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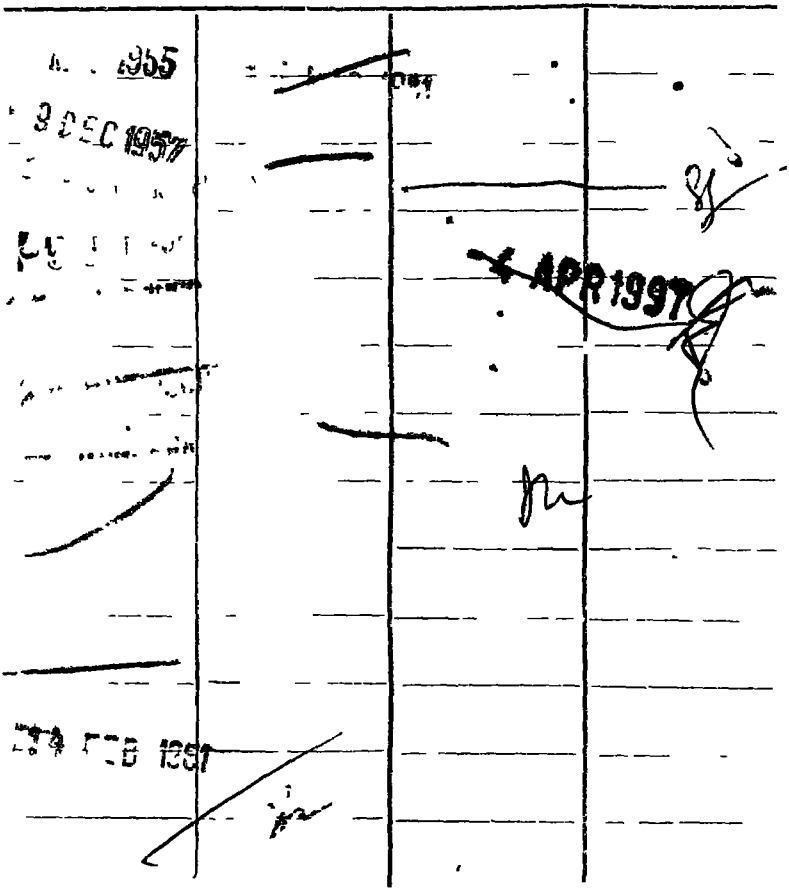
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George A. Emerson

INDIAN AND IRANIAN STUDIES

PRESENTED

TO

GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON

ON HIS EIGHTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

7th January, 1936

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON),
FINSBURY CIRCUS E C 2
1936

SIR GEORGE,

You more worthily than any Englishman of this age have upheld the great tradition of Sir William Jones. To-day on this eighty-fifth anniversary of your birth your fellow-workers in the many fields, from which you have reaped so rich a harvest and in which you were often the first to turn the soil, unite in offering you their grateful and admiring homage

The long list of your publications, extending over nearly sixty years of devoted labour, bears witness to the boundless energy and enthusiasm and to the firmness of spirit which, held undeviating on the path you have chosen, has triumphed over every difficulty of circumstance. Neither age nor sickness has diminished that enthusiasm nor dimmed that spirit. In your twenty-third year, already a student of Sanskrit and appointed a member of the Indian Civil Service, you left Ireland for India, to enter upon that strenuous and fruitful combination of the life of action and the life of letters of which half a century later we saw the crowning achievement. In your seventy-seventh year you completed the last of the twenty volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India, and in your eighty-second year the fourth and last part of your great dictionary of Kashmiri. You, author in early manhood of the *Bihar Peasant Life*, creator of the Linguistic Survey, compiler of so many grammars of known and unknown languages, editor and translator of so many Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan texts, have more than any other contributed to our knowledge of the innumerable languages and dialects of India. Your work, beyond that of all others, has stimulated in Indians themselves a just pride in their own vernaculars and a deep and enduring interest in the long history that lies behind them. Contributors to this volume of studies in a field which owes so much to your

own work come from nearly every country of Europe and from America, as well as from that dear land of India, to whose service you gave the strength of your youth and middle age. Yet they are but a small proportion of the many who admire the greatness of your achievement, who draw inspiration and encouragement from your example, or who enjoy the inestimable privilege of your friendship.

In conclusion we to whom was entrusted the grateful task of editing this volume desire to express our thanks to the Governing Body of the School and to Sir E. Denison Ross, the general editor of the *Bulletin*, for placing this part at our disposal, and to Miss Murray Browne, whose labour in preparing it for press has greatly lightened our own; and to all our fellow-contributors who have striven to make this volume worthy of the great man and scholar to whom it is offered as a birthday gift.

H. W. Bailey.
R. L. Turner.

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HONOURS AND DECORATIONS CONFERRED ON

GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON

Order of Merit, Knight Commander of the Indian Empire, Ph D (Hon. Causa), Halle; Litt D (Hon Causa), Dublin, Hon LL D, Cambridge, Hon D Litt, Oxford, Vāgīśa (Bihar and Orissa), Fellow of the British Academy, Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Correspondant étranger de l'Institut de France, Corresponding Member of the Konigliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Honorary Member of the Nāgarī Pracārinī Sabhā (Benares), American Oriental Society, Société Finno-Ougrienne, l'Association Phonétique Internationale, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Modern Language Association, Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Linguistic Society of India, Bangīya Sāhitya Parisad, Foreign Associate Member of the Société Asiatique de Paris, late President of the Gypsy Lore Society, Prix Volney (Académie Française), 1905, Gold Medal (Royal Asiatic Society), 1909, Campbell Memorial Medal (Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), 1923, Gold Medal (British Academy), 1928, Sir William Jones Gold Medal (Asiatic Society of Bengal), 1929.

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

VOL VIII PARTS 2 AND 3.

Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sir George A. Grierson

Compiled by EDITH M. WHITE

ABBREVIATIONS

BSOS Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
IA Indian Antiquary
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Mem ASB. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Pr ASB Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.

PART I. BOOKS, ARTICLES, Etc.

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The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāstrī

By L Alsdorf

Abbreviations used Vh = Vasudevahiṇḍi, M = Māhārāṣṭrī, JM = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, Ś = Śaurasenī, JŚ = Jaina-Śaurasenī, AMg = Ardhamāgadhī, P = Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, JErz = Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzahlungen in Māhārāstrī*, Mah Nis = Schubring, *Das Māhānisīha-Sutta*, Pkt, Skt = Prakrit, Sanskrit

IN the Introduction to his edition of the Āvaśyaka tales [1] the late Professor Leumann wrote on p 1 "Since—as may be easily understood—Jacobi, when he endeavoured to utilize the language and contents of the Jaina tales for Indology, started with the Uttarādhyayana Tīkā of Devendra which was in his possession, and since this author, belonging as he does to the period of decadence and therefore more familiar with Sanskrit, writes a rather doubtful Prakrit—therefore the editor was chiefly concerned with the establishing of a thoroughly reliable Prakrit text . that was to be suitable for clearing the way for a more correct judgment and utilization of medieval Jaina Prakrit" The appearance of the first portion of Leumann's text was welcomed by Pischel in his Pkt grammar (§ 21) in the following terms "The most important text in JM is Die Āvaśyaka-Erzahlungen Herausgegeben von Ernst Leumann 1. Heft Leipzig 1897 The absence of any commentary unfortunately renders the understanding rather difficult, some passages remain wholly obscure But even these few forms show that from texts in JM we may yet expect much new and important material."

In spite of all that has been done since then in the domain of Pkt literature and grammar, the hope expressed in Pischel's last sentence can hardly be said to have been fulfilled The work so ably begun by Leumann has never been continued the first portion of his *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* has remained the last Many other texts have become accessible, but they are almost without exception open to Leumann's criticism of Devendra works like those of Haribhadra, Somaprabha, etc, bear witness to the skilful handling of a fixed—not to say "dead"—literary language by later authors, but they are not likely

[1] Cf the following quotation from P

to throw much light on those problems that interest us most, i.e. the origin and development of JM and its relations to the other Pkt dialects. Even those JM texts that are available have not received systematical grammatical treatment so that Pischel's and Jacobi's descriptions of the language (P and JErz). much antiquated as they must necessarily be, are still the standard works to refer to And there is an almost entire lack of really old texts

One such text has lately come to light. Five years ago there appeared as vols 80–1 of the Ātmānand Jain Granth Ratnamālā the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* by Saṅghadāsagaṇin.[1] The date of the work is not known, but as it is mentioned three times by the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi "it cannot be later than the sixth century A D if we allow an interval of no more than a century between it and the cūrṇis, and as much between them and Haribhadra" [2] There is, however, nothing to prevent us from assigning to the Vh a much earlier date than the sixth century That it must actually be centuries older will, it is hoped, be clear from the sketch of its language to be given below

The Vh might well be called unique for more than one reason. The fact that it presents us with a detailed and circumstantial Jain version of Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, quite independent of the Kashmirian and Nepalese versions and highly valuable for the reconstruction of the lost original [3] lends it the greatest possible literary importance Further the tales inserted into the old commentaries are mostly written without literary ambitions The aim of the commentators—Devendra being a pleasant exception—seems to be to give the facts of the stories in the shortest possible form—the result often being a kind of telegram style which is sometimes almost unreadable and difficult to understand The Vh constitutes a continuous prose work of 370 quarto pages—its very scope and plan has no parallel in the older non-canonical Jaina

[1] Edited by Munimahārājas Caturavijaya and Puṇyavijaya A third fasciculus which was to contain the introduction has not appeared. The text is provided with very useful indices of proper names, a pratika-list, list of inserted tales, etc Though based on twelve MSS (of which readings are given) and outwardly a model performance testifying to the praiseworthy application and zeal of the editors, the edition is thoroughly uncritical and—particularly as regards the orthography—in no way better than a moderately good MS The absence of any kind of commentary or explanative glosses is all the more regrettable because the text is not always easy and often full of mistakes and corruptions

[2] Jacobi, Introduction to the 2nd edition of Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan (*Bibl. Indica*) p VII. That the Āv. Cūrṇi mentions the Vh not once but thrice I found in the papers left by the late Professor Leumann

[3] Cf the paper read by me at the 19th International Oriental Conference at Rome, entitled "Eine neue Version der verlorenen Brhatkathā des Guṇādhya".

literature The style is far from being concise or dry, it presents us with a vivid, characteristic, and highly interesting picture of a living language. The tale is frequently embellished with flowery descriptions so dear to Indian poets, and some of them are—at least partially—in the old Vedha metre, hitherto unknown to occur outside the canon—an unmistakable sign of great antiquity

But it is the language of the Vh with which we are here concerned and which has also quite a number of surprises in store for us An exhaustive and systematical description and treatment of it would by far exceed the space available for this paper and must be left to a future occasion Here I can only give, as a kind of preliminary notice, and without any claim to completeness, a brief enumeration and discussion of some of its more important and striking features and peculiarities

It is the verbal system which offers the greatest variety of new and interesting forms

In a number of cases [1] the 1st person sing of the present indicative ends in *-aṃ* instead of in *-āmi* This use of the secondary ending is normal enough in the future (e g *bhavissam*), in the present tense it is unknown to P Yet at least one such form occurs in the canon In the sixth dasā of the Āyāradasāo we read (cf Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p 181) that a layman, when asked a question, must truthfully and openly say whether he can answer it or not *kappaṇi duve bhāsāo bhāsittae, jahā jānam vā "jāṇaṃ", ajāṇaṃ vā "no jāṇam"*, i.e. *jānan vā "jānāmi"*, "either, if he knows, 'I know,'" etc In Vh I have noted the following fifteen cases *jānam* 174, 26 [2], *na jāṇaṃ*, 145, 23, 174, 8, 353, 27, *na-yāṇam*, 19, 3 [3]; 83, 22, 115, 26; 144, 24 (v. l *na-yānāmi*), *iccham*, 4, 3, 17, 17; 229, 22, 350, 28, *tattha y'aham pāsam*, 283, 16, *thavijjam*,[4] 109, 7, *jīvam*,

[1] A general remark may not be out of place An abnormal or somewhat strange form need not be suspected merely because it occurs very rarely, perhaps only twice or thrice In the papers left by Leumann I found a slip where he had collected variants of the Viśeṣâvaśyakabhāṣya Again and again the variant consisted in an aorist form being replaced by the corresponding form of the present indicative This is only *one* instance of how the more uncommon forms were gradually eliminated by the scribes—we have to content ourselves with what little they have left

[2] The figures refer to the pages and lines of the printed text

[3] Only one MS reads "*na-yānaṃ kumāram paṇatthaṃ*" 'I did not know that the prince had disappeared" The others have the "corrected" reading, "*na ya nāyam*," which, however, is incompatible with the following accusative "*kumāraṃ panatthaṃ*" In this and five other cases (19, 3, 83, 12, 109, 7, 115, 26, 144, 24) a *woman* is speaking, which excludes the possibility of the form in *-aṃ* being regarded as a nom sing. of the present participle

[4] 1st sing ind pass, possibly to be corrected to a 1st sing opt pass **thavijjijjam*

91, 14. To these must be added two optatives *pāsiyyam*, 6, 18, and *passejjam*, 125, 3. A 1st sing opt in *-yyam* is also wanting in P where we find only *-yyā*, *-yya*, *-yyāmi* · That both forms (ind. *-am*, opt. *-iyyaṃ*) are genuine archaisms is proved beyond doubt by the fact that they have counterparts in Pali (e g *gaccham*, *labheyyam*, cf Geiger, *Pāli*, §§ 122, 127, 128) There *-am* instead of *-āmi* is peculiar to the language of the gāthās, i e. the oldest stratum of the language The only other Pkt text where a 1st sing ind in *-am* occurs seems to be the Mahānisīha Sutta, from which Schubring (*Mah Nis.*, p 90) quotes the śloka-pāda "*gaccham cettham suvam uttham dhāvaṃ nāsaṃ palāmi uṃ*", and three single forms, also from verses, *caram*, *na ninhavam*, *sakkanam* (= *śaknomi* ?) This is interesting because we shall presently see that another peculiarity of the Mahānisīha is also shared by Vh

In the Mahānisīha, "the 1st plur is often constructed with *aham* or is otherwise used as a 1st sing" e g *ahayam . anucitthimo*, *nâham cukkimo*, etc In Vh we read, e g 84, 7, *aham dacchāmo*, 290, 28, *tao `ham tāo lavāmo*, 291, 24, *lavai ya me "icchāmo . "*, 172, 11, *samcaramānī sunimo*, 178, 22, *mayā bhaniyā "jāṇīhāmo ' tti. tao niggayā "jānihisi ` tti vottūnaṃ*

According to P, § 457, the 1st person plur of the ātmanepada is wanting in Pkt In Vh I have noted it seven times, but in all cases it is used as a 1st sing, twice even with *aham* 147, 18, *ahaṃ padicchāmahe*, 206, 18, *aham anuvattāmahe*; 144, 7, *utthio mi "kattha manṇe vattāmahe ?" tti cintayanto*, 352, 22, *cintemi "kammi paesammi vattāmahe ?"*, 139, 24, *ramāmahe* (v l, °*mi ya* !), 155, 16, *uvabhunjāmahe*, *bhutta-bhoyaṇo ya*, 330, 19 (in a gāhā !), *bhanai " bandhāmahe*

This form in *-āmahe*, used as a 1st sing, probably helps to explain another very strange and hitherto utterly unknown form. Eleven times there occurs a 1st sing. in *-ahe* *acchahe*, 180, 14, 206, 12, 247, 1; *aticchahe*, 319, 24, *āsahe*, 289, 13, 29, *dissahe* (pass.), 199, 6, *passahe*, 218, 10, *pāsahe*, 293, 5, *vattahe*, 247, 12 Failing any other explanation, I believe that *-ahe* is formed from *-āmahe* after the analogy of the proportion 1st sing act *-āmi* 1st sing med. *-e* (*vandāmi vande* = *vandāmahe* · *vandahe*) And, lastly, a single form may be noted which—if not a mere mistake—looks like a compromise between *-ahe* and *-e* 156, 17, 1st sing *acchae* instead of *acche*

According to P, § 455, the 1st plur. ind •(which is used as 1st plur imp as well, § 470) ends in *-mo* which may be replaced by *-mu* in verses only. Yet in the prose of Vh *-mu* occurs not infrequently,

e g. ind. *aṇemu*, 108, 11, *ṇa-yānāmu*, 117, 8, *acchāmu*, 115, 24, *karemu*, 117, 17, imp. *vasāmu*, 82, 3, *harāmu*, 100, 2; *anuvayāmu*, 138, 2, *anumaggāmu*, 138, 12, *karemu*, 85, 15, 109, 12, 153, 15, etc Now since, as we have seen, the 1st plur may be used as a 1st sing as well (probably originally as a *pluralis majestatis*), I have little doubt that the 1st sing imp in *-mu* taught by the grammarians but—according to P, § 467—not found in literature,[1] is nothing but a 1st plur. used as a 1st sing In support of this explanation I can quote from Vh at least one 1st sing imp in *-mo* 122, 5, " *na me sobhai iham acchium, avakkamāmo*" *tti* ' it is no good for me to stay here, I will run away ! "—Pischel believed that *-mu, -su, -u* as terminations of the imperative corresponded to the indicative terminations *-mi, -si, -i*, and mainly for this reason he disputed the usual derivation of *-su* from Skt *-sva* If my explanation of the 1st sing imp in *-mu* is accepted, Pischel's view of *-su*—not very convincing considering Pali *-ssu* (cf Geiger, *Pāli*, § 126 and note 1)—becomes wholly untenable [2]

It has till now been taken for granted that forms of the aorist have survived in AMg only From Vh we learn that they occur in archaic JM as well [3] We even find in Vh several forms which are either quite new or hitherto known only from grammarians.

