which appears as a
lw. in Pa. brāhmaṇa- [cf. also TND. s.v. bāhun]; Bamadata-.

2.l. Sk. bhr-

bhr- (Mid. Ind. bh-) > b-:

bat; bhatu- (The writing bh- is either a learned spelling
after Pa. bhātā or denotes lw. Pa. id.); bahā

2.m. Sk. vr-

vr- (Mid. Ind. v-) > v-:

vi-; vadnā; vādā; vat, vatin, vatā; vāddā.

2.n. Sk. -vr-

-vr- > -v-:

avuj, avud.

3. Sibilant + r or r + Sibilant

In either case the r is assimilated and the resultant
in Mid. Ind. is a double sibilant, which is reduced to a

single sibilant in Mod. Ind.

3.a. Sk. śr-, sr- (Mid. Ind. s-)

śr- is written ś- in the 2nd c. B.C. in (Śamana)ya < Śramaṇā- [For this writing, v. §46, 1, 2] but is written h- in the 2nd c. A.D. in hamana, hamānana(ya) < śramaṇa-; in the 8th c. in heran- < śramaṇera-?? and in the 10th c. in mahan; mehenivar, mehenivarhi; mehe, meheyin, meheyat. In the same century is found hoyā-; (he)vitiyen.

Therefore s- < Sk. śr-, sr- > h- by the 2nd c. A.D. and has followed the development of original Sk. ś-, s- to h- [§46, 3].

The writing s- in sadāhā cf. Sk. śraddhā- is either a learned spelling after Pa. saddhā- or denotes lw. Pa. id.. The writing śr- in śrī points either to a learned spelling after Sk. śrī- or to lw. Sk. id..

Śiri-, Siri-, siri, Sari-, Sara- (both these errors for Siri-) perhaps lw. Sk. śrī-, with svarabhakti vowel -i-, cf. Pa. sirī-, siri- [v. PTSPaD.], Pk. siri- [v. PPkG. §98]. The Pa. and Pk. forms also were perhaps lww. Sk. śrī-.

3.b. Sk. -śr-, -sr- (Mid. Ind. -ss-)

An instance of -śr- is first found in the 2nd c. A.D. and appears as -s- in patisavanu < *prtisravana-. Also in the 10th c. in asvanu; piṇisvūvan; piṇisā; piṇisvā; Poṣonā. An instance of -sr- is found in the 2nd c. A.D. and appears as -s- in saha(si)- < sahasrin-. These examples show that the

development of -śr-, -sr- was to -s- [cf. §52,2, General Note].

3.c. Sk. -rs-, -rs- (Mid. Ind. -ss-)

An instance of -rs- is found in the 1st c. B.C. in śudaśane < sudarśana-; here -ś- represents -śś- [§50,2] cf. Mg.Pk. -śś- < Sk. -rs-; cf. §46,2. This -śś- > -ss- by the 1st c. A.D. [§46,3] and > -s- by the 2nd c. A.D. [§50,2].

In the 4th c. is found an instance of -rs- which appears as -s- in vasahi < varṣa-. Also in the 10th c. in vasa; (ga)misahi; pāvāsi-.

The writing -h-, however, is found in the 2nd c. A.D. in kahāvaṇa and later in kahavaṇa, kahavaṇehi, kavahana < kārṣapaṇa-. This particular word is perhaps influenced by Pa. kahāpaṇa-, where already the change of Sk. -rs- to -h- is found sporadically. This -h- has disappeared in kavana i.e. for kāvaṇa, following the loss of original Sk. -h-. [§47,2,3.]. In the 4th c. is found also paheja- < pārṣadya-?; in this word -s- < Sk. -rs- > -h- following the development of original Sk. -s- to -h- [§46,3].

Despite these two words, the development of Sk. -rs-, -rs- was to -s- as the other examples show. [§52,2, General Note].

Sk. varṣa- appears perh. as a lw. in Pk. as varisa-, whence has developed vahare i.e. vahare (by metathesis) < * varasa- [§§18;46,3.] < Pk. varisa-. For Mod. Ind. forms

from Pk. varisa-, v. TND. s.v. barsa. The inherited Sgh. form from Sk. varsa- is vas, cf. Pa. vassa-.

3.d. Sk. -rsv-

-rsv- (Mid. Ind. -ss-) > -s-: pasahi, pasa-, pasā, pas- < pārśva- and not < pāñjikā- according to Wickremasinghe [v. E.Z. I, 5, p. 170, fn. 9] since -ñj- > -ñd- [§58, 4c].

In paha- < pārśvāt or pārśvatah, the -s- < Sk. -rsv- has become -h- following the change of original Sk. -s- to -h- [§46, 3].

§54.

Groups with l

l is assimilated.

a. Sk. -lp-

-lp- (Mid. Ind. -pp-) > -p-:
kapa-; kapanu; pirikāpū; apis-.

b. Sk. -lm-

-lm- (Mid. Ind. -mm-) > -m-:
gumu-.

§55.

Groups with v1. Dental + v

The Sk. group: dental + v had two treatments in Mid. Ind., viz., 1) dental 2) labial. [v. Bloch, LLM. §129]. In Pali, according to Professor Turner, the treatment was generally dental [v. also Bloch, LIA. p.84]. In the Inss. of Aśoka, only the Girnar Inss. preserved the labial, whereas elsewhere the treatment was dental [v. Bloch, LLM. §129]. In Prakrit, according to Bloch [v. id.], "It seems that the more frequent of the two in normal Classical Prakrit i.e. in Mahārāṣṭrī was the dental treatment" etc. [v. also Pischel, PKG. §298].

In Mod. Ind., Marathi and Kasmiri show the dental treatment [v. Bloch, id.]. In Gujarati and in Sindhi the treatment is labial, the reason being that these two languages belong to the region where the Girnar Inss. of Aśoka were found. [v. Bloch, id.]. Chatterji remarks "The labialised forms are very few in Bengali and in other Magadhan dialects. These forms can very well have come to the Eastern dialects (and to those of the Midland) from the dialects of the West where they seem to have originated." [v. ODBLang. Vol.I, §277].

In Sinhalese, the Sk. group: dental + v has resulted in a dental consonant.

Exx:-

1.a. -tv- > -t-

catara-, catiri, satara-, satar-, satara, satar; satanaṭa, satnaṭ, sathu; mut.

-tv- > -t- > -ṭ- (because of preceding -ṛ-)

kaṭu, koṭu, koṭ cf. AMg. Pk. kaṭṭu, Pa. katvā < Sk. kṛtvā?

1.b. dv- > d-

do-; de-, de, da- < dvē; div, divhi, divaṭ, dī; de- < dvayah; des.

It is to be observed that doraya-, dorahi, dorika-, dor, dorin, MSgh. dora is not < dvāra- but < ^zduvāra-, since otherwise the vowel -o- is unexplainable. [cf. also TND. s.v. duwār.]. Similarly, doḷasa-, doḷos-, MSgh. doḷos, doḷasa, doḷaha is not < dvādaśa- but < EAs'. duvādaśa- < ^zduvādaśa-. In this particular word, forms with b- are found throughout the whole area of Mod. Ind. except in the Dardic dialects, Torwali and Maiya [TND. s.v. bāra].

In kavuḍu, kavuḍu-, if it represents ^zkad + vṛddha- as suggested by Geiger [v. BSOS.VIII, p.557], the d being final is unexploded, whereas v being explosive is the dominant sound; hence we find v.

2. Sibilant + v

Sibilant + v resulted in a double sibilant in Pali and Prakrit, after the assimilation of v. In the North-West,

however, the resultant was sibilant + p as attested by Aśoka Shahbazgarhi e.g. spami < svāmin-; spasuna < svasr̥nām; spagra < svarga- [v. Bloch, LIA.p.87], and this development has come down to some of the Dardic dialects e.g. Khovar ispusār < svasār-; Shina āspo < asva- [v. Bloch, id.]. In India proper we find s. e.g. TND. s.v. saiyā; gosāl; parsi.

2.a. Sk. sv-, śv-

sv-, śv- (Pa.Pk. s-) is written s- in siya < svayam; siya, siya- < svaka-; sam < svāmin-, but is written h- in hāmiyana, himiyan, himiyanat, himi, himī, (him) < svāmin-; hadāla < svādhyāya + kṛta-; hevā < svapati; heli- < *śvētalī-? [v. also TND. s.v. seto].

It is probable that s- < Sk. sv-, śv- had become h- [v. also §53, 3a] by the 2nd c. A.D. following the development of original Sk. s', s- to h- [§46, 3]. All the instances quoted above occur after the 2nd c. A.D.. Therefore the forms with h- show the inherited Sgh. words whereas those with s- point either to learned spellings after Pali or to loan-words from Pali.

The writing sv- in svasti points either to a learned spelling after Sk. svasti or to lw. Sk. id..

2.b. Sk. -sv-, -śv- (Pa.Pk. -ss-)

An instance of -sśv- is apparently found in the 2nd c. B.C. in Yahaśini- if < Yaśasvinī-; here -ś- represents -s's'-

[\$50,2] cf. Mg.Pk. -śś- < Sk. -sv- [v. PPkG. §315] and v. also §46,2. This -śś- > -ss- by the 1st c. A.D. [§46,3] and -s- by the 2nd c. A.D. [§50,2].

In the 10th c. is found isiri, isi(ra), isir, isirāyen cf. Pa. issariya-; thus Sk. -sv-, -śv- resulted in -s- [cf. §52,2, General Note.].

2.c. Sk. -rsv-

-rsv- (Mid.Ind. -ss-) > -s-; v. §53,3,3d.

§56.

Groups with a Sibilant

In Pali and Prakrit, in all groups with a sibilant (i.e. sibilant + stop or stop + sibilant), both initially and intervocalically, the sibilant is assimilated and there is an aspiration of the whole group. The expulsion of breath in pronouncing the sibilant brings about the aspiration of the stop and in the opinion of Professor Turner this aspiration probably appeared before the disappearance of the sibilant i.e. e.g. sk > skh > kkh.

Throughout the whole area of Mod. Ind. the same phenomenon has taken place, with the exception of some of the Dardic languages and Gypsy, where the sibilant remains unassimilated. [TND. s.v. hāt; āth].

But when the sibilant is final and has no explosion,

there is no aspiration both in Mid. and Mod. Ind. [TND. s.v. *nikāmi*; *nicāl*].

Sinhalese, having lost the aspirates from the earliest times [§48, 1], represents the groups with a sibilant by a non-aspirate stop, and any aspirates found actually written are either learned spellings after Pali or indicate loans from Pali.

1. Sibilant + Stop

1.a. Sk. *sk-*

sk- (Mid. Ind. *kh-*) > *k-*:

kaṇu, *kaṇu-*.

1.b. Sk. *-sk-*

-sk- (Mid. Ind. *-kkh-*) > *-k-*:

(*pari*)*kara-*.

1.c. Sk. *-st-*, *-sth-*

-st- (Mid. Ind. *-tṭh-*) written *-ṭ-* but pron. *-tṭ-* in *Ariṭa-* occurring before the 2nd c. A.D.

Then > *-ṭ-*:

aṭa, *aṭ*; *aṭaki*; *Riṭi-*; *veṭya-*; *baṭ*; *sāṭak*.

-sth- (Mid. Ind. *-tṭh-*) written *-ṭ-* but pron. *-tṭ-* in *jeṭa-* occurring before the 2nd c. A.D.

Then > *-ṭ-*:

koṭasa, *koṭasahi*; *ciṭavaya*, *siṭā*, *siṭvami*, (*siṭa*); *pihiṭi*;

piṭat, piṭatā; (he)-viṭṭiyen, (pi)ṭṭiyen; piṭi-.

The writing -ṭh- in patiṭh(i)te is either a learned spelling after Pa. patitṭhita- or denotes lw. Pa. id..

1.d. Sk. -ṣṭr-

-ṣṭr- (Mid. Ind. -ṭṭh-) > -ṭ-:

raṭ, raṭhi; ra(ṭi)ya-.

1.e. Sk. st-, sth-

st- (Mid. Ind. th-) > t-:

tube [cf. TND. s.v. thupro]; tābāvū, tābāvūhu. For the writing ṭ- in ṭabi < stambha- [v. §39,2b].

sth- (Mid. Ind. th-) > t-:

teraśa, teraha, tera-, tere; tān, tānaṭ, tānakat, tan, tanā, tanin, tanhi, tanat; tirā-; tala.

thama is probably < Sk. sthāman-; Paranavitana [E.Z.IV,3, p.115, fn.3] has made it equivalent to Sk. stambha-, Pa. thambha-, but he is wrong since -b- is expected instead of -m- cf. ṭabi < stambha-. th in thama is either a learned spelling after Pa. thāma- < Sk. sthāman- or denotes lw. Pa. thāma- 'firmness' and perhaps in its meaning 'pillar; post', thama was influenced by Pa. thambha- 'pillar; post' and figuratively 'immobility; hardness' [v. PTSPaD.].

The writing sth- in (sthāna)yaṭ is either a learned spelling after Sk. sthāna- or denotes lw. Sk. id..

1.f. Sk. -st-, -sth-

-st- (Mid. Ind. -tth-) > -t-:

ata, at, atin; atadi; ät-, äti-, hati-; vat-, vatin, vatak;
vatu; vatta, vattā, vattat, vattata, vattehi; patala-;
(ā)ttan; äti, äta, ät.

The writing -st- in svasti is either a learned spelling after Sk. svasti^r or denotes lw. Sk. id..

-sth- (Mid. Ind. -tth-) > -t-:

atane; niyamatanahi; piṭat, piṭatā; ātulat; balat, balatun,
bālātun; tān-.

The writing -t-, however, is found in batavaṭita- cf. Sk. bhakti + avasthita-. Already in Pali we find -tth- cf. Pa. avatṭhita-. This is not a change of dental to cerebral, but this change is specially associated with the root sthā-, for in Sanskrit itself -sth- > -ṣṭh- when the vowel preceding was -i- e.g. Sk. tiṣṭhati, pariṣṭhā- [cf. also §39, 1, 2].

The writing -tt- in attāni- denotes lw. Sk. āsthāni-? whereas tān- given above seems to be the inherited form.

1.g. Sk. -sp-

-sp- (Mid. Ind. -pph-) > -p- cf. MSgh. pup 'flower' < puṣpa-.

(puvā)- is translated by Wickremasinghe as 'flowers' [v. E.Z. I, 5, p. 199]. The -v- does not warrant ^{PIV}deviation < Sk. puṣpa-. The etymology is obscure; besides, the reading is uncertain.

2. Sibilant + Nasal

In this group, as in the preceding groups, there is aspiration of the whole group both in Mid. and Mod. Ind.. Sinhalese, of course, has lost the aspiration.

2.a. Sk. sn-

sn- > Pa. nh-, Pk. nh- > Sgh. n-.

e.g. Pa. nhāyati (beside nahāyati) 'bathes' < snāyati [v. GPLS. §50 (5)]; Pk. nhāi, nhāvei < snāti, snāpayati [v. TND. s.v. nuwāunu¹]. For Mod. Ind. v. id. and BLLM. Index, s.v. nahan, nahan. MSgh. has nānu (< * nahanu, with loss of aspiration) 'to bathe'. The form nahanu (with aspiration) 'to bathe' in MSgh. is perhaps lw. Pa. nahāyati.

Also cf. Pa. nhāru- (beside nahāru-) [v. GPLS. §50 (5)]; Pk. nhāru- < * snāru-, cf. Sk. snāyu-, snāva- [v. TND. s.v. nahar²]. The expected MSgh. form would be * nāra (< * nahara, cf. nānu) and the form nahara (with aspiration) 'nerve;tendon' current in MSgh. is perhaps lw. Pa. nahāru-.

We also find that Sk. snāti, snāna- appear perhaps as lww. in Pa. as sināti, sināna- [v. PTSPaD.] and in Pk. as cf. AMg. sināi, sināna- [v. PPkG. §133], with svarabhakti vowel i. Likewise Sk. snēhayati is found perhaps as a lw. in Pa. as sinēhēti [v. PTSPaD.], whence sanahay Ger. of sanahanu, is presumably a lw., but the vowels are difficult to be explained.

2.b. Sk. sm-

As opposed to sn- [v. above], sm- > Mid. Ind. s- e.g. Sk. smarati > Pa. serati, Pk. saraī; Sk. smṛta- > Pa. sata-. In the 2nd c. A.D. occurs sata- which is lw. Pa. sata-.