The 1st sing act of the aorist is " very rare and ends in *-issam*" (P, § 516, e g *akarissam*), " with double *s* as in Pāli " (where, however, the more usual form has a single *s*, cf Geiger, *Pāli*, § 159, iv). One such form occurs Vh 225, 17 " *nâham tubbham kuppissam*," " I was not angry with you " The context excludes every possibility of the form being taken as a future Yet the formal identity of a 1st sing. aor in *-issam* with the 1st sing fut cannot be overlooked, and I believe that the doubling of the *s* (for which neither Pischel nor Geiger offer

[1] W Schubring has now traced it in the Mahānisīha, where a 1st sing imp *demu* occurs twice (*Mah Nis*, p 91)

[2] In Vh there occurs in a number of cases a 2nd sing imp in *-āsu* (e g *vaccāsu*, 93, 15, 179, 18, *ghadāsu* 94, 24, *karāsu* 96, 10) The long *ā* of these forms may, of course, be explained by the influence of the parallel form in *-āhi* We *may*, however, also have before us the regular compensative lengthening due to the double *s* (which is seen in Pali *-ssu*) having been simplified

[3] It might be argued that such forms are to be regarded as mere " Ardhamāgadhisms ", which do not prove anything for JM This argument would perhaps hold good if we had to do with legendary, dogmatical, or disciplinarian texts Where the contents are so closely akin to those of the canonical scriptures it is not surprising if the language betrays a strong AMg influence (cf *Mah Nis*, p 86) But, except for some inserted legendary tales, the contents of the Vh are as secular and non-canonical as possible, and there can be no doubt that its language is JM throughout

any explanation) is actually due to the influence of the similar future form. This assumption receives a welcome support by another form which is hitherto quite unknown and without a parallel in either Pkt or Pali. Vh 289, 27, we read "*dacchīham c'ahaṃ*," "and I beheld". Now it is well known that besides the normal future in *-issāmi* (*-issam*), *-issasi*, *-issāmo*, etc, there exists in Pkt a second future in *-ihāmi* (*-iham*), *-ihisi*, *-ihāmo*, etc But if the *h* of these forms—as must obviously be the case—goes back to *sy* > *ss* > *s*, we should expect before it *ī* (with compensative lengthening) rather than *i* This form with a *long ī*, not recorded by the grammarians and not found in P or JErz, actually occurs in Vh, e g 51, 22, *ghattīham*, 22, 28, *bhuṇjīham*, 78, 22, *jānīhāmo*, 89, 21, *pucchīhāmo*, 91, 8, *jīvīhāmo*, 138, 7, *dacchīhāmo*, etc [1] The 1st sing belonging to the last of these forms would be *dacchīham*, i e the very same form we have just noted as a 1st sing aor This use of a 1st sing fut *dacchīham* as a 1st sing aor seems to prove that a connection was felt to exist between the 1st sing fut. and aor in *-issam* the identity of these two forms seems to have justified the use of any 1st sing fut as 1st sing aor

There are, however, indications to show that the relations between the future and the aorist were not limited to the 1st person of the sing The grammarians know two aorists formed with *h* instead of *s* which—to conclude from P, § 516—have not yet been found to occur in texts, viz *kāhī* besides *kāsī* (from *kṛ*) and *thāhī* besides *thāsī* (from *sthā*). Here the *h* may actually go back to the *s* of *kāsī* and *thāsī* But it is very significant that these *h*-aorists, too are identical with forms of the future *kāhī* and *ṭhāhī* are perfectly normal 3rd persons sing. of the futures *kāhaṃ* (P. § 533 where *kāhī* is actually quoted) and *ṭhāham* (P, § 524, "*thāhisi*") Two other aorist forms (*vocchīya* and *gacchīya*) which can only be explained by referring to the futures *voccham* and *gaccham* will be discussed below And, lastly, the Mahānisīha furnishes what might be called a counter-proof It uses (*Mah Nis.*, p 91) a 3rd plur. "*bhavīsum*, once even spelt *bhavimsum*, as if the forms were aorists, but the context, where also *bhavīhenti* precedes them, proves beyond doubt that they are futures" Here forms of the aorist have penetrated into the future the exact contrary of the relations between aorist and future which we have noticed so far.

One of the most common aorist forms in AMg is *vayāsī* "he spoke", which is—like *āsī*—used for other persons, particularly the 3rd plur.,

[1] The 'missing link" between *-issam* and *-īhaṃ* is supplied by the Mahānisīha, where futures in *-īsam* occur, e g *vimuccīsam sujjhīsam* (*Mah Nis*, p 91)

as well. In Vh it occurs as 3rd sing 351, 28, as 3rd plur 33, 17 But besides it there occurs three times a hitherto unknown by-form with *samprasārana* of the root 284, 9 and 13, 3rd sing. "*imaṃ udāsī*" (284, 9, one MS reads "*idam vadāsī*"), 324, 3, 3rd plur "*imaṃ vayanaṃ udāsī*".

Two, as it were, "normal" forms are the 3rd sing *velavēsī* (291, 20, from *velavai*, "to upbraid") and the 3rd plur *vinnavimsu* (216, 2; from *vinnavai vijñapayati*)

A more doubtful case is found, 29, 11, where a husband, referring to his previous warnings, says to his wife "*kim idāṇim rodasi? mamam tadā na* sunesi *bhaṇṇamāṇī!*" 'Why do you weep now? At that time you did not listen to me when I spoke to you!" It is, of course, quite possible to take *sunesi* as a 2nd sing of the present indicative. But a 2nd sing aor (which does not differ from the 3rd) would have the same form (cf P, § 516, *kahesī*, etc; the final *ī* may also be short, cf e g *akāsi*, *ahesi*, etc), and the context seems to demand most categorically a form of a past tense

§ 466, end, Pischel deals with some rather mysterious forms in *-īa* which are "mentioned by the grammarians as being used in the sense of the imperfect, aorist, and perfect tenses", and he thinks that, "inexplicable as it seems," *acchīa*, *genhīa*, *dalıddaīa*, *marīa*, *hasīa*, *huvīa*, *dehīa* are really optatives of the present and *kāhīa*, *thāhīa*, *hohīa* are really optatives of the aorist Whatever the correct explanation of these forms may be, the Vh furnishes the first instances of their actual use. We read there 289, 17, *gacchīya*, "I went"; 289, 28, *dine gamesīya*, "I spent the days', 278, 32, *vocchīya*, "he spoke", 111, 22, *kāsīya*, "he made".[1] According to Pischel, we should have to regard the first of these forms as an optative of the present and the other three as optatives of the aorist But an aorist **vocchī* can hardly be explained except as having been derived from the future *voccham* (P, § 529), of which the 3rd sing is *vocchii*, *vocchī*, and this makes it at least very probable that *gacchīya* does not belong to the present *gacchai*, but that an aorist **gacchī* had been derived from the future *gaccham* (P, § 523) Here, again, the very close relations become visible that must have been established in Pkt between the future

[1] As in the text of Vh *ca*, *ya*, *tti*, *ti* are frequently inserted where they are superfluous and even manifestly impossible, there is just the possibility of declaring the final *ya* of the forms in question (or some of them) to be such a spurious *ya* Considering, however, the unanimous testimony of the grammarians, I feel confident that we have actually to read *gacchīya*, etc

and the aorist. Unfortunately our material is as yet too scanty to allow of a more definite description of them.

The verbum substantivum calls for a few remarks. The first point to attract our attention is the quite unusual frequency of its use. E.g. the 2nd plur. *ttha* is qualified by Pischel (§ 498) as "very rare". He gives one single reference to Setubandha 3. 3) and in his paradigm ascribes *ttha* to M only. In Vh it occurs more than forty times! (e.g. 86. 6. 5. 16: 92. 21. 23: 93. 6: 96. 2. 4: 102. 17: 103. 10: 107. 21: 110. 5. 7. 24. etc.). The 1st and 2nd sing. and the 1st plur. are even more commonly used. As we have doubtless to do with old forms that are gradually becoming obsolete in Pkt. their strong vitality in Vh must be looked upon as a sign of antiquity. Another very striking peculiarity points in the same direction. We should expect enclitic forms like *mi*, *si*, *mo*, *ttha* etc. to be normally placed after the word (mostly a past participle) to which they belong,[1] and this is actually often enough the case: e.g. *gao mi* 152. 20: *patto si* 146. 16: *pattā mo* 148. 15: *jāya ttha* 86. 10: etc. But perhaps even more frequently the forms in question are placed before the word they belong to, and they may even be separated from it by one or several other words. e.g. 281. 16. *tao mi niggao*: 196. 2. *tattha ya mi gao*: 253. 16. *tao mi jaṇṇ anteuram gayā*. 229. 25. *jai si saha paraccarane*: 80. 18. *sumarasi, jaṃ si bālabhāre do* [illegible] *Amarāvaīe nabhacāriṇā* bhaniyā . . . ?; 214. 19. *tattha ya mo Mandara-sāmīve vutthāo*: 86. 5. *kao ttha-m-āgayā?*: 96. 2. *jaṃ ttha dīṭṭe āsattā*: 238. 4. *jai* ttha *jamma-maraṇa-bāhulaṃ saṃsāraṃ chindau-kāmā*: 125. 2. *tumhe* ttha *mayā saṃgāmāo padiṇiyattā abhihaya-sarīrā* dittha. etc.: cf. also several of the passages quoted below, p. 329 note, as instances of the conditional

All these sentences would not only retain exactly the same meaning but they would even look more normal if *mi, si, mo, ttha* were replaced by the personal pronouns *ahaṃ, tumaṃ, amhe, tumhe* respectively. It is thus easy to imagine that these forms of √*ās* could have come to be regarded as equivalents of the nominatives of the personal pronouns. That this has, at least to some extent, actually been the case is proved by four forms which the grammarians enumerate as equivalents of *ahaṃ*. Pischel has pointed out (§ 417) that *amhi, ammi, mmi* are = Skt. *asmi*, while *ahammi* is = *ahaṃ mi* = *aham asmi*, and that there is no reason to doubt the statement of the grammarians

[1] Cf. the quotations in P, § 145.

that these forms were used in the sense of *aham* [1]—even though none of them was known to occur in a Pkt text In Vh we read : 217, 19, *amhi pesiyā sumaramānīe* (sc *devīe*) *tubbham pāya-samīvam* . 146, 2, *tao teṇa amhi bhaṇio* , 182, 22, *teṇ'amhi* [2] *mahuraṃ ābhaṭṭho* ; 210, 24, *teṇa y'amhi bhanio* , 212, 7. *tīy* [3] *ammi mahuraṃ āhaṭṭho* , 218, 5 *paviṭṭho y'ammi* ; 230, 16. *tehi y'ammi tuṭṭhehiṃ āruhio* , 279, 3, *tass' ammi phalaṃ patto* It will be seen at once that these sentences cannot be separated from those just quoted above . the use of *amhi* and *ammi* corresponds exactly to that of *mi. si. mo. ttha* In all cases it would be possible but is by no means necessary, to interpret the forms of $\sqrt{as}$ as personal pronouns. Two less equivocal passages *seem* to be 165, 18 *keriso si kesu bhavesu āsi ?* = *kīdṛśas tvam kesu bhavesv āsīḥ ?* and 217, 29 *tao mi uttinno visamāmi* = *tato' ham uttīrno viśramāmi.* [4] But 24, 3, we read *tumaṃ si me bhāyā kaniṭṭho āsī*, and here it seems almost unavoidable to regard *si* as an interpolation Yet even this passage *may* be correct ' *tumamsi* ' = *tvam* would be an exact counterpart of ' *ahammi* taught by the grammarians as nom. sing. = *aham*.

From the 1st sing *bemi* = *bravīmi* AMg and JM have derived a 3rd plur. *benti* (P, § 494 , Vh, 118, 11 ; 223, 15) A 3rd sing *ber*, not recorded by Pischel, occurs Vh 35, 18

Hemacandra admits (1, 46) *datta* besides *dinna* but according to P, § 566, it is found only in a Pallava Grant (6, 21, *datā*) and in proper names. In Vh *datta* and *dinna* are about equally frequent In one-half of the text I have counted the former about forty times (e g 106, 24, 26, 27 , 181, 3, 5, 6 , 241, 5, 8 etc)

Even in Skt *manye* sometimes has almost got the character of a particle " (Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 500, note) In Vh *manne* is regularly used as such after interrogatives, where it might be translated by German " *wohl* ". Examples could be quoted by the dozen, but a few must suffice *kim manne*, 13, 20 . *ko m* , 18, 27 , *kā m* , 101, 8 , *keṇa m kāranena*, 133, 15, 28 ; *kassa m rāino*, 83, 28 ; *kīsa m* , 14, 27 ; *kattha m.*, 20, 10 ; *kiha m* , 310, 15 ; *kayā m* , 176, 26 , *kayaro m esa*

[1] The peculiar use of *atthi* illustrated in § 417 is also familiar to Vh 57, 10, *atthi koi . parivasai* , 10, 29, *n'atthi koi vāhi-doso dīsai* , 125, 5, *atthi me puno rajja-sirī hoijjā ?*

[2] There can hardly be any doubt that we have to write *ten' amhi, y'amhi, y'ammi*, etc , and not *tena 'mhi, ya mhi, ya mmi*

[3] *tīya* = *tīe*, cf below, p 328 f

[4] It is grammatically possible, but otherwise very unlikely that we have to do with *two* sentences *tato 'smy uttīrnaḥ viśramāmi.*

dero. 78. 13. **This use of *manne* throws new light on the adverb *vane* taught by Hemacandra (ii. 206; cf. P. § 457). It seems now certain that *vane* must be explained as *mane* = *manye*.**

Turning to the declension of nouns, we shall first of all make the important statement that the nom. sing. masc. of A-stems ends in *-o* without a single exception. The nominative in *-e* occurs only in two short AMg. quotations—a Vaitālīya stanza, p. 30. 2–3, and half a śloka (not recognized as such by the editors), p. 204. 24—the only ones that I have been able to discover in the whole text. The other important characteristics of AMg., the locative in *-mmi*, does occur in Vh. but of the very few forms the majority are found in Ardhamāgadhisms, so that the same may safely be assumed for the rest.

In normal AMg. and JM the locative ends in *-e* and the inst. gen. loc. fem. of the A-stems end in *-āe*, the inst. gen. loc. of feminine I- and U-stems in *-āi*, *-āu*. An addition to Pischel (§ 361) a dat. sing. in *-āya* is limited to AMg. verses and Māhārāṣṭrī verses. As to the inst. gen. loc. sing. of the feminines in *-ā*, *-ī* only for M (§ 374 f.) *-ā* and *-ū* only in verses where the metre demands a short vowel (§ 385). He evidently rejects dwelling more closely even to mention it the opinion of Leumann who maintains (*Āyāraṅga-Einl.* engl. p. 3 f.) that the feminine forms in *-āya*, *-āe*, *-āya*, which are not infrequently found in Jain texts such as the Sūtras and even the Bhāṣyas, are genuine, and that *-ā* is the older form (as compared with *-e*) from which Pkt has its connection with Pāli.

In Vh the following state of things prevails. Besides the dative in *-āe* (e.g. *mahāe* 28. 7, *aṭṭhāe aṇaṭṭhāe ya* 154. 14, *guttattāe* 76. 13; 91. 21, etc.) that in *-āya* is also found (*vaṇhāya* (= *vaḍḍhāya*) 169. 19; 245. 2 4, *vāhāya* 5 7, *ṭhāṇāṇuṭṭhāya* 163. 4, *ṇiṇāsāya* 213. 5). Feminine forms in *-āi*, *-āu* though very much rarer than the normal ones in *-āe*, *-e* are also not infrequently met with (e.g. instr. *gaṇṭhārāu gaṇṇaṇāya* 213. 13, gen. *aṇuhāya* 230. 6, *kaṇṇāya* 211. 1, inst. *ṇaṇṇāya* 121. 31, *kaḍḍhio* 10. 24, loc. *vellāya* 150. 20, *gaṇṇaṇāya ṇaṇṇāya* 17. 1, etc.). Furthermore in addition to them Vh has preserved in a few cases a form which seems to me to prove conclusively that Leumann was right in comparing a Pkt *ṇaṇṇāya* to Pāli *kaññāya*. According to Geiger's grammar (§§ 81, 86) Pāli forms the inst. gen.