In compounded stems, however, sm > ss e.g. Sk. vismarati > Pa. vissarati, Pk. vissaraī; Sk. *anusmarati > Pa. anussarati, Pk. anus(s)araī [v. TND. s.v. birsanu and Addenda].

2.c. Sk. -śm-, -sm-, -sm-

According to Professor Turner, these groups have three different developments, and nowhere do they remain unchanged.

1) They become sibilant + p in the North-West, as evidenced by Aśoka Shahbazgarhi e.g. Loc. sg. ending in -aspi < -asmin [v. BLIA. p.88] and in the modern times in Khowar e.g. ispa < asmat-; grīsp < grīśma- [v. id.]. The Eastern Inss. of Aśoka attest this sibilant + p with assimilation of the sibilant as -(p)ph- e.g. a(p)phāka < asmākam; ta(p)phā < tasmāt [v. id.].

2) They become -mh-. This is the development in Pali, Prakrit and the majority of the Indian languages. e.g. v. TND. s.v. hāmi; timi.

3) They become -ss- as found in Panjabi, Lahnda, Kashmiri and Sindhi.

e.g. v. id.; and s.v. rās¹; bhas³.

Nevertheless, in scattered instances we find words

belonging to other groups. These are to be explained as loan-words from one group to another, e.g. H.M. rassī, N. rassi, lw. P. rassī < Sk. ras̥mih [v. TND. s.v. rās¹].

In these Inss. we find apa, āp, āp, cf. MSgh. apa, api. apa is to be connected with EAs'. a(p)phāka [v. Hultzsch, As'. Inss., Dhauli Separate Rock Edict, II, 1.7] < Sk. asmākam and āp with EAs'. a(p)phe [v. id.] cf. Sk. asman. Also MSgh. topi is to be connected with EAs'. tu(p)phe [v. id. Dhauli Separate Rock Edict, I, 1.4; also Jaugada Separate Rock Edict, II, 1.12; also Saranath Pillar Ins. 1.10] cf. Sk. yusman with t- after sg. tvam, tuvam [TND. s.v. timi].

Therefore the resemblance between the Sgh. forms and the Eastern Asōkan forms not only points to Sgh. being an Eastern language but also to the fact that the development of sibilant + m (intervocalically) is fundamentally to -p- in Sgh..

Geiger is wrong in maintaining that the development is to -m- in Sgh. [v. GSghG. §70 (2)]. On the contrary, the -m- forms have come to Sgh. from Pa. -mh- (with loss of aspiration) as loans from or at least influenced by Pali.

e.g. gimin, MSgh. gim, lw. Pa. gimha- which is < Sk. grīśma-.

3. Stop + Sibilant

3.a. Sk. kṣ

Bloch in LLM. §104, p.112 remarks "It has been observed for a long time that in the epigraphical Prakrit, kh was the

constant representative of Sk. ks in the Eastern Inss., ch dominating on the contrary in the North-West and the South-West. On the other hand, the only treatment in the fragments of the Buddhist dramas published by Lüders is kh; now these fragments have been redacted in the Eastern or Central dialects. Finally, it is known that the later grammarians attribute to the Māgadhi the writing sk or hk in intervocalic position [v. PPKG. §324]; whatever opinion be formed concerning the real value and the date of that writing, it confirms the eastern character of the guttural treatment."

But from very early times there was a dialectical mixture. Pali had predominantly the eastern forms (kh, kkh), but when it spread to the West, the western forms (ch, cch) were introduced, so that sometimes both forms are found in the same word. [cf. GPLS. §56]. In Prakrit the grammarians regard kh, kkh as regular, but ch, cch occurs in all dialects and often both forms alternate in the same dialect [cf. PPKG. §317 foll.]. However, Mahārāṣṭrī which is a western dialect has often the palatal treatment, whilst the other dialects have the guttural. [cf. also GSghG. §90].

In Mod. Ind., according to Professor Turner, Sk. ks has three distinct developments, viz.,

- 1) ch — in the North-West
- 2) ch — in the South-West
- 3) kh — in the East and Centre

e.g. v. TND. s.v. āk^hho¹; rāk^hnu; likho; mā^hko.

In India proper, therefore, the treatment of Sk. $kṣ$ is predominantly the g^{t} umtural, with the exception of Marathi which is a ch language [v. BLLM. §104], this being due to its being a descendant of Mahārāṣṭrī. Bloch regards Gujarati too as a ch language [v. id. p.114] but Professor Turner is of opinion that Gujarati shows the predominant treatment of $kṣ$ as kh. [v. JRAS. July 1921, Gujarati Phonology, §4].

Sinhalese, like the majority of the Indian languages proper, is predominantly a k language. Bloch [v. LLM. §104, p.114] and Chatterji [v. ODBLang. Vol.I, §259], who maintain that Marathi is a ch language, are definitely wrong in connecting Sinhalese with it. Sinhalese, being an eastern language, is in its basic stratum a k language and it left India with the k forms as testified by these Inss..

Exx:-

$kṣ$ - > k-

keta (kahi); ket-; kir < $kṣīra$ -; kirī- < $kṣīrin$ -; kāt-,
kāta-.

- $kṣ$ -

- $kṣ$ - written -k- but pron. -kk- before the 2nd c. A.D.:

Damarakita-; Budarakita-; biku-.

Then > -k-:

biku-, bhiku-, buka-, buku-; nikata; aviyakiṇiyeni; paka-,
pak-, -vak, -vākā; uvanikeva; dakini-, dakuṇ-; lākkan [§61,2];
arākkan [§1d.]; ruk; raknā; rākmat, rākkāyutu, rākkamanā- [§1d.]

rakval; rak-; dakvā; akak, ākā, ākekā.

Sk. kuksi- is found in Pa. only as kucchi- [v. PTSPaD.]. It is presumable that the form kucchi- was imposed upon Pa. from Western India. Pk. shows kucchi- beside kukkhi- [v. PPKG. §321]. In these Inss. we find in the 10th c. kushi, kusin, and kus in MSgh., which is lw. Pa. kucchi- (for -s- < -cch-, §51, 1b). The expected inherited form in Sgh. would be * kuk. For Mod. Ind. forms v. TND. s.v. kokh.

Sk. kṣaṇa- 'moment; festival' [v. MWSKD.] appears in Pa. as khaṇa- and chaṇa- with differentiation of meaning. Pa. khaṇa- means 'moment' [v. PTSPaD.] and Pa. chaṇa- which is an introduced Western form means 'festival' [v. id.]. Pk. differentiates them like Pa. [v. PPKG. §322]. In these Inss. we find in the 10th c. sāṇāhi meaning 'moment' and sāṇen meaning 'festival' and sāṇa in MSgh. has both meanings 'moment; festival' [cf. also CSghD. and Jay.Gloss.], so that in sāṇa, which is lw. Pa. chaṇa- (for s- < ch-, §35, 2), both meanings have become merged, a point overlooked by Geiger [v. SghG. §90 (5)]. However, kaṇa which is the inherited MSgh. form < Sk. kṣaṇa- has only the meaning 'moment' [cf. also Jay. Gloss.; RMN. §684]; also cf. MSgh. kenehi 'immediately' [CSghD.]. For Mod. Ind. forms v. BLLM., Index, s.v. saṇ.

3.b. Sk. -kṣv-

This group behaves like original Sk. -kṣ- after the assimilation of v. For instance, Pa. Okkāka- probably

represents ^kSk. Aiksvāka- rather than Iksvāku- as suggested by Geiger [v. GPLS. §56], but the absence of the expected aspiration is unexplained. AMg.Pk., however, has Ikkhāga- < Sk. Aiksvāka- [v. PPkG. §§84, 321]. In the 10th c. is found Okā- and MSgh. has Okā-, in which -k- represents original -ksv-.

3.c. Sk. -kṣṇ-

Sk. tīkṣṇa- has three (dialectal ?) developments according to Professor Turner, viz.,

- 1) Pa. Pk. tikkha-, whence is found tik- in the 10th c. and MSgh. tik
- 2) Pa. tikhina- (< * tikhna- before assimilation of ṇ?) whence MSgh. tiyuna
- 3) Pa. Pk. tinha- (< * tīṣṇa- < tīk-ṣṇa- as opposed to tīk-kṣṇa- > tikkha-).

For its history in Mod. Ind. v. TND. s.v. tikho.