[1] I have only noted the following forms: Im am meisten Reuhlu-nama *kaṇṇhaṇaṇa*, 139, 16; *vāṇṇaṇaṇa*, 161. 15; *gaṇṇaṇaṇa*, 167. 17. An AMg.-phrase *kaṇṇhaṇaṇa gaṇṇaṇāṇa* ... 76. 13; 91. 21. Besides 246. 27 *maṇaṇaṇa* (in a doubtful passage), 150. 30, *taṇaṇa vellāya* (grammatically wrong), 96. 25, *vāhaṇaṇaṇa*, and 147. 16, *ṇaṇaṇa* or l. *ṇaṇaṇa*.

sing. of feminine A-stems in *-āya*, but the locative in *-āya* and *-āyam* (= Skt. *-āyām*!); similarly we have of feminine I-stems an inst. gen. sing. in *-iyā*, but the loc. may end in *-iyā* or *-iyam*. Of these locatives in *-āyam* and *-iyam*, the Pkt. counterparts are preserved in the following passages of Vh.: 280, 20, *pavitthe ya dinayare, virattāyaṃ saṃjhāyaṃ*; 280, 27, *uttarāyaṃ disāyaṃ*; 323, 18, *uttarāyaṃ sedhīyaṃ*; 310, 22, *uttarāyaṃ sedhīya*, 312, 8, *dattāyam* (sc. *kaṇṇāyaṃ*) *na pabhavai sayaṇo rāyā vā*; 210, 1, *rāiyaṃ* (" at night "); 310, 24, *Pabhankarāyaṃ nayarīyam*.

Feminine locatives in *-āyam* and *-īyam* have hitherto not been known to occur in any literary Pkt. dialect. Their genuineness is, however, corroborated not only by the corresponding Pali forms, but also by one solitary form which Pischel (§ 388) quotes from a Pallava Grant: " Loc. sing. *Āputtīyam* (6, 37) i.e. *Āputtiyam* = *Āputtyām*, i.e. the Pali form. Now if *-āyaṃ* and *-īyam* are genuine archaisms, it is obvious that *-āya* and *-īya* must also be recognized as such—which in the case of the dative in *-āya* has of course never been doubted. We have thus throughout an archaic form in *-ya*, a normal one in *-e*, and we may therefore ask ourselves whether we have not here to do with a uniform and purely phonetic development of final *-ya* after a long vowel into *-e*. This would remove the difficulties with which the explanation of the dat. sing. in *-āe* is beset (cf. P. § 364) and would make it unnecessary to have recourse to the Brāhmana form *mālāyai* for the explanation of Pkt. *mālāe* (P. § 375). But whether this be accepted or not, it is at least obvious that the substitution of a dative in *-āe* for that in *-āya* cannot be separated from the substitution of fem. *-āe*, *-īe* for *-āya*, *-īya*: if both changes are not the result of the same phonetic law the former must be due to analogy with the latter.

One of the most interesting and remarkable archaic forms preserved in Vh. is an abl. sing. m. n. in *-aṃ*. I have noted it only thrice: 6, 13, . . . *tao nissaranto dukkha-maraṇaṃ* = *tato nirasarisyad*[1] *duḥkha-maraṇāt*, " then he would have escaped a miserable death " 116, 29.

[1] The use of the present participle as conditional, taught by Hemacandra, iii, 180; cf. Jacobi, *Bhavisatta Kaha*, p. 35. In JErz. no instance occurs, cf. JErz. p. 112; it is remarkably frequent in Vh. I have noted no less than nineteen cases, of which a few may be quoted here: 149, 11, *jai jāṇanto ṇa eṃto*, " Had I known (that), I should not have come (with you)! " 126, 6, *jai e-a-vaggho homto to padiyaṃ mamaṃ laṅghento—ṇa e-a vagghā*, " If this were a tiger he would attack me who has fallen down—this is no tiger " 116, 25, . . . *taṃ puṇa tumaṃ si aṇṇesiṃ sāhinto*, " I should love to tell you, but you would tell others " 120, 14, *ahaṃ jai pamāeṇa naggao homto, to mi bandhaṇaṃ pāvento*, " Had I stepped out by an oversight I should have been arrested." 228, 25, *jai si na iṇṭī-ṭīe-ū rūsiuṃ na damsentī, to ma[ṃ] nāgaṇ homto*, " Had you not come

pavvaya-kandaraṃ vṇiggayā = parvata-kandarād vinirgatau, 227, 24, *cukkā si āyāraṃ = bhraṣṭâsy ācārāt*. There can be no doubt that the forms in *-am* are ablatives none of the verbs *nihsarati, vinirgacchati, cukkai = bhraśyati* could be constructed with any other case Now an abl sing m n in *-aṃ* may at first sight appear rather strange and doubtful Yet the development of final *-āt* into *-am* is in perfect accordance with the phonetic laws of Pkt, cf P, §§ 339 . 75 , 114; 181. Pischel says in § 114 " AMg *sakkham = sāksāt* (Hc 1, 24 , Uttar. 116, 370 , Ovav), besides Ś *sakkhā* (Mallikām , 190, 19) AMg *hětttham* besides AMg JM *hětthā* (§ 107) is an accusative besides an ablative , the same may be the case with *sakkham* " The three forms preserved in Vh enable us to decide with absolute certainty that *sakkham* and *heṭṭham* are regular ablatives going directly back to *sāksāt* and *adhahsthāt*. Their preservation is doubtless due to the fact that they were used as adverbs and therefore no longer felt to be ablatives.

An additional proof is once again furnished by the Pali, where the abl sing in *-am* also exists, though it is unknown to the official grammar[1] Cf e g the well-known stanza Dhammapada 314 (= *Saṃy Nik* , vol 1, p 49) *akatam dukkatam seyyo, pacchā tapati dukkatam / katam ca sukatam seyyo, yaṃ katvā nânutappati*, the first pāda of which is quite correctly rendered in the *Udānavarga* (xxix, v. 53, " B 41 " in Pischel's edition) by *akrtam* kukrtāc *chreyah* . . . It is clear that in the 3rd pāda. too, we have to translate krtāc *ca sukrtaṃ śreyah* . Or cf Jātaka 458, 13*d* *kattha-tthito para-lokam na bhāye ?* " Being in which condition need he not fear the other world ? " But it is well known that the verb *bhī* is never constructed with the accusative, but *regularly* with the ablative exceptionally with the genitive

or had you not shown me her figure, I should have died " 36, 11, *jai te piyā jīvanto, tumaṃ vā is'attha kusalo honto, to na esa erisa-sirīe bhāyanam honto evam sirighādagatiya-caukka-caccara-racchāmuhesu uralalanto* viharejja ! " If your father were alive, or if you were skilled in the science of archery, this fellow would not enjoy such prosperity nor would he thus roam about sportively in . " Further instances will be found in Vh 13, 26 , 16, 25 , 51, 21 , 71, 22 , 135, 16 , 137. 2, 21 , 106. 18 (read *devam si*), 168, 14 , 169, 2 , 228, 1 , 248. 19 —The last of the sentences just quoted has already shown that for the expression of the *modus irrealis* the optative may be used as well Other instances of this occur, e g 17, 4 , 109, 2 , 135, 30 , 322, 16 The two conditional periods 16. 25 f , and 17, 4, are both clear examples of the *modus irrealis* Yet in the first case the present part is used, in the second the optative It is very interesting to notice that Hemacandra in his rendering of the story in question (*Parisistaparvan*, 1, 46 ff) translates the present participles by conditionals (1, 60), but the optatives by optatives (1, 72)

[1] I owe the knowledge of the Pali ablative in *-am* and of the passages quoted below to Professor Luders of Berlin.

The verse Dhammapada 201 *jayam veram pasavati* is usually interpreted "He who conquers (*jayan* !) creates (*prasavati*) hatred." But a much more natural interpretation, corresponding much better to the last pāda "*hitvā* jaya-*parājayam*", is *jayād vairam prasravati*, "from victory arises hatred" There can also be no doubt that Dhammapada 49 *yathâpi bhamaro pupppham vanna-gandham ahethayam/paleti rasam ādāya, evam gāme munī care* must be translated "And as the bee, having taken the juice, flies away *from* the flower (*puspāt* !) without damaging its colour and smell, even so " It can be shown that in the dialect from which the Pali scriptures were translated the abl in *-am* was more frequent But as in AMg and JM, only those forms are preserved which had the good fortune of being either overlooked or misunderstood

A few pronominal forms also deserve to be mentioned In Vh *mayā* = Skt *mayā* is the most usual form of the inst sing of *aham*, it occurs several hundreds of times This form is nowhere even mentioned in P, though it had been duly recorded by Jacobi (JErz, § 43) It seems, however, that in JErz it occurs only once (10, 1), so that Pischel may have regarded this solitary form as a Sanskritism In the acc sing Pischel restricts the use of *me* to AMg of *te* to AMg, Ś, Mg, but we find the acc *me* Vh 43, 26, 44, 8, 105, 18, 140, 7, etc, acc *te* 65, 11, 81, 29, 84, 7, 87, 30, 221, 20 In the loc sing Pischel knows *mai* in Ś only it occurs Vh 150 25, 241, 13 Besides, we read Vh 282, 21, the form *mamamhi*, which is wanting in P.

According to P, §§ 419, 422, the plural forms *ne* and *bhe* are used as follows *ne, acc* M, AMg, *inst gen* only AMg, *bhe, nom.* taught by one grammarian (Canḍa), *acc inst* only AMg, *gen* AMg and JM. In Vh we find *ne, acc* 121, 13, 134, 27, *inst* 233, 27, *gen* 43, 3; 70, 24, 73, 23, 94, 16 *et passim*, besides *acc pl nam* (read *ne* ?), 70, 23, 230, 23 *bhe, nom* 99, 26, 125, 13, *acc* 118, 4, 8, 153, 23; 367, 17, *inst* 101, 4, 108, 3, 112, 10, 115, 26, etc, *gen* in common use According to P, § 422, the gen pl *vo* = *vah* is used in M, Ś, and the Pallava Grants, but not traceable in other dialects · it occurs Vh 211, 27, 224, 3, 351, 2 Besides, an unmistakable *nominative vo* is found Vh 88, 21

bhe is explained by Pischel as the result of a weakening of *tubbhe*, due to absence of accent (§ 422) This explanation is confirmed by a hitherto unknown form found in Vh, a genitive *mhe* bears exactly the same proportion to *tumhe* as *bhe* to *tubbhe* I have therefore no doubt as to its genuinenesss, even though it occurs only four times

within thirty consecutive lines of the text: 213, 8, *ahavā to* [*tubbhe*][1] *bhūena kenaı mhe*[2] *umhā*[3] *hoŋŋā*[?] "Or should you have got fever through some demon?" 213, 15 *na mhe umhā sarīrassa*, "You have no fever!" 213, 18 *kerısam mhe*[4] *sarīrassa*[?] "How is your health (lit the state of your body)?" 214, 2 *mama pasāeṇa mhe*[5] *kajja-sıddhī* The readings of the MSS plainly show that *mhe* was unfamiliar or even unintelligible to the scribes so that they tried to eliminate it—which for us is an additional proof of its correctness and authenticity

It would be easy to add a long list of other forms, words, etc, occurring in Vh which are either completely wanting in P or attributed by Pischel to AMg only A brief enumeration of at least some of them may be given in conclusion

āyā = *ātman* (§ 88, also JŚ *ādā*), 130, 16, *-tra* after long vowel becomes *-ya* (§ 87) *gāya* = *gātra*, 73, 12, 196, 10, 320, 14, 328, 21, *goya* = *gotra*, 159, 14, *vıdıyā* = *vidyā* (not in P), 88, 14, *nitıyam* = *nityam* (not in P), 178, 27, *ahe* = *adhas* (§ 345), 152, 3, 155, 18, *ahe-loga*, 159, 20, *uyāhu* (§ 85), 59, 9, 151, 13, *udāhu*, 12, 6; 37, 20, 47, 27, 126, 23, 135, 28, 142, 30, voc *rāyam*! (§ 399, not in JErz), 128, 30, 131, 9, 234, 4, 9, 244, 13, *et passım*, nom pl *bahave* (§ 380, "in JM probably wrong for *bahavo*") 52, 19, 234, 27, 310, 22, 323, 26, nom pl *gāvo* = *gāvah* (not in P, § 393, but cf Geiger, *Pāli*, § 88), 181, 28, *gāo* = *gāvah* (§ 393), 182, 3, *kāladhammunā samŋutta* (§ 404, p 284 bottom), 75, 25, 284, 20, 25, 286, 20, 287, 4, 298, 15, 299, 9, 304, 4, 5, 7, 9. Absolutives in *-ttāuaṃ* (§ 583) *bhaıettānam*, 53, 27; *pakkhālettānam*, 247, 20, *uddıssa* = *uddiśya* (not P, § 590), 14, 8, *paducca* (§ 590), 5, 17, 10 23, 280, 31, 311, 13, 342, 16, 360, 26, *pappa* = *prāpya* (§ 591 AMg and JŚ), 235, 5, *āyāya* = *ādāya* (§ 591 AMg and JŚ) 163, 20

Vh has presented us a picture of JM materially different from that which is familiar to us from P and JErz Its main features are: first, an even much closer affinity to AMg than that prevailing between ordinary JM and AMg (cf P § 20)—we are markedly nearer the time when JM came first into being as an individual dialect, distinct from AMg. Secondly a great number of archaisms and other interesting

[1] Inserted, because the following *mhe* had become unintelligible!
[2] Only one MS reads thus, all others have *se*
[3] The editors print *uggā* which gives no sense, cf the next passage.
[4] One MS reads thus, the others have *he*
[5] All MSS but one read *mhı*

peculiarities which not only in themselves are valuable additions to our knowledge, but also help to elucidate many a dark point of Pkt grammar and linguistic history Ultimately the great problems of the origin and true character of AMg and JM, of their development, and their relations to each other as well as to the other Pkt dialects, the Pali, etc , are raised anew and demand new answers [1] A discussion of them is, however, quite beyond the compass of the present paper, the aim of which has merely been to make known the new material supplied by Vh and to direct the attention of fellow Indologists to a field of research which in my opinion badly needs new tilling

[1] The conclusions arrived at by Jacobi in his paper "Über das Prakrit in der Erzahlungsliteratur der Jainas" (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 1908–9, pp 231 ff) will have to be modified

Yazdi

By H. W. Bailey

WHILE I was in Isfahān at the end of June, 1932, a young Zardushtī of Yazd, Jamshīd Khodā-morād Rashīdī, came to see me before going on to his school in Shīrāz. We met four times, and before leaving he requested an acquaintance of his, a young man, Jamshīd Qobād, who was visiting Isfahān, to come to see me. Qobād's home was with his parents in Teheran, so that he had little opportunity to use this dialect In August of the same year I was able to visit Yazd for one week, and there found a young Zardushtī school-teacher, Ardeshīr Mehrabān Mazkūrī, born in the neighbouring village of Maryābād (or Mōriābād) We met several times He gave me the following list of eighteen villages where Zardushtīs lived. χoramšāh, χeirābād, ahrestān, zeinābād, mōriābād, hasanābād, nōsratābād, nasrīābād, elābād, hosseinābād, mehdiābād, alīābād, mazree ardešīr, kůče bíūk, γāsemābād, čem, mobāreke, taft In γāsemābād he said that only Zardushtīs were found I was able to visit Taft and to spend a short time there, speaking with some Zardushtīs The words I was able to write down showed little difference from the language used in Yazd. Mazkūrī, however, gave me many differences between town and village pronunciation, and a few differences of vocabulary It would be useful to have a full linguistic study of the whole district

The sixteen tales which follow all suffer to some extent by being translations or adaptations either from Persian or from English. The translators have not always freed themselves from the Persian of the original.

In the pronunciation, ō and ū were at times hard to distinguish As to æ (indicated by a in the texts) it seems to have been the usual sound for Rashīdī and Qobād, whereas *a* [1] was commoner in Mazkūrī's pronunciation. Length of vowel varied also

Morphology

Pronoun

Nom. independent. me, ta, ū, īn, īne, mō, šemō, šmō, íe, išūn

Possessive suffixed om ot oš mō dō šō.

Obj. infixed:	-m-, me-, om, mē	mō mū
	ta tā de	šmō šemū
	oš	īe

[1] *a is used for the sound* [a].

Obj. with ō, vū "wish, must".

me de še mō dō šō.