3.d. Sk. ts

ts > Mid. Ind. ch (cch) > Mod. Ind. ch except in the extreme North-West, where ts remains [v. TND. s.v. bācho].

In MSgh. it results in s. e.g. saru 'hilt of a sword' cf. Pk. charu- [for s- < ch-, §35, 2] < tsaru-; vasu 'calf' cf. Pa.Pk. vaccha- [for -s- < -cch-, §51, 1b] < vatsa-.

The -j- in havajarana and -d- in havurudu, havurudu-, havurud-, havurudden, havuruduyehi, havurudyehi, and MSgh.

avurudu, havurudu which apparently represents Pa. samvacchara-, Sk. samvatsara- is unexpected. ~~and remains unexplained.~~

[cf. Introduction].

3.e. Sk. -tsy-

This group behaves like original Sk. -ts- after the assimilation of y.

e.g. Sk. matsya- > Pa. Pk. maccha- > MSgh. mas. For Mod. Ind. v. TND. s.v. mācho.

In mahavar- (10th c.) pres. < Pa. *macchakāra-, Sk. *matsyakāra-, the secondary -s- has become -h-, following the development of original Sk. -s- to -h- [§46,3].

3.f. Sk. ps

ps > Mid. Ind. ch, cch > MSgh. s, so that the groups ps and ts [v. above] have fallen together from the Mid. Ind. stage. Perhaps an intermediate stage $ps > \overset{t}{p}ts > \overset{t}{ts}$ is to be assumed.

In the 10th c. is found s̄a-, MSgh. s̄a, cf. Pa. chātaka-, chātata- [for s- < ch-, §35,2] cf. Sk. psāta-. Also e.g. MSgh. asara 'goddess' cf. Pa. Pk. accharā [for -s- < -cch-, §51,1b] < apsaras-. For Mod. Ind. v. BLLM., Index, s.v. āsre.

§57.

Groups with ha. Sk. -hn-

-hn- > Mid. Ind. -nh- e.g. Sk. grhṇāti 'he receives' > Pa. ganḥāti; Pk. gēṇhaī, gēṇhadi, ginḥadi [v. PPkG. §330], cf. MSgh. ganiyi.

In the 4th c. occurs gena and in the 5th c. geneye but in the 10th c. we find genā and in the 8th c. [gen]ā, MSgh. gena, Ger. fr. grhṇāti, cf. Pk. gēṇhia, gēṇhiya [v. PPkG. §591]. From this evidence we can infer that Mid. Ind. -nh- < Sk. -hn- > -n- (with loss of aspiration) in Sgh.; this -n-, sharing the fate of original Sk. -n-, later became -n- [For Dates, §41, 3, 4.]

b. Sk. -hm-

-hm- > Mid. Ind. -mh- e.g. Pk. bamhana-, bambhana- [v. PPkG. §330] < Sk. brāhmaṇa-. Pa. brāhmaṇa-, however, is lw. Sk. id..

This Mid. Ind. -mh- > -m- (with loss of aspiration) in Sgh.: bamaṇa-, Bamaṇa-, Bamun-, cf. MSgh. bamunu < brāhmaṇa-; Bamadata- < Brahmadatta-. MSgh. bamba is < Pk. bambha- [v. PPkG. §267] < Sk. brahman-, and so cf. MSgh. Bāmbadat.

§58.

Groups with a Nasal1. Nasal + Stop

This group remained unchanged in Mid. Ind. and the vowel preceding was always a short one. The nasal as an independent sound is lost in Mod. Ind. and compensation for this loss is provided by both lengthening and nasalising the preceding vowel. But this phenomenon is absent in Sindhi, where there is no compensatory lengthening of the vowel preceding shortened double consonants, as well as in Panjabi and Lahnda, where the double consonants have remained unchanged [cf. §50,1; cf. also Bloch, LLM. §68].

When we consider Modern Sinhalese we find that

- 1) in the group: nasal + unvoiced stop, the nasal has completely disappeared. e.g. aṅka- > ak; pañca- > pas; kaṇṭaka- > kaṭu; santaka- > satu; campaka- > sapu.
- 2) in the group: nasal + voiced stop, the nasal appears as ṅ, ṁ. e.g. aṅgulī- > äṅgili; añjana- > äṇdun; sūṇḍā- > hoṇḍa; skandha- > kaṇḍa; gambhīra- > gämburu.

Geiger terms this ṅ, ṁ as "half-nasals" [v. GSghG. §64 (2)] while Chatterji calls them "short or reduced nasals" [v. ODBLang. §176]. Whatever terminology be adopted, this ṅ, ṁ in MSgh. seems to correspond to the nasalised vowel in Mod. Ind..

2.

In the Brāhmī Inss., from the earliest times, the nasal

is not written even before a voiced stop. But this is purely graphic. It is quite probable that, at any rate, up to the time when Sk. -g- > -y-, Sk. -j- > -d-, Sk. -ḍ- > -ḷ-, Sk. -ḍ- > -y-, Sk. -b- > -v-, — Sk. -ṅ- was pronounced as -ṅ-, Sk. -ñj- as -ñj-, Sk. -ṇḍ- as -ṇḍ-, Sk. -ṇḍ- as -ṇḍ-, Sk. -mb- as -mb- respectively; otherwise these groups would have fallen together with Sk. -g-, -j-, -ḍ-, -ḍ-, -b- respectively and shared their fate. Similarly, at any rate, up to the time when Sk. -k- > -g-, Sk. -c- > -j-, Sk. -ṭ- > -ḍ-, Sk. -ṭ- > -ḍ-, Sk. -p- > -b-, — Sk. -ṅk- was pronounced as -ṅk-, Sk. -ñc- as -ñc-, Sk. -ṇṭ- as -ṇṭ-, Sk. -nt- as -nt-, Sk. -mp- as -mp- respectively; perhaps, after this time, the nasal before these unvoiced stops completely disappeared. The complete loss of the nasal before unvoiced stops was perhaps due to its being less fully heard before them than before voiced stops.

It is necessary next to determine when the ṅ, ṇ first appeared before the voiced stops. A plausible theory is that, at the time when, for instance, Sk. -g- > -y-, Sk. -ṅ- > -ṅ-; likewise, when Sk. -j- > -d-, Sk. -ñj- > -ñḍ-; when Sk. -ḍ- > -ḷ-, Sk. -ṇḍ- > -ṇḍ-; when Sk. -ḍ- > -y-, Sk. -ṇḍ- > -ṇḍ-; when Sk. -b- > -v-, Sk. -mb- > -ṃb-.

This change seems to have introduced lengthening of the preceding vowel, although there is no direct written evidence. For instance, for the 4th c. A.D. legitaka i.e. writing for

lāṅgitaka [§10,1] we have to hypothesize a form * lāṅgitaka (* lāṅgiyaya) < Sk. laṅghita-ka- in the 2nd c. A.D. i.e. when Sk. -g- > -y- and therefore when Sk. -ṅgh- > -ṅg-; otherwise the 4th c. ā cannot be accounted for. It is presumable that the vowels before ṅ, ṁ remained long up to the time when the vowels preceding shortened double consonants remained long. When the latter were shortened, probably the former too were shortened [§50,3].

The actual writing of ṅ, ṁ, however, is only found in the 10th c.. Perhaps a hint is found in the 8th c.. The symbol ̣ is placed over the -d- of siḍava (i.e. for siḍavā), cf. MSgh. siṇḍuvānu which is connected with Pa. chindāpēti, and this symbol ̣ may represent ṅ. Later in the same century is found the writing n as in hindvā < * √sind-; Mihindal- < Pa. Mahinda-; vandmi < √vand-; bāṇḍā < √bandh-, and the writing m as in Dam[b]- < Jambu-. This n, m was presumably an attempt to write a nasal consonant to represent ṅ, ṁ. Then this writing apparently led to a confusion with the nasal n, m < Sk. n, m; so to distinguish them we find in the 10th c. the combination of the symbol ̣ with n and m as ṅ, ṁ.