Agent with Pret.:

em mem	mō mōmō
od tad	dō šemōdō
. oš ūoš, ūš	šō īešō, īšūnšō

Agent with Perf. and Pluperf.:

mī dī šī	mō dō šō
mi di šı	mo do šo

Verb

Present and Preterite bases are distinguished. Intransitive Preterite is expressed by the -t participle and verb substantive; Transitive Preterite by -t participle and agent form of pronoun.

Verb Substantive.

Pres. Indicative		*Copula.*	*Pres Conjunctive*
me	he	e	be, vébe
ta	hī	ī	
ū	ha	on, ō, un, ūn	
mō	hīm	hīm	
šemō	hīd	hīd	
īšūn	hend	en	

Verbal Paradigm.

Pres. Indicative.		*Negative.*		*Pres Conjunctive.*
mékre	-kre -ékre	me	nákrıme	-vékre
tákrī	-ekrī	ta	nákriye	-vékrī
ű́kra	-ekra {mīníd / seǰít	ū	nákre	-vékra
mő́krīm	-ekrīm	mō	nákrıme	-vékrīm
šmōkrīd	-ekrīd	šemō	nákrıte	-vékrīd
íékren	-ekren	īšūn	nákreme	-vékren
íšūnekren				

Imperfect -ka -*ka*

méka	mő́ka
déka	dő́ka
šéka	šōka

According to Mazkūrī ka was the pronunciation of the town, *ka* of the village.

Transitive Preterite *Negative.*

mémká	ómka	memnáka	-omnáka
tadka	ódka	tadnáka	

ūošká	óška	ūšnaka
mōmṓka	móka	mōmōnáka
šemōdṓka	dóka	šemodonáka
išūnšṓka	šṓka	išūn šonáka

Transitive Perfect. *Negative*

me mıkárta — me minekárta etc.
ta dıkarta
u šıkarta
momokárta
šmodokárta
iešokarta

Transitive Pluperfect. *Negative.*

me mikártaba — me mınekártaba etc.
dı-, ši-, mo-, do-, šo-

Transitive Pluperfect II (karde būde am)

Negative.

me mıkártebda — me mınekártebda etc.
dı-, šı-, mo, -do-, šo-

Intransitive Preterite

me	rásōd-e	bōı, bōıe
ta	rasōd-ī	bōı
ū	rásṓd	ba, bō, būt
mō	rasōd-īm	bōím
šemō	rasōd-īd	bōíd
išūn	rasōd -án, -ánd	bōiénd

Intransitive Pluperfect.

bedábōıe	bedáboīm
bedáboī	bedábōīd
bedába	bedábōiend

Imperative. *Negative*

2 Sg. mákū
2 Pl mákūd
3 Pl nákren

na- ın place of ma- in the 2 pers. was censured by Mazkūrī

Infinitive

(1) -tvūn, -tūn, -dūn, -vūn.
(2) -t ınfınıtıve.

váχte dəvárt — váχte dəvórna

Frequent with véō "must" oš-véū čed "must gather"; oš-véō ašnōft "must hear", véō ša "must go", om-váū parsōd "I must ask', náūtōma, náōtōma "must not come", náōša "must not go", náōka "must not make'

Passive

Expressed by the verbs bōdvűn and ōmdvűn

venōdábō mō gūve venōdábō "this ball was thrown"

márt ōma 'was broken' mártī ómdabō "was broken"; menešti ómda "was written menéšte tōd "is written", nōdī ómdaba 'was placed"

List of Verbs

amōrz- "pardon"
bīāmōrzī, membīāmōrzűn

arōtvűn "grind"
méare táarī, íne ará. arím, -š ōrt

arváštvūn, arvášvūn, arvāštūn "leap"
mene árevеza 'mījehad'
arvášt, ārvášt

ašnōftvűn, ašnōptvūn "hear"
me šnáve, me šnāvé.
memašnōft, memašnōft (tad-, īneš-), ošašnōft, šōašnōft
Inf ašnōft ošvéō ašnōft

bārtvűn "bear"
mébre mébre bren. Conj méō gī vébre.
membárt, šōbá, īéšūbárt.
Inf ošváū bárte

bāštvűn "bind"
me bénne, meūbénne Imperat máben.
membāšt, šobášt

baχšōd "bestow"
me vebāχše
membāχšōd, ošbaχšód

bōdvūn, bodvűn "become"
Pres 3 Sg bűt Conj 3 Sg vébe, bűd
Pret bōi bōie, bōi ba, bō, būt, bōim, bōíd, bōiénd.
Pluperf. bedábōie, bedábōe, bedáboī, bedába, bedáboīm bedábōīd, bedábōiend.
Imperat be, vebe

brīdvűn, burīdvűn . . . . . (1) "cut", (2) "kill"
me vébrine. 3 Sg. brína.
membríd.

čar- . . . . . "graze"
Pres. 3 Plur. čáren.

čašnōdvűn . . . . . "join"
me čášne, memčašnőd.

čedvűn . . . . . (1) "gather", (2) "weave"
me véčine.
memčed, oščed.
Inf. ošvéū čed

čērzōd . . . . . "complain"
3 Sg. pret.

čoš- . . . . . "taste"
Imperat. véčoš.

darīdvűn . . . . . "tear"
me védrine, memdríd.

dāšvűn . . . . . "sew"
me védarze, memdāšt.

davōdvűn . . . . . "run"
3 Plur. davén.
3 Plur. davőden, me . . . davőde.

dəvőrtvūn . . . . . "turn"
me védre.
me dvárte 3 Sg. dəvárt.
Inf. vaχte vedrít.
váχte devárt

dəvőrna . . . . . "turn" (tr.)
Inf váχte dəvőrna.

dīd . . . . . "see"
Pres. see vīn-
memdíd mōmōdīd omdíd mōdīd
taddíd šemōdōdīd oddíd dōdīd
īešődīd ošdīd šodīd
me mīdīdába, dīdīdába, šīdīdába, momōdīdába,
šemōdōdīdába, īšūnšōdīdaba.
Inf. om véō díde.

dōdvūn . . . . . "give"
méte, me . . . ete, me . . . áte, péte "I give".
3 Sg. éta.

Neg 2 Sg nátīe.
Conj. 3 Pl áden, aten.
Imperat. 2 Sg. adém (be-mé "to me").
Pret memdṓd, omdṓd, ošdōd, še sár dō, tōt, oštōd.
Perf -š dṓde, ǐešōméıdōda "did not give me".

dortvṹn . . . "have"
me dṓre Neg nádōre. 2 Sg. dōrí, dōrí, dṓrī. 3 Sg. dṓrá, dōra 1 Pl. dṓrím, dōrím. 3 Pl. dōrén.
Pret memdōšt, ošdōšt, -štṓš, -šdōšt, -šdṓrt.

dōšōd^{v}ṹn . . "milk"
me vedūšen, memdōšṓd.

gašvūn . . . "bite"
me géze, mešgášt.

gertvūn . "turn"
me gérte, me gertṓde

grāfvūn, grāftṹn . . "take"
Pres mé pnōré me zém gōre "I learn".
Fut gṹré
Pret omgrāft, meme zem grāpt, zem grāft.

henṓdvūn . . . "put"
Village pron = town pron. nōdvṹn

herídvūn . . . . . "buy"
me herīne, me vérīne.
memhríd, šeherīt.
Imperat vérın

hermondvṹn . . . "command"
me véhermōne, memhermōníd.

hrōtvūn . . . . . "sell"
me vṓroše, memh^{e}rōt.

ǰom- . . . . "move"
3 Sg. ǰóme.

ǰomnōd . . "move"
me ǰomne, me ǰómnōde

kapt . . . . . "fall"
Pres. tebe k*a* "falls", tebe ke "I fall".
Pret kṓft, kapt
Pluperf kápteba

kartṵṹn See Paradıgm above . . . . "make"
Inf. k*a* (náōk*a*, omvéūk*a*).
Imperatıve 2 Sg mákū, nákūd, nákude.

kāšt . . . . . "plant"
kōrén, šōkā́št (village pron.).
šōkā́št (town pron.).
kenōdvūn . . . . . "dig"
me vékene memkenṓd.
kešōdvūn . . . . . "draw"
me keše
memkešṓd oškešṓd kešṓd.
kōštvūm, kōšvūn . . (1) "throw", (2) "strike", "shoot"
me békude.
me me gūlkōš "I deceive".
memkōšt -škōšt me me gūlkōšt.
Perf. 3 Sg kṓšte
kušt- . . . . "kill"
kúšım.
kušte bṓıen.
lešt . . . . "lick"
Pres. 3 Sg lés*a*, vélesá.
Pret -š lešt.
mart "break"
1 Sg. emare, me vémare 3 Sg m*á*rá,
memmárt, ommárt, ōšmárt.
márti ṓmdabō, márt*ō*m*a* "was broken".
Partıcıple márt*a* "broken"
mārt^{v}ūn . "dıe"
me vémre
Pret me marte, márte, ta martī, ū mart, mō martīm,
šemō martīd, īšūn martan, mártén
Partıc márt*a* "dead".
mekṓd "suck"
íne méká, ṓšmekṓd.
menōdvūn "remaın"
me míne 3 Sg mín*a*, mīnıd 2 Pl mīníd 3 Pl
ménan
me menōd.
vṓ menud "was exhausted"
mnesōdvūn "wrıte"
me vémnese
me mnéšt, ošmenéš Perf 2 Sg dí menéšt*a*.
Pass menéštı ṓmd*a*, menéšte tōd.

mōlīdvūn . . . . . "rub"
me mṓle, mémōlīd.
našvṹn *našvṹn* . . . . . "sit"
me níge, me ṹnīge, íne níg*a*, me nášte. 3 Sg. nāšt, našt.
Pluperf. našta bṓıen.
Imperat. 2 Sg ma-níg 2 Pl. ṹnīgīd
neftvūn . . . . . "send"
me vénīve.
me . néf, de . néf, še . . néft, ōšnépte, memnéft.
me mī néptaba (-neft-) šīneptaba.
ušīnépta.
nōdvṹn; *cf* henṓdvūn . . . . . "put"
me tu mōtṓr nenóm "put me ınto the motor".
nōd, šonṓd, šonūd, ōšnṓde.
nōdī, ṓmdaba
ōmvūn, ōmdvūn . . . "come"
tṓe tōī tōd, tūd tōím toíd tōıénd
Pret. me ōmōye mō ōmṓyīm Neg. néiṓmd*a*.
ta ōmṓyi šemō ōmṓyīd
ū ōmá išūn ōmōyénd.
Pluperf. ṓmdaba.
Partıciple ṓmd*á*
Imperat bíōr, bīṹ, bíōīd
Inf. náōtōm*a*.
ōrtvṹn . . . . . "bring"
me tōré, tōré, mé tōre, etōrén.
Conj. 3 Sg bíōra.
Pret ošṓrt.
Inf ošváū tōrté
parōdvṹn . . . . "fly"
me pāré 3 Pl. parōdén.
parsōdvūn . . . . . "ask"
me pā́rse, memepā́rsōd, ošparsṓd.
pā*χ*vūn . . . . . "cook"
me vépeše, mempā*χ*t.
pāmōd . . "understand"
pahmend, véfahme. Conj. 3 Pl vefáhmen.
Pret pāmōd
pīčōd . . . . . "twıst"
me vépīče, me píčōde.

pōš- . . . . . "sprinkle"
ŏve pŏšá "he sprinkles water".
prontvűn . . . . . "take"
me aprone, me pnōré, me pnŏre, me prŏne.
3 Sg -e pnŏrá.
memprōnt, óšpnŏrt, pnōrt prōnt,
ošprōn, óšoprōnt.
Perf. Neg 3 Sg naprŏnte.
ranǰōdvūn . . . "be troubled"
mé ranǰe, me ranǰōde.
ranǰnōd . . . . "trouble"
mé ranǰne, memranǰnōd.
rasōdvűn . "reach"
me ráse, rasīm. Conj 3 Sg. náresi.
Pret. see verbal paradigm above.
retvűn . . . . . "pour"
me ríǰe, me űrīǰe. 3 Sg. ríǰa.
mémret.
roft . . . . "sweep"
íne rūvá.
ŏšróft.
rōnōdvun . "drive"
me rōne, memrōnŏd.
sat . . . . . "weigh"
senǰōdvűn, me sénǰe.
-š sát.
seǰ- . . . . . "burn" (intr.)
3 Sg. seǰīd, séǰī, seǰít, séǰa, sežīd.
sōtvūn . . . . "make"
me vésoǰe. 2 Sg. sōǰī. Conj. 3 Sg. vésūǰa.
memsŏt.
sūǰnōd . . . "burn" (tr)
me sűžne, me vésūžne, īne sűžna. Conj. me vésűžne,
memsűznōd, sūǰnōd, sűžnōd, sūžnŏd.
sūn- . . . . . "burn" (tr.)
me sűne. 3 Sg sűna.
šálodūn . . . . . "to limp"
šemŏrdvūn . . . . . "count"
me véšmōre, memšmōrd.

šenōsōdvūn . . . . . "know"
me béšnāse, memšenāsod.

šədédvūn . . . . . "take"
méšne, tášnī, šnā, īnešnā, ešnā, ášnen, mőšnīm, šmőšnīd, íšunešnén.
Pret. om šədéd, odšədéd, oššədéd, -š šidéd, mőmōšədéd, šmōdōšdéd, īešōšdéd, šōštéd.
Perf. me mīšdéda, tá dīšdéda, šišdéda, mőmōšdéda, šmōdōšdeda, īšűnšōdéda.
Inf ošváu šdedé.

šnōšt . . . . . "put"
-ōš šnošt, -ōš šənőžd.

vaštvűn . . . . "run", "run away"
me véze
me vášte.

venōdvűn . . . . . "throw"
1 Sg. evéne, īne véna. Conj. 3 Pl. venén.
Pret 3 Sg. vén, ošvén, venőd. 1 Pl. venōdím. 3 Pl. šovenőd.
Pass venōdábō.

vīǰ . . . . . "sift"
me vīǰe, ūvīǰe.

vīn- . . . . . "see"
vévīne, vévinī, vévīna, vévīnīm, šemō, vévīnīd, īšūn vévīnend
Imperat vévin.

vīōsvūn . . . . . "wish", "must"
Pres. ō, vū, ū, vūd, ōde, véō, véū.
Neg návate.
Pret vévīōste, šévīōst, dévīōst

vīštvūn . . . . "stand"
me vīšte, me vīštōde.
bárı me víšte "stood by me".

vızárt (vıllage = town dəvárt) . "turn"
Inf vaχte vézrit.

vəzorna . . . . "turn" (tr.)
Inf vaχte vəzőrna.

vōptvūn . . . . "weave"
mé vōpe, memvőpt.

vōrtvūn . . . . . "bring"
me bíōre, bīōre.
memvōrt, ošvūrdt.
me mī vōrta.
Imperat bīōr

vōtvūn . . . . . "say"
3 Sg vaǰa, vaǰa, váǰe, vévaǰa. 1 Sg. me vévaǰe
2 Sg vaǰí. 1 Pl. navájıme.
Conj bévaǰa
Pret memvōt, -dvōd, ušvōd, ševōd.
Perf. šévōta, šōvōta
Imperat. beva, veva. náva, máva.

χartᵛūn . . . . . "eat"
me váχre. Conj. 1 Sg. véχré. Neg. náχre. 3 Sg.
véχrå, véχra, beχra. 3 Pl. váχren.
Fut méχre
Pret. memχárt, ošχá.
Imperat tā véχō

χend . . . . . "call"
mé χıne mō χınīm
tá χınī šmō χenīd
ū χına íe χınen, χínen.
Conj. me vū véχīne.
Pret. moχénd.