2.a. Examples of ṅ written

gaṅg-; Maṅgul- < Maṅgala-; maṅgul- < maṅgalya-; Kiliṅg-;
 Saṅgbo-, Saṅgboy-; saṅg-, saṅgun, saṅgā, saṅgnat < saṅgha-;
 saṅg-, sāṅgā- < sāṅghika-; Saṅg- Baṇḍay; lāṅgū, nāṅgū, naṅgā,
 naṅganu; u(la)ṅgnā, [ula]ṅghana; maṇḍulu, maṇḍlan, maṇḍa(len),

(maṇḍalaye)n; daṇḍ, daṇḍa-, daṇḍā; daṇḍuvam; piṇḍ-; kaṇḍat;
Pāṇḍi-.

2.b. Example of ṁ written

Damb-.

2.c. Even after the actual writing of ṇ, ṁ, we find the writing n, m. This writing is either reminiscent of the attempt to write a nasal consonant found in the 8th c. or is indicative of loan-words.

e.g. Mihind, Mihindu, Mihindim; sindā; vindā; bindā; nirind-;
vāndā; bāndā, (bandva)nnat; sandhā, sandaha; band; bandu; bānd;
sand, sandnen, sandā; valāndanu, vālā(nda)nu, vālāndu,
vālāndūvan; Pāṇḍi-; Damb-; Sambudun; lamb-; vājāmbā, vā(ja)mbā;
sāndā; Māndindinā, vibangha- (error for vibhanga); hindā,
hindvanu, hindvana, hindvā, hindvū, hindvūmaha, hindvannat

Note: Paul Tedesco remarks "MSgh. iṇḍi-, un- is to be derived not from sīda- with secondary nasalization as suggested by Geiger in his LSS. §20 (2), p.44, and sanna-, but from *sinda- and *sinna- of which *sinda- is identical with a Prusso-Slave-Iranian *sindo- (Prussian sindats; Slave sedo); compare also the nasal in Sk. āsandī-, Pa. āsandī- 'a chair'; this system in Sinhalese i.e. iṇḍi-, un- < *sinda-, *sinna- is perfectly analogous to that of siṇḍi-, sun- (Pa. chinda-, chinna-) and biṇḍi-, bun- (Pa. bhinda-, bhinna-)." [v. BSL. 1923, Vol.24, p.198, 'The Root sed- in Indo-Iranian'].

2.d. In the following examples, however, occurring in the same

century (i.e. 10th c.) we do not find either the writing \check{n} , \check{m} or the writing n, m . This shows that \check{n} , \check{m} was sometimes liable to be lost in actual pronunciation. Consequently in certain words nasalised and non-nasalised forms exist side by side.

e.g. magul- beside maṅgul- [v. above] < maṅgalya- ; pid beside piṇḍ- ; dad beside daṇḍ ; maḍula , maḍulu- beside maṇḍulu ; ulaghana , ulā(gha)nā beside ulaṅgnā ; āg ; Mādili- ; bādi- ; ba(du) ; tābāvūhu , tābāvū ; abadi- , abādi- .

3. Nasal + unvoiced stop

3.a. Sk. -ṅk-

$-\dot{n}k- > -k-:$

Lak , Lakat .

3.b. Sk. -ṅc-

$-\tilde{n}c- > -c-:$

paca- .

Then $> -s-$ (in the 10th c.):

pas , pasalos- , $(\text{pā})s-$; kasun- ; misā .

The n in pan- cf. Sk. pañca- is evidently borrowed from Sgh. panaha , panasa 'fifty' which corresponds to Pk. paññāsām , paññāsā [cf. PPKG. §273], Pa. paññāsa , paññāsa [cf. PTSPaD. s.v. pañca 2.A] < Sk. pañcāśat . cf. M. paññās v. Bloch LLM. §§217, 223.

3.c. Sk. -nt-

-nt- written -t- but pron. -nt- [v. above]:

atara-.

-nt- > -t-:

sataka-, satu-; atara-; ato-; kot; anatapirise-, anatapirisey-; uturat; ātul, ātulu-, ātula-, ātulā-, atul-, ātulat- [§10, 7d].

The writing -nt- in siddhānta and anantarāya is either a learned spelling after Sk. siddhānta-, anantarāya- or denotes lww. Sk. id..

3.d. Sk. -nth-

-nth- > -t- > -ṭ- (because of preceding -ṇ-):

gāṭa, gāt < * gṇṭhi- [§38, 7.] cf. Sk. granthi-.

3.e. Sk. -ntr-

-ntr- > -t-: samatavaya; ameti-, āmāti- is a cross bet.

mantrin- and * amātiya-. It cannot be derived from * amātiya-, cf. Sk. amātya-, since -t- would be expected to disappear.

3.f. Sk. -mp-

-mp- > -p-: parapuren; parpuren [§32, 3a].

3.g. Sk. -mpr-

-mpr- > Mid. Ind. -ṃp- e.g. Sk. dēvanāmpriya- > Pa.

dēvanāmpiya-. Aśoka Inss. show dēvanāmpiya- and dēvanāmpriya- in the North-West. (Girnar both).

Sgh. shows the development to -ṃp- in the earliest times,

although the anusvāra is not actually attested in writing. The writing -p- in devanapiya- in the 1st c. B.C. and 1st c. A.D. is to be taken as representing -ṃp-, because if it denoted an actual pronunciation -p- we would then expect * devanaviya- in the 2nd c. A.D. i.e. when Sk. -p- > -v- [§40,6]] and not the actually attested devanapiya-, devānapiya- in this century. This writing -p- in devanapiya-, devānapiya- in the 2nd c. A.D. denotes an actual pronunciation -p-, since it is presumable that when Sk. -p- > -v-, -ṃp- < Sk. -mpr- > -p- in Sgh. cf. MSgh. devanapā (devenipā).

Note: The form devānuppiya- found in the Jaina Canonical works Upāsakadaśā-sūtra and Aupapātika-sūtra is regarded by Bhagawanlal Indraji, Leumann, Bühler, Jacobi and others as a Prakrit corruption of Sk. devānāmpriya- [For References, cf. E.Z. I,2,p.63,fn.1]. However Pischel, agreeing with Hoernle, derives it from Sk. devānupriya- = deva + anupriya- [v. PPKG. §11

4. Nasal + voiced stop.

4.a. Sk. -ṅ-

-ṅ- written -g- but pron. -ṅ- (up to the time when Sk.

-g- > -y-);

gagahi.

-ṅ- > -ṅ-

In the following instances occurring after the time of the change of Sk. -g- to -y- and before the 10th c. [v. above],

the writing -g- represents -ṅg-:

magala- < maṅgalya-; agana.

4.b. Sk. -ṅgh-

-ṅgh- written -g- but pron. -ṅg- (up to the time when Sk. -g- > -y-);

śagaśa, śagasa, sagasa, sagaya, śaghaśa. [For -gh-, §48, 3].

This -ṅg- (< Sk. -ṅgh-) > -ṅg-

In the following instances occurring after the time of the change of Sk. -g- to -y- and before the 10th c. [v. above], the writing -g- represents -ṅg-:

sagaha, sagahataya, sagahata, saga-; Sagayaha; legitaka.

4.c. Sk. -ṅj-

-ṅj- written -j- but pron. -ṅj- (up to the time when Sk. -j- > -d-):

paribujana, pari[bujanaka].

-ṅj- > -ṅd-

The writing -d- represents -ṅd-, in budena.

4.d. Sk. -ṇḍ-

-ṇḍ- written -ḍ- but pron. -ṇḍ- (up to the time when Sk. -ḍ- > -ḷ-):

baḍakarika-, baḍakariya-.

-ṇḍ- > -ṇḍ-

In the following instances occurring after the time of the change of Sk. -ḍ- to -ḷ- and before the 10th c. [v. above],

the writing -ḍ- represents -ṇḍ-:
kaḍaya; kaḍaka-.

4.e. Sk. -nd-

-nd- written -ḍ- but pron. -nd- (up to the time when Sk.
-ḍ- > -y-);

Nadaha.

-nd- > -ṇḍ-

In the following instances occurring after the time of
the change of Sk. -ḍ- to -y- and before the 10th c. [v. above],
the writing -ḍ- represents -ṇḍ-:

Nada-; cḍavi, cidavayaha; kadaraha; Nadana-; Parideva- (error
for Paridadeva-).

4.f. Sk. -ndr-

-ndr- > Pa. -nd- > Sgh. -ṇḍ-

The writing -ḍ- represents -ṇḍ-, in cada- (4th c.); Mihid-
(8th c.), Mihidala- (8th c.).