χōfvūn, χōftūn . . . . "sleep"
me χōpté. 1 Sg χōptūde.
Pluperf 3 Sg χōptūdábō.

zōdvūn . . . . . "be born"
Pres 3 pl zōyén.

zōnōdvūn . . . "bear children"
me zōne, memzōnōd

zōnōdvūn . . . "know"
me zōne 2 Sg zōní 3 Sg. ezōna, memzōnōd.
Perf Neg. néızōnōda

Vocabulary

adō, wıth
adovōı, wıth
adovóı, ādōvōı, adōvōš
ǻldī, money
ār (vıllage), wıth
'ar'ar, brayıng
arbōb, arbūb, master
árō, from

asb, horse
asbe, asp-davūní
ásta, bone
aváz, return, substitute

babū, father.
bad, bad
bād, after
banáfš, violet
bə́r, bar, outside
be, other
bé, quince
bedár, bedére, bdér, father
benə́hā, began
benōška, benúška, began
berúń, a roast
bıdí, again
bīdə́r, awake
bígūna, stranger
bland, high
bōγ, garden
bōγvúń, gardener
bōlə́, above
bə́na, pretext
bōr, load
brī, for
būmás, grandfather
būr, time
hešbūr, hešbūre, never
ya būrī bé ǰī, again

čakakərá
vō čakakərá, water is dropping
čap, left
čarbī (village pron čə́rbī) fat
čápta, polo-stick
če, what
čem, eye
čen, čend, centa, čem (būr). Pers. čand
čerūī, a pasture
čəmuš, shoe
čō. Pers. čūn
čōγōlī, complaint
čə́re, means
čōχ, sound to drive off dogs
čūγī ō lōkī, in good condition
čum, thing
čūv, wood

dašt, dast, daš, hand
daštı gōrá, grapes
daváǰ, bed
də́vrī, around Pers dōr-e
de-, into
dē, village
dénə́, wasp
deres, derést, correct
devár, plur. devárúń, brother; dəvérı mas, elder brother, bedverī χā to one's own brother, devarōna, adj, brother's
devúte, inkstand
dəvūrədəvūr Pers barābár
dī, Pers. ham, also
dīkartvūn, to find
šōdīka, they found
dīr. 1 Pers. dūr, far. 2 Pers dīr, late
dōγ Pers dāγ
dom, tail
domběl, dúmběl, behind
də́nī, world
dōz, dōzz-, thief
dravš, banner
draχt, derə́χt, tree
drúǰna, window
drúv, false

émōma, turban; Pers. 'amāmah
emrúǰ, emrú, to-day

eškám, belly
ezm, permission

galīhém kartvūn, to mix
gálī mōl, neck
gap, words
  gap kartvūn "to speak",
  gápe-ro, gáfe-ro Acc.
gārm, hot
gāv, gau, (1) down, (2) deep
gāš Pers negahdārī kardan
gennúm, wheat
genz, room
gerd, round
gīr, gīrī, capture
gōmbūr. Pers gāhānbār, festival
gōr Pers gabr, used of the
  Zarduštī
górba, cat
gōrı, rūǰgōrıáka, rūžgōrīyáka,
  greeting during the day
gōš, ear
gōš še gaf ka, he heeded
gōše, corner
gū, gűve, ball
gū, ox Pers gāv
gūre χer, gűra χer, wild ass
gűra, gōrá, unripe grapes
gurg, wolf

hama, həmá, all
hardō-rō, hardutá, both
hárūǰa, every day
hečĭ, none
hendī, water-melon
herdű, to-morrow
heš, hīš, plough
heš, none
  heš vaχt, never
  héške, no one

hešt, mill (?)
heze, hezze, yesterday
hezvūn, tongue
  bō zvūn, bō zūn, with tongue
hōdérı asb, horse-keeper
hōl Pers hāl
hōša, ear of corn
hošk, χošk, dry

ǰa, barley
ǰédí, gum
ǰegár (village pron. ǰeχár), liver
ǰeldverī Pers rū-be-rū
ǰevűn, fine, beautiful
ǰōlá, yoke

kad, γadd. Pers qadd
kalečča, jar
kappa kartᵛūn, to tear to pieces
kapál Pers sarīn
kásōgī, childhood
kasók, kasuk, kasōγe, small
ke, who
kémōgī, a little
kezí (village, kezá). Pers. kadū,
  gourd
kī, that
kíe Pers kūčah, street
klóp, cheek
kluft, thick
kőı, kőyū, where, de-kőı, to
  what place
kőná, old
kōr, kūr, work
kūr, blind
korbūn Pers qurbān

lōγar, thin
lōkī, see čūγī
lōnǰ, lip
lop, mouth (?)

márd, kind of grape
mas, *mas*, great
massére, greater
māšīn, motor car
*máχ*e, lost
mehr, friendliness
meimūn, (1) guest, (2) monkey
memás, grandmother
memū, mother
mer, mother
mérdōg, man
meš, sheep
méyūne, middle
mīd, hair
mīr, husband
  míre *χā*, one's own husband
mō, this
mōl, neck
mōmne, now
mōne, *mū́ne*, here
mōr, seal Pers muhr
*mǒ*šg(e), mouse
mosolvūn, Musulman

nafahmī, lack of understanding
nam, wet
*nā*rm, soft
narmī,
*nā*št, uneducated
na*χ*aš, unhappy
*náχ*od, lentil
nē, now
nebdí, now Pers hālā dīgar
nemaḱ, salt
nīmrū́, mid-day
nūm, name
nūma. Pers nāmah
nūr, pomegranate

ō. Pers. ān
ō, vō, water
ō, vō, and
ōbéd, religious man
ōbí, blue
ōhessá, softly
ōhōša, lamenting
ōhōnǒla, lamenting
on Pers. ān
ōné, there
órt, flour
ōsū́rī, a headstall
oštor, hoštor, camel
ōtéš, fire
otráfe, ōtrápe, surroundings
ōχárı kōr, finally

palí, side
*pá*n, wide
parande, bird
parr, wing
pássīn, evening
peiθm, message
pešǒr, pressure
peššeherdū́, day after to-morrow
pī, fat
pīr, old
pīši, to
pō, pū, foot
por, pōr, pūr, full
porzūr, strong
pōr, son
pórīke, son
pōrōg, pl. pōrōgūn, son, boy
pǒška, put on one's back ?
prū, down Pers. furūd. prū šō, furūd raft

ra, *ra*, *rā*, road
rauza. Pers. rauẓah
raz, grapes
reš, beard

rī, upon. Pers. rū
  še rī, upon
rō, road
rōγ, vein
rōst, true
rōsvō, cheat
rűbás, fox
rūǰ, day
  ya rūǰī be, another day
rūǰ gōrıáka, ružgōrīyáka, greetıng during the day
rűǰa, a fast
rūva, soft skın (Pers sıfāle narm) (of wheat)

sábō, mornıng
sábōχeir, sábōχeıra, sábōχára greetıng ın the mornıng
sag, dog
sára bōlűı. Pers gardanah
sarbōzī pír, an old soldıer
sarošīv, head down
sarvōn, leader of caravan
sáuzī, greenness
savz, green
seǰén, sēǰén, needle
senǰéd. Pers sınǰad
serv, cypress-tree
sīó, black
sīrat Pers. ṣūrat
sōát, hour
som, hoof
sōr, red
sū—ū-sū, at that tıme
svīd, sevíd, whıte

šabeχara, šavōχeır, šavōχeıra, greetıng at nıght
šár, šahr, cıty (village pron. šår, šār)
šauᵛ, šāv, night
šáχ, šaχ, firm, hard
še, to
šékar, sugar
šīv, down
  še šīvī bōr, under the load
šōd, happy
šūná, shoulder

tál, bıtter
tang, narrow
tar, fresh
tášna, thırsty
tášnegī, thırst.
tavíla, stables
téku ra, small part of the way
tel, body
tenhó, alone
tep, tep káft, he fell; tebe ke, I fall
tīd, mulberry
tīǰ, sharp
tolópī, recompense
tong, vessel
tōrík, dark
troš, trōš, sour

váčča, chıld
vaččegī, chıldhood
várf, snow
vášná, hungry
vášnegī, hunger
vāter, vātér, vātár, better
vaχt, time
verrá, lamb
veš, more
véšter, more
vī, vīkår Pers. bī-kār.
  vī-pōida. Pers. bīfāıdah
vīd, wıllow

vīōvūn, desert
vīr, memory
vīs-sōlegī, twenty years of age
vō, ō, water
vōdém, man
vōdím, almond
vōǰ, voice, shout, noise
vōkre, I open
vōvīzūn—me vōvīzűnka, I suspend
vōződ (village pron ōződ), free

χadoš, himself.
χā, one's own
χálōni, desolation, ruin
χam gardešī, winding road
χar, ass
χargerı, folly
χaš, well
χašhűl, happy
χevár, sister
χda, χədá, house

χīb (village pron.), χūb, good
χīn, blood
χīšōγōm, relatives. Pers. χᵛīš u qaum
χodo, χado, with
χodō, God
χōmūš, silent
χórdekra, he grinds
χošk, hošk, dry
χrōv, ruined. Pers χarāb
χūb, good
χūnendegī, calling

zárd, yellow
zē, bowstring
zem, memory Pers. yād
zénda, alive
zéndegī, life
zevīn, earth
zīőd, zīűd, more
zūr—me . . . zūršekre, I press it

I

ya rūǰī ya χarī χado yak hoštor pīše yak arbōb kōr eška voske kōr eškardaba lōγarı bedába arbūboš hardōrō be-sahrű še sár dō. mīe hem šōénd va yak čerűī šōdíka va tō čend vaχtī vō uō sáuzī šoχa va hōl őmoyen yak rūǰī χar vőǰ oždōšt o 'ar ar oška hoštor bíčora harčı dōd oškōšt vōǰe χa mákū χadőmī páhmend va tōen va mōprōnén va dobőra bōr mō bōr ekrén va dar mosībát mōvenén valı χar χeılı χargerı-š ka va gōše gap náka ušvōd kı χūnendegīye bedérom me vīrī őmda va me vū véχīne dar on vaχt be-hokme χodō yak χadőmī az őtrapé devárt sarvōn vōǰoš ošaᶜnōft va dombōlī vőǰoš ša χeılı ra naša gī yak χam-gardeší őma oždīd gī ya χar o óštorī čūγī ō lōkī dar műne čáren ōsűrī hardutá ōšprőn ošvūrdt va še šīvī bōr oškešőd. hoštor ōtéš be-del vōǰı kasōγe dōšnūm še χare dōt az nafahmīye χar dőbora šō gīrī venōdím hoštór dōγī zīűd ke dar déloš nōdī őmdaba pīši χadoš ševōd dobāra tolőpī še vōkreh dōγ o margī χar vaχtoš gı bűd ya téku ra kı ša χar benōška šálodūn šodīd kı χar šalī bedá bōroš šōšted [va bōroš šošted] va šonőd sar bōrı oštorī bīčora hoštor

I

Once an ass with a camel was working for a master. So much did they work that they became thin. The master let them both loose in the fields. They went and found a pasturage, and for some time they drank the water and ate the herbage and came to a good condition. One day the ass gave voice and brayed Although the unfortunate camel cried out, Stop braying, someone will hear, and come and take us and again bring us to our burdens and throw us into misfortune, yet the ass persisted in his folly and would not listen, but said, The braying of my father has come into my mind, and I wish to bray At that time by command of God someone passed by The caravan-leader heard his voice, and followed his voice He had not gone far when he came to a winding way He saw an ass and a camel grazing there in a fat condition He took hold of the headstalls of both, and brought them and placed them under the loads The camel, fire in heart, in a low voice cursed the ass, Through the ass's stupidity we have again been taken The camel, with great indignation in his heart, said to himself,

ōhessá pīši χádoš ošvṓd bah bah χūb kōrī mṓka. bedí yak téki rá ki ša χar vṓmenud va dast o pōyoš šobašt va šonūd sar bōri hoštor čéroki. bōróš kešṓd. hoštori bičōra pīši χádoš čērzṓd va šō tō rásūden be yak sára bōlṹi ɪnjō sarošīv vauvyṓsti ša. hoštōr benṓška arvāštūn. χar benṹška ōhōnṓla kéšodūn ki máne tébe ke hoštor ǰevūboš oždōd ke de-vīr etṑd ki narmī devṓd χūnendegīye badérōd de-vírī ṓmda va mé dī arvaštūnī mérōm me vírī ṓmda hoštor arvášt va χar še gáu venṓd χar ke az bérī oštór gáu kapt va ásta-š márt oma va mart.

az mo hekāyaté mālīm on nasīháte χádōmī ki gōš nákrıme vaχti mukōpōt rasīm méshi ki χar rasōd temṹm ba

See *JRAS*, 1897, 103 ff, and *JRAS*, 1932, 403–5 An Ardıstānī versıon ıs publıshed ın *BSOS*, vıı (1935), 775–6.

II

yak pōdešṓī adō nōkároš aǰamī dar yakī kaštī naštabṓıen. nōkároš héšvaχt deryō šī nēdídaba o sáχtī kéštī fékrōšī nekárdaba ōhōšá šéšurūi kardaba vo larz še bádenōš kápteba. harče mehrabṹnī šohṓká ōrūm naprōnte pōdešoīrō eıšoš monaγγas va heš čṓreí fékrošoš náka va yak tabíbī dar mō káštī ba pōdešṓ ádō tábīboš vṓd ta heš čōreī zṓní ošvṓd áger hokm vékrī me ṹrō χōmṹš ekre pōdıšō ošvṓd χeılī me χáše tṓd tabīb ošvṓd tō nōkár rō tū deryṓ vénen. vaχtī kapt tū deryṓ γōta čénd ošχá. pas mīd óšoprṓnt šo vénōd tū kéštī vaχtíkī šovenōd tū kéštī ša vō yak gṓše nášt pōdešō rō aǰaboš ṓmá īn če hékmatī ba ke tádka. ošvṓd čūn nōkárōd mehnátī γarγ bodvṹn še néızōnōda vo γadrī salṹmatı kaští rō še fahmī neıkartébda. hemčenūn γadrī tenderéstī χadōmī ezṓna kı yak mosībátī gīr vékra

III

pōdešōírō hama šōašnōft ke bekōšvṹne yak bıčōréī hókmoš ká mō bíčōre dar hōlátı naχáš va bífekrī bō zvṹnī pōr təγát gī-š tōš bepṓdešō došnṹm oštṓd va badozéš bepōdešō šéšūroka mésleki šṓvōta harke dášt az ɪūne xadoš béšūrá ónčıkı dar del dṓrá bévaǰa. pōdešō adō nōkároš ošparsōd ke mō číčī vaǰa yakı az mī vázīre ge hṓzer ba ošvṓd eı sōhéb mo váǰe gī ta bīχṓd hokm dekṓštenī ūnı kardá váχtīkı mō ošašnṓft az veı ráhmoš ṓma vo az sare χínoš devárt vazīrı dīgar ke zedde mō bīčṓre ba ošvṓd pōrogṹn ǰénsı mṓrō nāšnásene ke dar hazratı pōdešōūn ɪoz berṓstī sohbat kartvṹnı ū pōdešōrō došnūm ošvṓd badozéšt ošvṓd pṓdešō sar o rīše tūhém kešṓd va ošvṓd me az

I will requite him for this, when pain and death will befall the ass! When he had gone a short way the ass began to limp They saw the ass was limping They took the load and put it upon the load of the unfortunate camel The camel said softly to himself, Ha, ha, we have done a good work Again, as he went a little way, the ass was worn out They bound him hand and foot and put him upon the camel's load, so that he carried his load. The unfortunate camel lamented to himself and went on till they came to a defile Here it was necessary to go with head down The camel began to jump about The ass began to complain, I shall fall down The camel replied, You will remember that you said softly (?), The braying of your father had come into your mind And now I too remember the jumping about of my mother The camel jumped about and he threw the ass down. The ass fell down from the camel and his bones were broken and he died.

From this tale it is clear if we do not pay heed to one, we shall come to a time of recompense, as the ass came.

II

A king with a foreign servant was seated in a boat. The servant had never seen the sea and greatly feared the boat He began to weep and his body trembled. Whatever kindness they did him, he was not quieted The king's pleasure was spoiled and he could think of no remedy. A physician was on the same boat The king said to the physician, Do you know any remedy? He said, If you command, I will make him silent The king said, It will please me greatly. The physician ordered to cast the servant into the sea He fell into the water and was immersed several times Then they seized his hair and brought him into the boat. When they had brought him into the boat he went and sat in a corner The king was surprised What is this wise thing you have done? He said, Your servant had not known the distress of being drowned and had not understood the safety of the boat As one knows the value of health when a calamity seizes upon him

III

Of a king it is related that he commanded to slay a certain unfortunate This unfortunate in his evil and desperate condition with the powerful tongue that he had spoke ill of the king and began to abuse him As it has been said, whosoever washes his hands of his

dorū́γı ō mo χáš ema ke az rōst vōtvū́nı ta. va ke hōkemū́ šévōta dorū́γi maslahát-ōmīz vātérūn az rōst vōtvūn ı bad.

harkı pǒdešō ǒ vekra čı o vévaǰa
heíf-on ke χūb vévaǰa

bar tōγı farīdūn naveštá ba
heš vaχt ṭakya bar molkı donyǒ mákū
ke χeılı mardom mó kōre šéka vó kušte bǒien čūn vōdém váχtī martū́n voská va ȷūnı pōk . . . če bar taχt būt če bar χǒk.

heš farγ nákre maχsūdoš mǒnegī vōdém váχtī martᵛū́noš ba če bar taχtı zárrīn būd če bár zevín.

IV

ōvarde and ke enōšīrovūnī ōdélrō dar yak šekǒrī yak seıd ošká va dar hemūn sūát šeberıū́nka nemaḱ nabá nōkarǒš še dé néft tō nemaḱ bíōra. enōšīrovūn ošvǒd nemákrō beγeimatī manōséb vérın tō rasmī nabū́t va dé rī beχárōbī našū́t. šovǒd az mō ré če χálōnī zōhére būt. ševǒd aslī zolm dar dónī kémī beda. harkı ōmá bar ū zīǒd ba. Tō be mō γōyat rasǒd.

ager ze bǒγe pōdıšǒ yak sǒvī beχra
nōkarū́n dráχt rō az zevīn bar etōrén

dar dōní sétemkǒr az beın ešūt
bar ū lānatī mīnīd tō pōyadǒr

V

gadū́ī pōdıšōırō ošdíd adōrōš ošvǒd ke ta χeílī pūl dōrí va χda va mélkī zīǒd dōrí emmō me kī devárī ta hé hečī nádōre. davlátı χárō adém bemé pōdıšǒ ošvǒd beyáḱī ḱe pū́lı sıō ōšáden. gadū́ ošvǒd ke mō če ma'nī dōra čérakı bemé sáhmī devárōna omnátīe pōdıšǒ χandáš ka ōšvǒd kı gap nákūd kı age devárū́nı bé vefáhmen mō dī beta náresı yō ba

VI

yáke hárūǰa šašta nū́n šeherīt yak rū́ yakī az refiγǒ adovoš ošpársūd ke hárūǰa šašta nū́nrō če ševǒhrī. adovóš ošvōd ke nūnī berı xá tayá kre va yak nū́nī béro péte va dūta nū́nī béro γárz eté refīγoš ošvǒd aslen moltefet ná bōıe ke ta čičídvǒd. váter béva ke multafét

own soul, whatever he has in heart, will say it The king asked his servant, What does he say ? One of them a minister who was present said, Lord, he says that you have given a foolish command to kill him. When he heard this, he pitied him and turned from shedding his blood. Another minister who was hostile to the unfortunate said, Do not the children of our kind know that in the presence of kings one must not speak save the truth ? He abused the king and spoke ill of him The king frowned and said, I was more pleased by his falsehood, than by your truth-speaking And he who is a ruler has said that a falsehood mixed with good is better than bad truth-speaking.

Whatever a king does or says,
Alas, if he speaks aught but good.

On the arch of Farīdūn was written —

Never trust the wealth of the world, for many men have laboured and been slain When a man has reached the time of death and the pure soul (has resolved to go), what matters it on a throne or on the ground ?

It makes no difference to his purpose when a man has come to the time of death whether it is upon a golden throne or upon the ground.

IV

It is related that Anūširvān the Just on a hunt secured his quarry and at once he roasted it. There was no salt He sent his servant to the village to get salt. Anūširvān said, Buy the salt at a fair price that it may not become customary and the village fall to ruin ! They said, From this course what ruin will come ? He said, At the beginning the oppression in the world was little Whosoever came increased it, till it has come to this pass

If a king eat an apple from a peasant's garden,
his servants will pull out the tree from the earth.

In the world the oppressor shall perish
On him curses rest for ever.

V

A beggar saw a king He said to him, You have much money, and house and great property, but I who am your brother, have nothing. Give me of your wealth The king told someone to give him some small coins. The beggar said, What does this mean ? Why do you not give

be. ōšvōd ó yaki nűnī kı béri χa gōš ekre va ō yakí kı dīr evéne beχevári míram eté va ō dute nűnrō kı pete bébedár ō mérom eté beaváze óīkı íe šō méidōda dar kásōgī va ō duté rō ke γárz eté bepōrōgūnī χádom eté ke dar vaχtı pīrī bedárdı me váχren ve avázo šomáten. yō ba

Varıants proposed by Maẓkūrī —

béva · véva.
be · vébe
[véfahme kı maχsūde číčı ne variant of Qobád.]
eté : até.

VII

tōǰérirō váχtīkı var-šekestaba hezūr tomán γarz oždőšt. adovóį pőr ošvőd kı mo gápero adovōı héškı náva poroš ošvőd ki étōát ekre va navájme bešártı óigī fōıde mo gáfero kı nákude číčı ne. bedároš ošvőd váχtıkı ya mosıbátı duta nábūd yákıš ahamıyátī nádora va yákī beš zárarī mōıá ne va dovomíš šemotátı hemsőıegűn on.

šár—

hešváχt náva γemı χáro adovói došmenűnot
kı henómgı az lopı ta barı néhomda χašulí kre

Varıants (of Maẓkūrī) —

náva : máva
fōıde mō : pōıda mō
šar . beıt

VIII

yág rūj ardavűn ve səvōrūn šűané šekōr. yákī gűr e χer tū vīōvűn é dev*árt* erdešír χ*ă*dō pōr e máse ardavűn šedűmbōl davőden. erdešír yákī tírōš kőšte tū télōš gī tō párroše prű šō va otráfe bár ōm*a* va gūr e χer sárī yōg*ā*š m*ā*rt ardavūn ve səvőrūn sar rásōden. váχtīke mō d*á*št, ō tīr šodīd heırūn ménan vé šōparsōd kı ke mő-š kőšt. erdešír ōšvőd kī mé mīk*ā*rt*a*. pōr ī ardavűn ošvōd kı na mé mık*á*rt*a*. erdešīre yős ōma ve be pőrī ardevűn ošvōd kı šuǰōátī merō χádō drűv ve ta*γ*allob be χ*á* máben ve χ*á*r*a* azíz mákū mōne vīōvűn más-on gűra χér ǰī pūr-an brī mázenna va émtehūn yá būrī bé ǰī kúšım tō mālīm vébūd. ardevűn moškél ōš bō ve ézmōš nádōd ge erdešír sovōr ásbe bűd. va ardavűn erdešír ōšnępte tū tavíla ōšvōd kı hōdérı asb būd ve bıdí meıdűne gű vō čápta ō asp-davūníš náūt ōma

me a brother's share? The king laughed and said, Be silent, lest if your other brothers understand, this too should not reach you. Ended.

VI

A person bought each day six loaves One day a friend asked, Why do you buy six loaves every day? The person said, I keep a loaf for myself . and another one I give away, and two I lend The friend said, I have not fully understood what you have said. Say it more clearly that I may understand The person said, One loaf I keep for myself and the one which I throw away I give to the sister of my husband, and the two which I give, I give to my father and my mother in return for what they gave me in childhood and the two that I lend, I give to my children that in the time of my old age they make eat . and give it me in return Ended

VII

A merchant when he became bankrupt owed a thousand tumāns To his son he said, Tell no one of it The son said, I obey and will not speak of it, on condition that you say what is the advantage of not speaking of it His father said So long as a calamity does not become two, it is not important, and one is the loss of capital and the second is reproach of neighbours

Verse

Never tell your own trouble to your enemies,
Since from your mouth he will be rejoiced.

VIII

One day Ardavān went hunting with his horsemen. A wild ass passed in the desert Ardašīr followed with the eldest son of Ardavān. Ardašīr shot an arrow into its body so that the feather went in and came out the other side and the ass died on the spot Ardavān and his horsemen came up When they saw the hand and the arrow they were amazed, and he asked, Who shot this? Ardašīr said, I did The son of Ardavān said, No, I did Ardašīr was angered, and said to the son of Ardavān, Do not take to yourself my prowess by falsehood and deceit, and do not exalt yourself Here the desert is large and there are many other asses As a test and proof let us shoot a second time, that it may become clear Ardavān was angered, and refused to give permission for Ardašīr to ride a horse Ardavān sent Ardašīr to the stables He ordered that he should be a keeper of horses, and should not again come to the racecourse for ball and stick and horse-racing.

IX

yákī rūbas yákī deráχti ráz ōš dīd. šévīōst kı raz véχrå válī daš nárasōd čém būr ǰı *a*rvā́št válī vīpóıdá bō ōχárı kōr bıdí heš kórōš náka ōšvód kī mō ráze trōš un age véχré hólī nádōre bé. pa *v*áterūn kī náχre.

X

yákī ōbéd yak rūǰ yákī kálečč*a* šé m*á*χe bedábō χódı nókerhóš vōt kı ké šıšdéd*a* héšt*a* ǰəvópp šō nadód ōbéd ōšvód kı me be har yákī yákī čūvı yak-γádd ete hárkı dōzz ō čūvōš yák kémōgı m*a*ssére bū́d benó bar īn be har yákī yákī čūvı hem-kad ošdōd. ōīge dóz bō yák kémōgı sárı čūvoš še bar k*a* rūǰe bād ōīge čūvoš kások bō m*a*līm bō kı dōzz ó yō ba

XI

yákī mérdóge gadū́ χīōloš k*a* kı áge bōna vékr*a* kı gonɡ-on vé̊ster pūl še gīr etūd benō bar īn yákī táχtaš šıdéd ō rī-š oš menéš gōnɡ ō še gálī mól vén yákī bé mérdōgı gadū́ gī dōšménoš bō ševīōst gī še rōsvó vekr*a* yákī mérdōg ōtrápe dəv*á*rt yákī ā̆ldíš dóde gōnɡ ō gadū́e kī dōšménōš bō vōǰ še sar dōd kı mō gōnɡ ná ha drū́ve vá́ǰ*a* mérdōg ı gōnɡ ōšvōd *ná t*á́ drū́ve v*a*ǰí mōne m*a*lím bō gī gōnɡ ná h*a*. rōsvō bō yō b*a*

XII

yákī pódešō d*á*vrī yákī šá́r ōš pnórt ševīóst kı χróv ekr*a* peıóm oš népte tū šá́r kı kū́rī be yénūn nádōr*a* h*á*rčı čume γeımátı dōrén ášnen ve hérdō bár šen yénūn ómōıen ō míre χ*á* šō póšk*a* ō b*á*r šōen pódešō švōt gī číčī dō pōsd*a* [1] šōvōt čúme γeımátī mō pódešōš pāmōd ve χéndáš k*a* ve míe h*a*m*á* ošbaχšód. yō b*a*

XIII

yógı χatarnók

yákī káštıbūn be rafíγōš ōšvōt kı me bdéro mérō būmásō memásom həm*á* tū kéštī m*á*rtén rafíγōš ōšvót gı mé be t*á* nasıhát ekre héš bū́r tū kéštī mášū brī gī yōgı χatarnókī né. kéštıbūnoš parsód kı bədérō mérō memáso būmáse t*á* kōyū mārtén ōšvód həm*á* tū davájī mārtén. be ta nasīhát ekre heš bū́re tū davá́ǰ mášū brī gī yógī χatarnókī ne.

[1] Read pōšk*a*

IX

A fox saw a grape vine He wanted to eat the grapes, but he could not reach them. He leaped up several times, but it was useless. At last he did nothing more. He said, These grapes are sour If I ate them, I should be ill Then it is better for me not to eat them

X

A religious man one day lost a jar. He said to his servants, Who has taken it ? No one replied The religious man said, I will give each one a stick of the same size Whoever is the thief, his stick will become a little bigger Then he gave each one a stick of the same size The one who was the thief cut off a small part of his stick. The next day the one whose stick was smaller was evidently the thief Ended

XI

A beggar thought, If I claim to be dumb, more money will come to me So he took a board and wrote on it "dumb", and put it around his neck. Another beggar who was his enemy wished to show him a cheat. A man passed by He gave money to the dumb one, and the beggar his enemy cried out, He is not dumb He lies The dumb man said, No, you lie Then it was evident that he was not dumb, but a cheat Ended.

XII

A king invested a city. He intended to lay it waste He sent a message into the city saying, I have no concern with women, whatever valuable thing they have. let them take and to-morrow go out The women came and carried (?) their husbands and went out. The king said, What have you on your back (?) They said, valuable things The king understood and laughed and pardoned them all. Ended

XIII

A dangerous place

A ship's captain said to his friend, My father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, all died on a ship His friend said, Let me advise you never go on a ship, since it is a dangerous place The captain asked, Where did your father and mother, grandfather and grandmother die ? He said, They all died in bed Let me give you advice · never go to bed, since it is a dangerous place.

XIV

yákī mérdōge pírī mosolvún réšōš še rangi sīṓ īkárta bō válī mídī sárōš sío [read svīd] bō. yák rūǰ χōptūdábō. émōma še tép kárft čenta ráfīγōš rásōdén šodíd ke mídī sároš sevíd ō válī mídī réšoš sióne χeílī taaǰǰúb šo ká mérdōgı pīr šō bīdór ká šō pársōd čérà mídī sárod svíd on ve mídī réšod sīóne ǰəvób ošdód kı dar váččegī mídī sár me bárī ōmda válī mídī réšom dar vīs-sōlegī bárī ómda brī móne, gī mídī sárom pīrtérı mídī réšom ō.

XV

yákī pórōg bō χīólōš ka gı χeílī hošyúr on bedvérī χā ošvód gī mé yákī yūz dōré tā ǰī yákī dórī mené yákī ve dóta séta būd dəvérı kások ōšvód na dóta yūz dórím dəvérı mas ōšvód na séta yūz dōrím mī méyūne bedér šō sár rasód pōre kásugī čōγōlí e pórı másoš kà bedérōš vōt yákī yūz méχre, yákī ǰī tā véχō sévvom ǰī īn véχra gı vaǰá séta ne.

XVI

yákī sarbōzī pír dar ǰéngī pó še mártī ómdabō ve ávazōš póıe čūvíš dōšt [var dōrt]. yák rúǰ šé vīōst ke véšūte χədáš dar meyúnī rā mōtór še rī báršō ve póye čūví še mártōma vōǰ še sar dód kı eı mótōrčī me pō nádōre me tū mōtór nenóm vé bū mótōrčī ǰī gōš še gáf ka ō ōšnóde tū mōtór ō ošbárte tū marīzχúna váχtīge doktór ošdíd ošvód ke vōǰe naǰǰúr kren kı pū-š vésūǰa mótōrčī χandáš ka. ošvód ki me tabíb máū na naǰǰúr yō ba

XVII

Lālāī for children of two years

gádū óma dárı χóna
núnom dúd χášoš óma
χádoš šá vō ságoš óma
čóχom ká bádoš ōma

For children of four to six years

ō lālālā nemúnōt būd
memú korbūnī júnōt būd
babú bendá γolūmōt būd
babú harúnī númōt būd
kī mémū kōrbúnī júnōt būd
babú harúnī[1] nūmōt būd

[1] harún is of uncertain meaning.

XIV

A man, an old Musulman, dyed his beard black, but the hair of his head was white. One day he fell asleep, and his turban fell off Several friends came, and saw his hair was white, but his beard black. They were surprised. They awakened the old man and asked, Why is the hair of your head white, but the hair of your beard black ? He replied, In childhood the hair of my head came, but the hair of my beard came at the age of twenty years , therefore the hair of my head is older than the hair of my beard

XV

A boy thought he was very clever He said to his brother, I have one walnut, you too have one Now one and two are three The younger brother said, No, we have two walnuts. The elder brother said, No we have three walnuts Meanwhile their father came. The younger boy complained of the elder boy. The father said, I will eat one walnut, you too will eat one, the third he shall eat who says there are three.

XVI

An old soldier had a leg broken in war, and in place of it had a wooden leg One day he wished to go to his house In the road a motor went over him and his wooden leg was broken He called out, Motor-man, I have no leg, put me into the motor The motor-man agreed and put him into the motor and took him to hospital When the doctor saw him he said, Call a carpenter to mend his leg The motor-man laughed, and said, I want a physician not a carpenter. Ended

XVII

A beggar came to the door of the house.
I gave him bread, he was pleased
He went and his dog came
I drove him off, he was angry

Does Khaṛī Bolī mean nothing more than Rustic Speech ?

By T. Grahame Bailey

(Before proceeding to the discussion of the question I would draw attention to the important quotations from Dr J B. Gilchrist on pp 366, 7 below, which show that at least four times in 1803, and twice in 1804, he used the name Kharī Bolī, and tell us in what sense he used it)

THIS question arises out of some remarks made by Professor Abdul Haq of the Osmaniya University, Hyderabad, Deccan, who, criticizing views on Kharī Bolī (= KB) which I had expressed in my *Hist of Urdu Lit.*, pp. 5, 8, 9, 13, said —

hamẽ is se khushī hūī ki dāktar sāhab ne is mugālṭe ko rafa' kiā hai, lekin aṣl galatī mẽ yeh bhī mubtilā haī kharī aur kharī kā farq imhõ ne bahut ṣahīh batāeā hai, lekin ma'ne taqrīban vohī rakkhe haī jo kharī ke haī, ya'ne muravvaja, 'ām, mustanad (standard) zabān ; aur dūsrā gazab kiā hai ki Kharī Bolī ko ek khās zabān qarār dīā hai, aur us kī do shākhẽ batāī haī, ek Hindī aur dūsrī Urdū Kharī Bolī ke ma'ne Hindostān mẽ 'ām taur par gāvārī bolī ke haī jise Hindostān kā bacca bacca jāntā hai ; voh na koī khāṣ zabān hai, aur na zabān kī koī shākh (*Urdu*, July, 1933, p. 590)

" We are pleased to note that Dr. Bailey has corrected this mistake (made by some Europeans, of confusing *kharī* with *kharī*, T G B.), but he too has fallen into what is essentially the same mistake ; for though he has clearly shown the difference between *kharī* and *kharī*, he has given *kharī* almost the same meaning as *kharī*, i.e current, common, accepted , and he has made another amazing statement— that KB. is the name of a particular language , he has further divided it into two branches, Hindī and Urdū In Hindustān KB usually means ' rustic speech ', a fact which every child in Hindustān knows. It is not a particular language or branch of a language."