4.g. Sk. -mbh-

-mbh- > -ṁb-

The writing -b- represents -ṁb- in tabi (5th c.), cf.
M, Sgh. tāmba.

5. Intrusive ṇ, ṁ

There are some cases in which ṇ is found even when we are
not dealing with an original Sk. group: nasal + voiced stop.

In these the \check{n} is intrusive and due to the nasal n, m of the preceding or succeeding syllable.

e.g. $\check{n}\bar{i}ng\bar{a}$ < nigrāha-; $\check{m}\bar{a}ng-$, $\check{m}\bar{a}nga$, $\check{m}\bar{a}ngu-$ < $\bar{m}\bar{a}rga-$;
 $\check{m}\bar{a}ngiva-$, $\check{m}\bar{a}ngiva$ < $\bar{m}\bar{a}rgika-$; $\check{m}\bar{u}nguru-$ < $\bar{m}\bar{u}dgara-$; $\check{m}\bar{a}nd\check{a}$ <
 $\sqrt{m}rd-$, $\check{m}\bar{a}rdati$ but also perh. < * $\check{m}\bar{r}ndati$, cf. $\check{m}\bar{r}natti$;
 $\check{s}\bar{a}ma\check{n}g-$ < $\bar{s}\bar{a}magra-$; $\check{s}\bar{a}ma\check{n}gin$ < $\bar{s}\bar{a}magr\bar{i}-$; $\check{m}\bar{a}ndi-$ i.e. writing
for $\check{m}\bar{a}ndi-$, $\check{m}\bar{a}nd\check{a}$ i.e. writing for $\check{m}\bar{a}nd\check{a}$ < $\bar{m}\bar{a}dhyā-$; $\check{M}\bar{a}ndindin\check{a}$
i.e. writing for $\check{M}\bar{a}ndindin\check{a}$ < $\bar{M}\bar{a}dhyā\check{m}\bar{d}ina-$; $\check{m}\bar{u}hundhi$ i.e.
writing for $\check{m}\bar{u}hundhi$ < $\bar{s}\bar{a}mudra-$.

However, \check{n} occurs though there is no neighbouring n, m, in
 $\check{d}\bar{i}l\check{i}nd-$ i.e. writing for $\check{d}\bar{i}l\check{i}nd-$ cf. MSgh. $\check{d}\bar{i}l\check{i}ndu$ < Pa.
 $\check{d}\bar{a}l\check{i}dda-$, $\check{d}\bar{a}l\check{i}dda-$, < Sk. $\bar{d}\bar{a}ridra-$ and $\check{g}\bar{i}ng\check{i}riyak$ < $\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{u}rghurā-$
 $\bar{g}\bar{h}\bar{u}rghurikā-$; cf. the so-called 'spontaneous nasalisation' in
Mid. and Mod. Ind. [v. Chatterji, ODBLang. §178]. As regards
 $\check{g}\bar{i}ng\check{i}riyak$, the \check{n} may be due to its being an onomatopoeic word.
cf. Chatterji who remarks "Onomatopoeitics are a characteristic
class of words in Mod. Ind. which have nasalised vowels" [v. id.
§179].

In all the above-quoted forms \check{n} is found before a consonant
which is the resultant of a consonant-group of Sk., that is to
say, in inherited Sgh. words. But \check{n} is also found before a single
intervocalic consonant of Sk. e.g. $\check{m}\bar{a}nda$ i.e. writing for $\check{m}\bar{a}nda$
cf. Sk. $\bar{m}\bar{a}da-$. The function of this \check{n} seems to be as follows:-
Sk. $\bar{m}\bar{a}da-$ would be expected to give an inherited Sgh. form * $\check{m}\bar{a}$
or * $\check{m}\bar{a}$ [§37, 8.]. As against this, the form of the lw. is $\check{m}\bar{a}da$

and then this form was given a Sgh. character by the intrusive \bar{n} . Again, the expected inherited Sgh. form of Sk. $\bar{abharana}$ - is \bar{a} \bar{a} harana- [§40,9a]. The form of the lw. is $\bar{abharana}$ - or $\bar{abarana}$ - and this form was given a Sgh. character by the intrusive \bar{m} as attested by $\bar{ambaranin}$ i.e. writing for $\bar{ambaranin}$. [§ id.]

6. Stop + Nasal

6.a. Sk. -tn-

-tn- > Mid. Ind. -tt- > Mod. Ind. -t-;

e.g. Sk. $\bar{sapatn\bar{i}}$ - > Pa. $\bar{sapatt\bar{i}}$ -, Pk. $\bar{savatt\bar{i}}$ -; for Mod. Ind. v. TND. s.v. $\bar{saut\bar{a}}$. I am unable to quote an example for MSgh.. The expected development of -tn- is to -t- in MSgh.

Pa. \bar{ratana} - 'gem; jewel' is lw. Sk. \bar{ratna} - with svarabhakti vowel -a-. The expected inherited form in Pa. is \bar{ratta} -. The 2nd c. A.D. form \bar{Ratana} - is lw. Pa. \bar{ratana} -, whence is found in the 10th c. \bar{ruvan} , \bar{ruvan} -, $\bar{ruvanhi}$, cf. MSgh. \bar{ruvan} .

6.b. Sk. -tm-

-tm- had a double development in Mid. Ind., viz., 1) -tt-
2) -pp-.

According to Chatterji, labialisation was absent in the East (and possibly also in the Midland) in the Early Mid. Ind. period, but it was found in the South-West and North-West, as can be inferred from the evidence of the Asoka Inss.

[v. ODBLang. §277]. The Girnar Ins. of Asoka attests -tp-

for Sk. -tm- e.g. $\bar{atp\bar{a}} < \text{Sk. } \bar{atm\bar{a}}$ [v. BLLM. §129, p.134]. It was this -tp- which gave -pp- in Pk. $app\bar{a}$ beside Pk. $att\bar{a} < \bar{atm\bar{a}}$. $\bar{Mahar\bar{a}str\bar{i}}$ (Western dialect) nearly always had $app\bar{a}$ [v. PPkG. §277]. $att\bar{a}$ was the form proper to the Eastern dialects, although $app\bar{a}$ appeared in these probably being borrowed from the West. Pali only had the Eastern form -tt- cf. Pa. $att\bar{a}$.

In Mod. Ind. the -p- form has become universal, this being due to an invasion of the Western form everywhere. cf. G.M.H. \bar{ap} etc. $< \bar{atm\bar{a}}$. [v. TND. s.v. \bar{aphu} ; also BLLM., Index, s.v. \bar{ap}].

Sgh., however, has the -t- form cf. MSgh. $at < \bar{atm\bar{a}}$. In the 6th c. occurs $atano < \bar{atmanah}$.

Pa. $tuman-$ is perhaps lw. $\text{Sk. } tman-$, with svarabhakti vowel -u-; cf. Pa. $\bar{atuman-}$ which is lw. Sk. $\bar{atman-}$ as against Pa. $attan-$ which is the inherited form.

In these Inss. occurs $tumaha$, $tum\bar{a}$, $tuman$, $tumanat$, which is lw. Pa. $tuman-$ [§21,3.], whereas $tam\bar{a}$, $taman$, $tamahat$, $tamanat$, developed from Pa. $tuman-$ [§21,1.].

6.c. Sk. \tilde{jn}

$\tilde{jn-}$, $-\tilde{jn-} > \text{Pa. } \tilde{n-}$, $-\tilde{nn-}$ [cf. GPLS. §53]. Pk., having no double palatal nasal, changed it, as a rule, to the ^{double} cerebral nasal [cf. PPkG. §276]. e.g. Sk. $\tilde{jnat\bar{i}-} > \text{Pa. } \tilde{n\bar{a}ti-}$, Pk. $\bar{nai-}$; Sk. $\bar{praj\tilde{n}a-} > \text{Pa. } \bar{p\tilde{a}nn\bar{a}-}$, Pk. $\bar{p\tilde{a}nn\bar{a}-}$. In Pk. beside $-\tilde{nn-}$

is found -jj- [v. id.]. In Ardha-Māgadhī beside -nn- is usually found -nn- [v. id.]. No explanation can be given for these diversities [cf. also BLM. §135].