I must stop here to correct the statement that I have given *kharī* and *kharī* " almost the same meaning ". I have never done so *kharī* means " unadulterated " or " pure ", and while it may be applied as an adjective to a language, it has never been the name of any variety of speech, whether rustic or not. The word *kharī* means " standing ", and when first used of a language appears to have

signified "current". Only it must not be forgotten that it has never been used of any language except that which we know as KB

That the word does mean "standing", and has nothing to do with *kharī* "pure", is further evidenced by the corresponding words in other Hindī dialects or languages I am indebted to you, sir (Sir George Grierson) for a reference (in a private letter) to Kāmtā Prasād Guru's *Hindī Vyākaran*, p 25 We read there that "in Bundelkhaṇḍ KB is known as *thārh bolī*". This word *ṭhārh* of course means "standing". Again, Dr B S Pandit, whose native language is Mārvārī, told me that in Mārvārī KB is called "*ṭhath bolī*", where *thath* has the signification of "standing" We thus have three names for this dialect, and in each case it is called "the standing language".

In *Urdu* for January, 1934, p 158, Pandit Manohar Lāl Zutshī replies to Professor Abdul Haq, and says he is mistaken, for KB undoubtedly *is* the name of a language The Professor in a note on p 160, rejoins "in my opinion KB means simply the opposite of polished and literary, it is used in that sense to-day, i.e. rustic speech Lallū Jī Lāl probably used it with the same meaning European writers have fallen into error about it, saying it is a particular language The Hindi authors quoted by Pandit Zutshī have merely followed these Europeans"

It will be noticed that by the phrase "in my opinion" and the word "probably" he has toned down his previous statements, but even so the matter rests simply on his assertion; he gives no references and quotes no authorities, nor does he name any of the Europeans who supposedly have misled later generations of Hindi scholars In matters of *Urdū* his opinion commands respect, for Urdu is his mother tongue, and he has devoted his life to Urdu scholarship, this, however, is a question not of Urdu but of Hindi, and it must be decided from a study of Hindi literature.

In Urdu literature the term has no meaning, for it does not occur, it has practically never been used in an Urdu book, nor is it found in Urdu *taẕkiras* (anthologies) Even Urdu dictionaries rarely contain it The *Farhang i Āṣafiya*, of which Urdu scholars speak with bated breath, does not mention it The meaning "rustic speech" which we are told every child in Hindustān knows, is not known to the compiler of the voluminous *Nūr ul Luġāt*, for all he says is '*Kharī Bolī* is conversation in the style and pronunciation of men" (*mard*, men, as opposed to women, T G. B); nor is it found in 'Abdu'l Majīd's huge Urdu dictionary, *Jāmi' ul Luġāt*, which explains KB

simply as *mardõ kī bolī*, "the speech of men" We see then that the compilers of the two large modern Urdu dictionaries, themselves Indians, have never heard that meaning of KB which we are told every child in Hindustān knows. There is nothing about rustic speech in either

In modern conversational Urdu usage *kharī bolī* occasionally does mean, not exactly village speech, but uncouth, boorish speech, though the dictionaries know nothing of this But again we must remark that Urdu usage does not concern us We are dealing with a Hindi term, and want to know what it signifies in Hindi. In my *History of Urdu Literature* I gave the term its literary meaning, using it exactly as Hindi writers do to-day

Three points arise —

(i) Who are the Europeans who have used the name KB ? And in what way, if any, can it be said that they misled Hindi authors who followed them ?

(ii) What have Hindi writers in the last hundred years meant by the name, what do they mean by it now, and what do they think Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl meant by it ?

(iii) What did Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl, who were the first Indians to use the term, mean by it ?

(i) The idea that certain Europeans have led Hindi writers astray by their statements about KB is strange It would have been helpful if Professor Abdul Haq had told us who they are The fact is that Europeans have rarely mentioned the name

I have recently made the very interesting discovery that Dr. John Gilchrist used the term KB at least four times in 1803, the first year in which any Indian is known to have used it, and twice in the year following He therefore shares with Sadal Misr and Lallū Jī the honour of priority In fact, as he wrote the name four times in 1803, and they only once, he deserves it perhaps even more than they

What happened is clear He was Professor in the College of Fort William for four years, and for nearly the whole of this time Lallū and Sadal Misr worked with him He learned the name from them, and in his daily intercourse with them had every opportunity of finding out its exact meaning He often spoke of Hindustani as the colloquial speech of India or the grand popular language of Hindustān He said on several occasions that it had various styles The court or high style was Urdu, full of Arabic and Persian At the other extreme

was the " pristine or rustic idiom of that extensive language indefinitely called Bhasha ", while between them came KB He has told us further that in order to facilitate the transition from Urdu to Bhasha he had caused a KB version of *Sakuntalā* to be prepared

The state of affairs, as he saw it, was this. In the towns, especially those with a large Muḥammadan population, Urdu was the ordinary spoken language, in the villages some variety of Bhasha, while KB or even simple Hindustani, was the language which appealed to Hindus, particularly those away from Muslim centres. KB, owing to its avoidance of Arabic and Persian words was compelled to use words derived from Sanskrit which were familiar to the rural population Gilchrist states that the desire to teach these words to his students was one of the reasons for bringing out books in that dialect To this extent it has, as compared with Urdu, a rural appearance.

There does not, however, seem to be any evidence that in those days the words *kharī bolī* in themselves meant village talk. In no books of that or any other period do we find such expressions as " the *kharī* talk of Bengal or Madras or the Panjab or of English villages " ; one does not find " so and so has a *kharā* pronunciation " or " his conversation is very *kharī* ". Now if *khaṛā* (fem. *kharī*) meant simply *gāvārī*, rustic, one ought to be able to say all these things The fact is that Hindi writers always used KB as the name of a dialect, and Urdu writers never used it at all

The testimony of Gilchrist's *English-Hindustani Dictionary* (1786, 2nd ed., 1810; revised 1825) is important Under " country " he has the entry " the language of the country, opposed to the town *bahur kee bolee* " ; under " colloquial " it has (1810 ed.) *rozmurru, moohavuru* In neither case is *khaṛī bolī* given as a translation, nor do we find it under words like rural, rustic, etc. So far as I know, it does not occur anywhere in the dictionary or in any of the many vocabularies which Gilchrist prepared, though *khaṛā* with the common meaning of " standing " is frequent

Similarly in the numerous English-Urdū or English-Hindi dictionaries which have been published, one never finds rustic, rural, or country speech translated by *kharī bolī*

As Gilchrist's early references to KB are of great interest, I quote them here :—

(1) *The Hindee Story Teller*, vol. ii, 1803, p. ii · " Many of those (stories) are in the Khuſee Bolee or the pure Hinduwee style of the Hindoostanee, while some will be given in the Brij B,hasha "

(2) The *Oriental Fabulist*, 1803, p. v. · "I very much regret that along with the Brij B,hasha, the *Khuree bolee* was omitted since this particular idiom or style of the Hindoostanee would have proved highly useful to the students of that language."

(3) ib. "the real K,huree bolee is distinguished by the general observance of Hindoostanee Grammar and nearly a total exclusion of Arabic & Persian."

(4) ib., p. vii (The learner) "will find another specimen of the K,huree bolee in the *Story Teller*, p 24."

(5) The *Hindee-roman Orthoepigraphic Ultimatum*, 1804, p. 19 (foot): "Another version of Sukoontala in the K,huree Bolee, or sterling tongue of India. This differs from the Hindoostanee merely by excluding every Arabic & Persian word"

(6) ib., p. 20 (foot), 21 (top) : "The Prem Sagur, a very entertaining book, rendered with elegance and fidelity from the Bruj B,hasha into the K,huree Bolee by Lalloo Jee Lal expressly to effect the grand object of teaching our scholars the Hindoostanee in its most extended sense, and with proper advantages among the grand Hindoo mass of the people at large in British India."

Gilchrist always marked in one way or another the cerebral *ṛ* which occurs in the name Kharī Bolī

In 1814, Lieut. William Price published a "K,huree Bolee and English Vocabulary of all the principal words occurring in the Prem Sāgar" of which the Directors remarked "these (words) are in constant use in other K,huree Bolee and Bhakha compositions". Although the name KB occurs in the Introduction to the *Prem Sāgar*, it is not given in the vocabulary The only meaning given to *kharī* is chalk, a signification, which, so far as I remember, is not to be found in the *Prem Sāgar*.

This vocabulary was reprinted in *Hindoostanee Selections*, 1827, 2nd ed. 1830

The next whom one should quote is Garcin de Tassy In his *Hist de la Litt. Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, 1st ed., vol 1, p 307, he says that Lallū's Prem Sāgar was "non pas en urdû, mais en khâri-bolî ou thenth, c'est-à-dire en hindoustani pur, en hindoustani hindou de Dehli et Agra, sans mélange de mots arabes ni persans." This is a paraphrase of Lallū's own words, but, mistaking *khaṛī* for *kharī*, he interprets it of Lallū's phrase "omitting Arabic and Persian words", thinking that it means "pure language" G de T. does not mention *Kharī Bolī* at all, but speaks of *kharī*, "pure," i e without *mlecch*

"unclean", words of non-Sanskritic origin He wrote the words quoted (and almost the same words on p I of the Introduction) in 1839, and repeated them in 1870, as they were French, not English, the confusion between *kharī* and *kharī* passed unnoticed in India

Eastwick, in his vocabulary, 1851, says that *kharī bolī* means *kharī bolī* "pure language".

Platts, *Urdu. Dict.*, 1884, under *kharā* has "*kharī bolī*, vulgar *kharī bolī*, pure language".

The language which Hindi authors call KB English writers prefer to call High Hindi or Classical Hindi, names which correspond to nothing in Hindi itself.

(ii) The name KB is Hindi, the first Indians to use it were, as we shall see below, Lallū Jī Lāl in 1803 and 1818, and Sadal Misr in 1803, it is in constant use now by Hindi writers We are therefore bound to ascertain what they mean by it The Urdu meaning, if any, does not matter

Have any of them given it the sense of rustic speech ? If so, when and where ? For many years after the time of Lallū and Sadal Misr they did not employ it at all The first I know of to use it since those days was Rājā Śiv Prasād in his Introduction to *Hindi Selections*, 1867

He regarded it as essentially artificial and literary; in fact, he says that Lallū Jī, though he strove to preserve its literary character, yet failed sometimes to exclude the Braj village words to which he was accustomed in his own speech His words are "Whether this new dialect, the Prakrit enriched with Persian and Arabic words, be called Hindí or Hindustání, Bhákhá, or Braj Bhákhá, Rekhta or Khari Bolí, Urdú or Urdú-i-Muallá its seeds were sown here by the followers of Mahmúd of Ghuznee" (op cit, p. vi)

On p xi he goes on "When Dr Gilchrist asked Mír Amman and Lallú jí Lál Kavi, to write some vernacular books in prose, they must have felt themselves very puzzled it was quite a new thing to them They wrote, but they both wrote in an artificial language" Six pages further on, p. 17, he says "Lallújí has not allowed foreign words, Persian or Arabic, a place in his book (*Prem Sāgar*, T G B), but he could not so well keep clear of the patois of his native place Agra." He has the same statement, but in Hindi, on p 32, of Part I of his *Nayā Gutkā*, 1900 ed, first published 1867, "he wrote in the kharī bolī of Agra, although he excluded Persian and Arabic words, he was not able to keep out Agra village words"

By Hindi writers the name KB is given to a particular language

or dialect, viz that form of Hindi which is used in every-day Hindi prose (and increasingly in verse), the Hindi which we find in all Hindi magazines, in translations such as the Hindi Bible, scientific works and all school books This fact is so well known that proof is hardly necessary. In an article (*JRAS*, Oct, 1926, pp 717–723) I mentioned and quoted twelve Hindi authors to this effect This is the ordinary meaning of KB, but the Urdu language itself is sometimes spoken of as a branch of it. KB is contrasted with Braj, Avadhī, and other Hindi dialects.

There is no need to labour this point, I will content myself with one or two further quotations, to illustrate what they mean by KB, and to show that they do not think of it as rustic

The Miśr Brothers in *Miśr Bandhu Vinod*, vol. i, p 119, say that "Sītal (A.D. 1723) wrote all his poetry in KB" Sital's language is far removed from rustic speech

Badrī Nāth Bhatt in *Hindī*, p 31, after mentioning that he lives within twenty yards of Lallu's old home in Agra, says that every Hindu household in Agra city speaks the same language as Lallu's in *Prem Sāgar*, the only difference being that which naturally exists between literary language such as Lallu's, and conversational speech, such as is heard in the Hindu homes. He calls Lallu's KB literary, not rustic.

The best known of modern Indian writers on Hindi literature and languages, Shyām Sundar Dās, says in *Hindī Bhāsā kā Vikās* p 54, "between 1250 and 1450 A D. the older Hindi dialects gradually assumed the form of Braj, Avadhī, and KB," and on p. 55, "KB was used for poetry not only by Musalmāns but by Hindus also.'

Ramā Śankar Prasād in *Hindī Sāhitya kā Sankṣipt Itihās*, p 128, writes "Sadal Miśr and Lallū wrote in KB mixed with Braj bhāṣā" He thus contrasts Braj and KB as two distinct dialects

There is an important reference in Ramā Kānt Tripāthī's *Hindī Gadya Mīmāsā*, p. 33 of Introduction, 'the language of the *Prem Sāgar* is adorned to this extent that all through it there is the splendour of Braj bhāṣā Not only so, but it is characterized by a great pomp of words and by poetical style, it is not the plain idiomatic language of conversation, but poetical prose"

From these quotations and from those in the article referred to (*JRAS*, Oct, 1926), and indeed from the works of any Hindi author who writes on the literature, it is plain that KB is regarded not as rustic speech, but as a dialect of Hindi, and practically all Hindi writers would deny Śiv Prasād's statement that it was artificial

(iii) We come now to the important question. What did Sadal Misr and Lallū Jī mean when they said in 1803 that they were translating into KB? Did they mean "into rustic speech"?

Sadal Misr in the Introduction to his *Nāsiketopākhyān* says "Some people cannot understand the Nāsiketopākhyān because of its being in Sanskrit, so I have translated it into KB"

Let us recall the facts. Lallū belonged to Agra, Sadal Misr to Arrah (Ārā) in Bihār, 450 miles away. To get from the former to the latter we must leave the Braj area where Agra is situated, pass through the country where Bundelī and Kanaujī are spoken, into the Avadhī country, and finally after entering Bihār traverse the Bhojpurī region to a few miles west of Patnā, the capital. The only rustic speech Sadal Misr knew was that of his native Arrah and the country round it; it was entirely different from that of Agra, the former was Bihārī, the latter Braj, and the whole country of still another language, Avadhī, lay between. Rām Candr Śukl in his *Hindī Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* (at the end of the *Śabd Sāgar*, p 210, also published separately) tells us that KB in those days and previously was the language of educated and polite conversation among Hindus from Delhi to Bihār. It is interesting to note that Sadal Misr, though he lived so far from the real home of KB, wrote it better than Lallū who lived very near it Lallū's is too much tinged with his native Braj The style of both men, though simple, was literary, not rustic.

A dozen or so years earlier Sadāsukh Lāl, of Delhi, a man learned in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, wrote KB still better than Sadal Misr and Lallū. He wrote just the straightforward Hindi which he was accustomed to talk to his educated Hindu friends, at least on formal occasions.

We turn now specially to Lallū Jī In the introduction to his *Prem Sāgar* he stated that avoiding Arabic and Persian words, he had told the story *Dillī Āgre kī KB mẽ*, in the KB of Delhi and Agra Did he mean "rustic speech"? The rustic speech of the district round the two towns was different The people round Delhi spoke what we now call KB, those round Agra, 120 miles away, spoke Braj If he had written in the rustic speech of the former it would not have been the rustic speech of the latter Secondly, like Sadal Misr, he is literary not rustic It is true that he sometimes failed to exclude Braj words and forms (perhaps he never tried), but Braj forms are not KB, indeed, we have seen above that KB is contrasted with Braj

Fifteen years after the *Prem Sāgar* Lallū Jī wrote the *Lāl Candrikā*,

a commentary on Bihārī's *Satsaī*, this was also in KB, and showed less Braj influence In the Introduction he distinguishes three dialects in which he had written books, viz Braj, KB, and Rekhte kī Bolī (i e. Urdu). In his Braj and KB books he usually endeavoured to avoid Persian and Arabic words, but in the Introduction just mentioned he used them rather freely.

Conclusion

We may sum up by saying —

(i) KB is a Hindi term, and its meaning must be sought in Hindi writings.