Sgh. has n and is in accordance with AMg. Pk..
e.g. nani < jñānin-, cf. AMg. nāna- < jñāna- [v. PPkG. §276];
nāyan < jñati-ka-. Intervocally e.g. MSgh. panavanu 'to appoint; make known; raise (a seat)' cf. Pa. pāññāpeti, Pk. pāññavei < prajñāpayati, cf. AMg. panna- < prajñā- [v. PPkG. id.].

Sk. rājñī 'queen' > Pa. rāññī. [v. TND. s.v. rāni]. Pa. also had rājini [v. Duroiselle, PaG. §§172, 188] which is perhaps lw. Sk. rājñī, with svarabhakti vowel -i-. In the 2nd c. A.D. occurs rajini i.e. writing for rājini [§10, 2], in the 6th c. rej(e)na and r(e)jana- i.e. writing for rājāna [§10, 10.], in the 10th c. rājna-, rājna-, rājñāniyan which is lw. Pa. rājini. So is rājāna in MSgh. [v. RMN. §259; and Jay. Gloss. s.v. rājāna]. The expected inherited form from Sk. rājñī is ³ rāni. For Mod. Ind. [v. TND. s.v. rāni.]

The history of Sk. ājñā 'order' is as follows: It appeared in Pa. as āññā 'knowledge' (cf. Sk. ājanāti 'understands') and in Pk. as āññā beside ajjā 'order' [cf. TND. s.v. jānu, Addenda]. Pa. and Pk. also had ānā 'order' [cf. id.]. Pk. ānā is not derivable from Sk. ājñā (through āññā) and the long vowel ā- cannot be explained as due to a shortening of the double consonant (-ññ-), because this did not happen at this

period. Here we are dealing apparently with an analogical recreation and not a phonetic formation. For instance, Sk. $\tilde{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}payati > Pk. \tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{v}\tilde{e}di$; then analogically Sk. $\tilde{a}-\tilde{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}payati > Pk. \tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}\tilde{v}\tilde{e}di$, the $\tilde{a}-$ denoting the commonly used Sk. prefix $\tilde{a}-$. Pk. $\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ is perhaps then from a form like Sk. $\tilde{a}-\tilde{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$. As regards $\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ in Pa., it seems to be a later importation from Pk..

In the 10th c. occurs $\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ cf. Sk. $\tilde{a}\tilde{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}-ka-$. The writing $-\tilde{n}-$ in $\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ 'order' $< \tilde{a}\tilde{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ in modern times is a learned spelling based on Pa. Pk. $\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ (v. above); it is the spelling $\tilde{a}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ that is expected, since Sk. $-\tilde{j}\tilde{n}- > Sgh. -n-$, as shown above.

The writing $-\tilde{j}\tilde{n}-$ in $\tilde{a}(\tilde{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{a})$ is either a learned spelling after Sk. $\tilde{a}\tilde{j}\tilde{n}\tilde{a}$ or denotes lw. Sk. id..

§59.

Groups with Anusvāra

It is presumable that in groups with anusvāra, the anusvāra survived up to the time when the double consonants remained double (i.e. up to the 2nd c. A.D.) [§50, 2.], although the anusvāra is not actually attested in writing [§58, 3g]. Then when the double consonants became single (i.e. 2nd c. A.D.), the anusvāra was probably lost in Sgh..

a. Sk. $-\tilde{m}\tilde{t}-$

$-\tilde{m}\tilde{t}- > -t-: paṭisatariya-, paṭisatirīya-; sato-$.

b. Sk. -ml-

-ml- > -l-: sale- < BSk. samlēkha-. Pa. had sallēkha-.

c. Sk. -mv-

-mv- (Mid. Ind. -mv-) > -v-:

havajarana, havurudu, havurud-, havurudden, havuruduyehi, havurudyehi, MSgh. avurudu, havurudu, cf. Pa. samvacchara- < samvatsara- [§56, 3d].

The writing -mv- in samvatā points either to a learned spelling after Sk. samvat-? or denotes lw. Sk.id..

d. Sk. -ms-, -ms-

Anusvāra in these groups following vowel -a-, -ā- was preserved in Mid. Ind. e.g. Sk. vaṃśa- > Pa. Pk. vaṃsa-; Sk. māṃsa- > Pa.Pk. māṃsa-. Mod. Ind. generally represents this by nasalisation of the preceding vowel, which is lengthened by way of compensation e.g. N. bās [TND. v.s. id.]; N. māsu [id., s.v. māsu]. But already in Mid. Ind. when the vowel preceding was -i- the anusvāra was lost e.g. Sk. vimśatiḥ cf. Pa. vīsati, vīsaṃ, Pk. vīsaī, vīsaṃ; Sk. catvarīṃsat cf. Pa. cattarīsaṃ, cattālīsaṃ, Pk. cattālīsaṃ. There is no trace of the anusvāra in Mod. Ind. either, TND. s.v. bis¹; cālīs.

In Sgh. the anusvāra has disappeared both after the vowel -i- and after the vowel -a-, but we may presume that it survived after the vowel -a- up to the 2nd c. A.D., as shown above.

e.g. visiti-, visiya-, visi-, vāsak; pasu; hasin; vasa-, vas-, vasin, vasā; koṭasa, koṭasahi; anusasā.

The -s- < Sk. -ms- has become -h- following the development of original Sk. -s- to -h- [§46,3] in mahavar- pres. < māmsakāra-; also -s- < Sk. -ms'- > -h- pres. in bahā.

e. Sk. -mh-

Corresponding to Sk. -ams-, -ams-: Mid. Ind. -ams- [v. above, Sk. -ms-, -ms-] we find Sk. -amh-: Mid. Ind. -amh- e.g. Sk. saṁhāra; Pa. saṁhāra-, Pk. saṁghāra-. Similarly corresponding to Sk. -ims-: Mid. Ind. -is- [v. id.] we find Sk. -imh-: Mid. Ind. -ih- e.g. Sk. siṁha-; Pa. sīha-, Pk. sīha- (also singha-).

Sgh. has sihasun < Pa. sīhāsana- < siṁhāsana-. In Si- i.e. writing for sī- [§2,2] < Pa. sīha- < siṁha-, the -h- < Sk. -mh- is lost following the loss of original Sk. -h- [§47,2,3].

§60.

Traces of Rgvedic syllabic division in Sgh.

- 1.a. In the Rgveda y and v had a syllabic value almost invariably after a group of consonants and after a single consonant if preceded by a long vowel [v. Macdonell, VG. §48, b1; also Wackernagel, Vol. I, §§181, 182]. Sgh. as attested by the

examples given below shows the same division of syllables as found in the R̥gveda. In preserving this Vedic syllabic division Sgh. agrees with the Eastern Inss. of Asoka. Cf. Kāl. Jau. Pāṇḍiā (Sgh. Pāṇḍi- v. below) < V. Pāṇḍiyāḥ, cf. Sk. Pāṇḍyāḥ as aga. Gir. Pāḍa; or Kāl.Dhau. Jau. puluve (Sgh. -viri- v. below) < V. pūruva-, cf. Sk. pūrva- as aga. Gir. puve i.e. purve. Pali too shows this division in many cases as for instance rattiyā < V. rātriyāḥ, cf. Sk. rātryāḥ; vāpiyā < V. vāpiyāḥ, cf. Sk. vāpyāḥ; suriya- < V. sūriya-, cf. Sk. sūrya-; ācariya- < V. ācāriya-, cf. Sk. ācārya-; cetiya- < V. caitiya-, cf. Sk. caitya-.

- 1.b. This syllabic division in Sgh. is already manifest in the 2nd c. B.C. bariya < V. bhāriyā-, cf. Sk. bhāryā-; again in the 2nd c. A.D. satehiya < V. śatebhiyāḥ, cf. Sk. śatebhyāḥ and vaviya < V. vāpiyāḥ, cf. Sk. vāpyāḥ etc. Also in the following:

ceta, cetahi, ceya, cata (error for ceta), Se-, Sey-, sā < V. caitiya-, cf. Sk. caitya-; ameti- i.e. amāti-, āmāti- a cross bet. V. amātiya-, cf. Sk. amātya- and mantrin-. Similarly raji-; Sāhā-; miliya, milāyaṭ (error for milayaṭ) < V. mūliya-, cf. Sk. mūlya- as aga. mula 'money' < mūla-; puviya-hir-; somi-; Pāṇḍi-, Pāṇḍi-; hāriyā-; rākkā-, rākka-; bikujarana, ājara-, ādur- < V. ācāriya-, cf. Sk. ācārya- (ācāryayan is lw. Sk. ācārya-); vājāmbā, vā(ja)mbā <

V. vijrmbhiya, cf. Sk. vijrmbhya [§10, 7d]; vāndā < V.-vandiya, cf. Sk. -vandya [§1d].

As regards -viri- the stages are as follows:-

-viri- < - * virī- < - * virii < - * pirivi [For p > v, §40, 6e] < - * pūrivī < - * pūruvi i.e. Sgh. Nom. sg. form produced from V. pūruva-, cf. Sk. pūrva-.

Note: In the case of Pa. ariya- and Pa. ayya- are found dialectal forms, that is to say, ariya- is based on Vedic ariya- and ayya- on Sk. ārya-. Similarly with Pk. āriya- and Pk. ajja-. Sgh. shows traces of both forms cf. arī, ariya- [§§1, 8b; 2, 5a.] and Sivayaha < Śiva + ārya- etc. [§53, 1h.], MSgh. aya 'person'. On the contrary, the Asoka Inss. both Eastern and Western cf. Kāl.Dhau. ayesu, Gir. ayesu i.e. ayyesu, Shāh. Mān. ayesu i.e. ayyesu, and Mod. Ind. [v. TND. s.v. ājā; also BLLM. Index s.v. ājā] show remnants only of Sk. ārya-.

2.a. But even when preceded by a short vowel -iya- is found in Eastern Asoka. Cf. Kāl. Dhau. Jau. ekatiyā < ekatya- as aga. Gir. ekacā i.e. ekaccā; Kāl. Dhau. Jau. kaṭaviye i.e. kattaviye < kartavya- as aga. Gir. katavyo i.e. kattavyo; Jau. sakiye < śakya- as aga. Gir. saka i.e. sakka etc.

2.b. Sgh. shows this in scattered instances e.g. aniyā, aniyāk fr. an Eastern form * aniyāya- < anyāya-; Anudiya fr. an Eastern form * Anudiya < * Anudyāh?; pin- may go back to an

Eastern form * puniya- [For u — i: i — i, §22.] < punya-
[Another possible explanation was given in §11,3.].

3.a. Again, in the Rgveda y and v had a syllabic value, according to Macdonell [v. VG. §48,b2], "After a single initial consonant at the beginning of a verse, or, within a verse, if the preceding syllable is heavy, in some half dozen words". The Eastern Inss. of Aśoka show many cases of such a syllabic division; cf. Kāl. Dhau. viyāpata̐ < * viyāpṛta-, cf. vyāpṛta- as aga. Gir. vyāpata̐; Kāl. viyāsanam̐ < * viyāsanam, cf. vyāsanam as aga. Gir. vyāsanam̐; Kāl. Dhau. Jau. viyāṁjanate < * viyāñjanataḥ, cf. vyañjanataḥ as aga. Gir. vyaṁjanato; Dhau. Jau. duvāḍasa-, Kāl. duvāḍasa- < * duvāḍasa-, cf. dvāḍasa- as aga. Gir. dbāḍasa-; Jau. Sep. I duvālam̐, Dhau. Sep. II duvālā < * duvāra-, cf. dvāra-; Kāl. Jau. duvē < duvē as aga. Gir. dvē < dvē; Kāl. Dhau. Jau. suvāmikēna < * suvāmike-, cf. svāmika- as aga. Gir. svāmikēna.

3.b. Sgh. gives evidence of this syllabic division and again agrees with the Eastern Inss. of Aśoka. It is first evident in the 2nd c. A.D. dorahi < * duvāra-, cf. dvāra-, cf. EAs. duvāla-; doraya- < * duvāraka-, cf. dvāraka-; dorika- < * duvārika-. Again in the 3rd and 4th c. A.D. dolasa- < EAs. duvāḍasa- v. above. Also in the following: dor, dor-, dorin, MSgh. dora; dolos-, MSgh. dolos; viyavulak, MSgh. viyavula < * viyākula-, cf. vyākula-; viyat-, MSgh. viyat <

* viyakta-, cf. vyakta-; viyakhan, MSgh. viyakana < * viyakhyāna-, cf. vyākhyāna-.

The ā in hāmiyana which either suggests a lw. or learned spelling after Sk. svāmika-, Pa. sāmika- may, however, represent a contraction and thus denote a genuine Sgh. word descended from an Eastern form suvāmika-, cf. EAs. suvāmika- quoted above i.e. suvāmika- > * havāmiya- (by u — ā: a — ā) > * haāmiya-hāmiya-.

§61.

Double Consonants and Consonant-groups in Sgh.

1. It was shown above that the original double consonants and consonant-groups of Sk. became single in inherited Sgh. words. Nevertheless, in the words cited below we find double consonant and consonant-groups. These are peculiarly Sgh.. The elision of medial vowels discussed in the section on 'Influence of the Accent' has brought together consonants belonging to different syllables. In certain cases the consonants thus brought together are assimilated resulting in double consonants, while in others the consonants remain unassimilated and constitute consonant-groups in Sgh..
2. An observation of the examples shows that assimilation has generally taken place when the 2nd consonant is a -y-

(i.e. -y- < original Sk. -k-, -t-, -d-, -y-); this -y- has been assimilated to the preceding consonant, as in vanne, vanney, vannehi, vanna < * vanya- < āpanna-ka-; laddan < * ladya- < labdhaka-; vässan < * väsya- < vāsika-; läkkan < * läkya- < * laksika-; aräkkan < * aräkyä- < āraksika-; vatta, vattä, vattehi, vattat, vattata < * vatya- < vāstu-ka-gattan, gattaha < * gatyä- < * ghr̥pta-ka-; sāvaddä- < * sāvadya- < sāvadya-ka-; annat < * anya- < anyaka-; vāddä < * vādyä- < * vrājika-, cf. Sk. vrāja-; ättan < * ätyä- < * astika-; ek-bitten < - * bitya- < - bhittikā-; havurudden < * havurudya- < saṃvatsara-ka-?; ānnä < * ānya-ājñā-ka-; vadārannan < * vadāranya- < vācā+karāṇa-ka-; vissak < * visya- < Pa. vīsati-, Sk. vimsati-; Buddas- < * Budyas- < Buddhadāsa-; illat, illā, illanu < * ilyanu < īdayati; räkkä-yutu, räkka-manā- < * räkyä- < V. raksīya-, cf. Sk. raksya-.

The -y- remains unassimilated, however, in vetya- < vēṣṭaka- and havurudyehi < saṃvatsara-ka-?. The two n's have come together in danna < Pa. jānanāya.

3.

Then, when the 2nd consonant is other than -y-, there seems to be no assimilation, as seen in rakval < rakṣapāla-; hindvā, hindvū, hindvannat, hindvūmaha, hindvana, hindvanu < * sindāpayati; harvā < hārāpayati; dakvā < * drakṣāpayati; danvā < Pa. jānāpeti; genvat, ganvanu < Pa. gaṇhāpeti; kärvū- < kārāpita + bhūta-; väsvū < Pa. vassāpita + bhūta-;

(bandva)nnat < Pa. bandhāpeti; banvar < Pa. bhānavāra-;
 asvanu < āśrāvayati; sitvami < Pk. citṭhāvei; raknā <
 rakṣaṇāya; eknat < Pk. ekkāṇam + atṭhāya; ekkeneknat, keneknat
 < Pk. * ekkenekkāṇam + atṭhāya; u(la)ṅgnā < ullāṅghanāya;
 sangnat < saṅghāṇam + arthāya; rājna-, rājna-, rājñāṇiyan <
 Pa. rājini-; pavatnā < pravartanāya; satnat < sattāṇam +
 arthāya; vadnā < vrajanāya; sasnehi < śāsana-; minisnat <
 mānuṣāṇam or manusyāṇam + arthāya; vikmen < vikrama-; pārākmen
 [v. §32, 3b]; ikmā < atikramati; admanāk < Pa. addhamāna-;
 vandmi < vandāmi; maṇḍlan < maṇḍala-; sartumā < sārottama-,
 i.e. sara + uttama-; parpuren < * pāramparā-; harnā <
 haraṇāya; purmukā < paramaka-; perhār < pārihārīka-; Kasbā,
 Kasbā- cf. Pk. kacchabha-; basnen < bhāṣaṇa-; kriya < Pa.
 karīsa-.