(ii) By KB Hindi authors always mean a dialect, often, though not always, a highly polished and literary dialect

(iii) It is difficult to believe that KB means rustic talk, for if it did it could be used of the village talk of any part of the world, and one never hears this meaning given to it

(iv) There is no proof that any European writer has misled Hindi authors as to the meaning of KB

(v) There is a little evidence that in conversational Urdu KB sometimes means boorish and possibly uneducated speech, but this is not supported by Urdu dictionaries whether compiled by Indians or by Europeans.

(vi) The early KB writers, Sadāsukh, Lallū Jī, and Sadal Misr did not write in a rustic style.

Modern Literary Hindī

By A. Barannikov

THERE was a prevailing opinion in English linguistic literature that the modern prose Hindī, High Hindī, or Kharī bolī, was invented by the English.

This point of view was maintained some time ago by such a highly authoritative scholar as Sir G A Grierson Thus, in the preface to his work on the history of Hindī literature he says [1] "The first half of the nineteenth century . was the period of the birth of the Hindī language, invented by the English, and first used as a vehicle of literary prose composition in 1803 under Gilchrist's tuition, by Lallū Jī Lāl, the author of the Prem Sāgar."

In another place of the above-mentioned work Sir G A Grierson explains in what sense the term "invention" he uses should be understood. He says [2] "In 1803, under Gilchrist's tuition, Lallū Jī Lāl wrote the Prem Sāgar in the mixed Urdū language with this peculiarity that he used only nouns and particles of Indian, instead of those of Arabic or Persian origin. The result was practically a newly invented speech , for though the grammar was the same as that of the prototype, the vocabulary was almost entirely changed This new language, called by the Europeans Hindī, has been adopted all over Hindustan as the *lingua franca* of Hindūs, for a want existed which it fulfilled. It has become the recognized medium of literary prose throughout Northern India"

Further investigations into the domains of the history of Indian languages, investigations in which Sir G. A Grierson himself has taken such an eminent part, have shown that the history of the Hindī and Urdū languages is much more complicated than it was supposed even at the end of the last century. In conformity with the results obtained by these investigations, Sir G A Grierson to a great extent modifies his point of view with regard to the formation of the High Hindī. In his article "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", he says [3] "The

[1] *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Calcutta, 1889, Introduction, p xxii

[2] Op cit , chapter x, p 107.

[3] "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1918, vol i, pt 2, p 52.

present form of literary Hindī or High Hindī, is a reversion to the type of the non-Persianized vernacular of the Upper Doab, brought into use by the teachers at the College of Fort William in Calcutta in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was desired to create a Hindustānī for the use of Hindūs and this was recreated by taking Urdū, the only form then known, as the basis Owing to the popularity of the Prem Sāgar of Lallū Jī Lāl, one of the first books written in this newly devised speech, and also owing to its supplying the need for a *lingua franca* which could be used by the strictest Hindūs etc."

A whole number of European authors recur to the version of the English having invented a new language. However, after the appearance of the above-mentioned article of Sir G. A Grierson it is generally said with reference to the invention of this language that it was not invented by the English themselves, but by the teachers at the College of Fort William, under the direction of the English In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* we read " the Hindī form of Hindustānī was invented simultaneously with Urdū prose by the teachers of Fort William ." etc.

This European point of view up to recent times was popular in India not only among Mussulmans, but among Hindūs as well.

As an illustration one may bring forward the views of the brothers Miśra upon this question and suggested by them in their history of literature of the Hindī The brothers Miśra say [1] *Varttamān gadya ke janmadātā Sadal Miśra aur Lallūjī Lāl māne jāte haī* " The parents of modern prose are considered to be Sadal Miśra and Lallū Jī Lāl." Of course the brothers Miśra are not considered to be the best authorities in the domain of linguistic problems but we quote their opinion because these words reflect the point of view widely spread in India itself.

However, after the war, when national and confessional relations and contradictions became strained, this conception regarding the origin of modern literary Hindī underwent a revisal on behalf of the Hindū scholars

It should be said that this criticism was not altogether fruitless, as owing to it, it was possible to ascertain a series of historical facts, which were heretofore unknown to science.

On the other hand one must acknowledge the fact that criticism

[1] *Miśrabandhuvinod athavā Hindī sāhitya kā itihās*, dvitīya bār, dvitīya bhāg, Lakhnaū, sam° 1984, p 852

was and is carried on in a mode quite different to an unprejudiced study of historical facts Very often a series of circumstances are based not upon a thorough study of historical facts, but merely upon personal impressions and emotions evoked by an upheaved national and confessional proper pride.

It is impossible to fully envisage the question of the origin of the modern literary Hindī in the frames of a small note, therefore I shall only stay for the chief statements of Bābū Śyām Sundar Dās, one of the most eminent connoisseurs of Hindī, the chief editor of the large Hindī dictionary, *Hindī Śabdasāgar*, author of the first course of general linguistics (*bhāsā-vijñān*) in Hindī and other important scientific works; and also upon the views of the collaborator of Śyām Sundar Dās in reference to the mentioned dictionary, Rāmcandra Śukla, expressed by him in a short essay on the history of Hindī literature supplemented to the above-mentioned dictionary, and Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā—author of an essay regarding the development of Hindī All the three authors quite agree as to the question of the origin of prose Hindī

Their chief objections with regard to this question are as follows —

In the history of the Hindī language neither prose nor the dialect Kharī bolī upon which the modern prose literary language is based are considered to be new phenomena Hindī prose existed even before the nineteenth century As to the Kharī bolī dialect, its history is ancient and has been known since the thirteenth century Kharī bolī was not invented by the Mussulmans, but it is a colloquial language of the educated Hindū merchants, scholars, etc , the Mussulmans merit the wide spreading of the language only The literary language of the Mussulmans, the Urdū, based upon the Kharī bolī, is only a dialect of the Hindī language The Urdū is merely an artificial language and therefore cannot be considered as a basis of literary Hindī The honour of "invention" or introducing and spreading the prose Hindī does not belong only to Lallū Jī Lāl and to Sadal Miśra who acted under the guidance of the English, but much more so to the authors that worked independently of them and whose language, by the way, was much better than the language of Lallū Jī Lāl, for which reason this latter cannot be considered the inventor of the modern prose literary language

The above-mentioned Hindū scholars, as well as a number of others who have written before and after them, point out that prose in the Hindī language, carrying its incessant tradition since the nineteenth

century, is not considered to be an absolutely new appearance in the Hindī literature.

It is true, that the works written in the literary dialects of Braj and Avadhī in their majority are composed in verse, but equally with these, prose works are also known Thus Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā after the historians of Hindī literature, points out [1] that one of the works attributed to Gorakhnāth, an author of the fourteenth century, although, probably, it was written by one of his followers, represents the earliest sample of Braj prose In the middle of the sixteenth century, in the same prose language were written the Vartās of Vitthalnāth as well as comments of some of his followers [2] However Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā himself points out that this prose in Braj did not continue any further. The prose of a few commentators —Vitthalnāth's followers—is to such an extent formless and helpless that it rather obscures the sense of the original than serves to explain it The helplessness and uncertainty of this prose was one of the causes why the Braj prose tradition was soon smothered, not to be renewed in future

Still less successful was the attempt to create prose in the Kharī bolī, i e the dialect which served as a basis later on (in the nineteenth century) to the development of the modern literary Hindī The poet Gang, who belonged to the court of the emperor Akbar, wrote a little story in prose Kharī bolī This attempt of Gang's was not upheld by the following authors and remained a solitary instance

For this reason Śyām Sundar Dās is quite correct in his remark,[3] when he says the prose which existed in Kharī bolī before the nineteenth century was but nominal (*nām mātra*)

The cause of the failure of these attempts to create a prose language in Braj and Kharī bolī are quite natural authors of the Hindī literature of that period belonged in their majority to the high castes, whose prose language was the Sanskrit, therefore there was no necessity of creating another prose language which neither possessed such a standard form nor the possibilities of being as widely spread as Sanskrit

With regard to the question of prose the Hindū scholars themselves come to the conclusion that single sporadic attempts of writing in

[1] *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās* Nāgarīpracārinī Patrikā, navīn samskaran, bhāg 11, ank 2, Sam° 1987, p 187

[2] See also F Y Keay, *A History of Hindī Literature*, pp 30, 100, etc

[3] *Ādhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*, Nāgarīpracārinī Patrikā, navīn samskaran, bhāg 6, ank 1, p 13

Hindī prose, being of an interest by themselves and from the point of view of the history of this literary language, were of no practical consequence and could, in no manner, influence the future formation of quite a new literary language, new in principle to the Hindī literature.

The circumstances of the Kharī bolī dialect are much more complicated The Hindūs declare the question of its development to be involved with many delusions, and its history is generally represented erroneously Such a point of view is expressed by Śyām Sundar Dās [1] This idea is repeated in a series of his works, in particular in an essay on the history of the language attached to the large Hindī dictionary *Hindī-Śabdasāgar* [2] The same idea is repeated by other scholars, for instance Rāmacandra Śukla in his essay on the history of Hindī literature, supplementing the same dictionary.

One must acknowledge that in reference to the question of the rise of Kharī bolī the Hindūs are quite correct in many points.

Firstly, among the Indian Muslims, up to very recent times, an opinion was widely spread that the Urdū had risen from the mixing up of different languages and dialects, the speakers of which thronged the court of the Mogul emperors This point of view upon the Urdū, mentioned in a well-known work of Mīr Ammān, was accepted by several European scientists as well, part of whom up to the present consider the Urdū to be an artificial language—originating from the mixture of various dialects and languages

Secondly, with regard to the formation of the Kharī bolī the representatives of this opinion declare the literary Hindī to have originated from the Urdū by the way of a mechanical exclusion of Persian and Arabic words and by replacing them with Sanskrit, pure tatsamas or tadbhavas

Thirdly, up to very recent times a view was widely spread among the Hindūs themselves to the effect that the modern Hindī originated from the Braj and was reformed under the influence of the Mussulmans Rāmacandra Śukla points out that such opinions were expressed not so long ago (in 1928) by the President of the Society Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan.

In order to show the error of these ideas, the Hindū scholars quite justly point out that Kharī bolī was not a new language. In

[1] *Bhāsā-vijñān*, Kāśī, sam° 1982, p 342
[2] *Hindī bhāsā kā vikās*, p 38

particular Śyām Sundar Dās says [1]. "Kharī bolī has existed from the same time as Avadhī and Braj The only distinction between them is that the literary production both in Braj-bhaṣa and Avadhī began to develop a long time ago, whereas that in the Kharī bolī has begun quite recently."

Śyām Sundar Dās himself as well as Rāmacandra Śukla and Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā point out that, besides being used as a spoken language, the Kharī bolī crept into literature from ancient times

Thus, Amir Khusro (1256–1325), known more as a Persian poet, has written a series of small productions riddles, etc., in the Kharī bolī. And not only historians of the Hindī language and literature, but also historians of the Urdū literature consider Amir Khusro's verses nearer to the Hindī than to the Urdū Bābūrām Saksena [2] in particular says "These verses though they employ Hindī words are scanned according to Sanskrit prosody and can scarcely be regarded as Urdū verses, though Persian words are found there and here"

After Amir Khusro the traces of Kharī bolī are partly observed in the works of Kabīr, Nānak, Dādū, in Bhūsan's "Śiva Bhāvanī", in one of Lalit Kiśorī s verses, in the verses of Sītal Kavi, in one of the already mentioned prose works of Gang—who belonged to the court of emperor Akbar—also in Jatmal's (about 1624) "Gorā bādal kī kathā" etc , and in other poetical works

The above-mentioned authors give short extracts from the works of the enumerated poets. These extracts, in a most convincing manner, certify to the existence and development of Kharī bolī from the thirteenth century , thus, we may speak of the Kharī bolī as one of the dialects of Hindī literature which was used in the latter to a very limited extent and only in single cases as we may observe it in Amir Khusro and in the works of the poet Gang—it was used as an independent dialect and not as a special stylistic means as it appears in Bhūsan's works and in those of a few other Hindū authors.

The fact of using Kharī bolī in the Hindī and Urdū literature undoubtedly testifies to the Kharī bolī being employed also as a spoken language

In this manner we may consider the antiquity of Kharī bolī as

[1] *Bhāsā-vijñān*, p 342

[2] *A History of Urdū Literature*, Allahabad, 1927, p. 10

proved. Therefore the idea of the Kharī bolī being a language which has risen from the intermingling of different dialects, or having been founded on the Braj, completely falls away.

The Kharī bolī is an independent idiom, having risen on the basis of one of the local dialects. But whether it is founded on one of the dialects used near Delhi, Agra, or Meerut, as is presumed by the Hindū scholars, or whether upon the basis of one of the Panjabī dialects, as is presumed by Grahame Bailey,[1] does not enter the scope of the present note.

However, the Hindū scholars, when looking into the correlation between Kharī bolī, the modern literary Hindī, Urdū, and Hindustānī, come to conclusions with which one may undoubtedly disagree.

For instance, Śyām Sundar Dās, on the one hand, says [2] "There are three forms of Kharī bolī (1) the pure Hindī, which is the literary language of the Hindūs; (2) Urdū, which is used specially among Mussulmans and is their literary language as well as the spoken language outside their homes, the language of educated Muslims and several Hindūs; and (3) Hindustānī, in which are used, without any difference, words of both Hindī and Urdū languages and which is used by all as a spoken language."

In the above cited quotation Śyām Sundar Dās considers Kharī bolī as a more general conception and in the literary Hindī, Urdū, Hindustānī, he observes different aspects and different forms of the language based upon the Kharī bolī

Whereas, a little further on, in the same work [3] Śyām Sundar Dās, following Paṇḍit Candra-Gulerī, states *Urdū koī bhāsā nahī̃ hai*, *Hindī kī vibhāsā hai* "Urdu is not a language, but a dialect of the Hindī language"

Evidently Śyām Sundar Dās put a mark of equality between Kharī bolī and Hindī as, if he had understood the term "Hindī" as the whole of all dialects (from Bihar to the Panjab), he would have had to acknowledge this dialect to be not only Urdū but the literary Hindī and the Kharī bolī itself

How to reconcile these contradictory statements is not clear.

Exactly from this point of view Urdū is represented by the scholars mentioned as a purely artificial dialect (*kṛtrim vibhāsā*).

Hindū scholars declare the merit of spreading Kharī bolī

[1] "Urdu, The Name and the Language," *JRAS*, 1930, April, pp 391–400.

[2] *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, p 342

[3] *Bhāsā-vijñān*, pp 346–7

all over Northern India and over the Deccan to belong to the Muslims as well as the fact of the Muslims being the first to use Kharī bolī as a literary form. According to their opinion, however, Kharī bolī in the hands of the Muslims obtained an artificial form, owing to the introduction of a large number of foreign, Persian, and Arabic elements, the Urdū lost its national Indian character, all the more so because the Urdū had taken up some of the elements of Persian grammar

One cannot deny the fact that the Urdū in the hands of the Muslims underwent many changes, greatly removing it from the spoken language Nevertheless, these changes were quite natural, in so far as this literary form began to be used for expressing ideas of another Muslim culture, the scope of conceptions of which differ from the notions peculiar to Hinduism. Besides this the Kharī boli dialect, modified by the Muslims and changed into Urdū, appears to be no more artificial than the very same Kharī bolī in the hands of some Hindū writers, who sometimes exclude the elements of tadbhavas, replacing them by elements of Sanskrit tatsamas and by heaping up most complicated compound nouns, some of which are composed of ten or even more components Both the overloading with Muslim elements as well as with Sanskrit elements, especially with compounds not properly pertaining to the spirit of Kharī bolī, attributes to it an artificial form. The Hindūs are justified by the Sanskrit elements being national elements, but for the Muslims, educated on Arabic and Persian culture, borrowing from Arabic and Persian languages it also seems natural to have " the national elements " presented.

Hindū scholars insist upon the artificial, hybrid character of the Urdū, especially so because very many authors interpret the expression of Lallū Jī Lāl *Yāvanī bhāsā chor . kharī bolī mẽ kah* " excluding Muslim elements and narrating in a pure language ", in such a manner, that the modern literary Hindī is created by Lallū Jī Lāl from Urdū through excluding from it Muslim elements

Trying to refute this statement, the Hindū scholars attempt to prove first of all that the Kharī bolī existed separately, independently of the Muslims and their " artificial " literary language ; secondly— that Lallū Jī Lāl, who was employed by the English, was not the creator of the modern literary Hindī

It is quite natural and absolutely comprehensible why the Hindūs objected to a simplified, purely mechanical, understanding of the formation of a modern literary Hindī, as though

it were formed exclusively by the substitution of some lexical elements to others.

Even Lallū Jī Lāl personally, when creating his work, does not mention the fact of his departing from the Urdū, he says he writes in a " pure Delhi and Agra language ", i e. his point of departure was that of the spoken language of these cities.

The Hindū scholars, however, try to prove that this pure Kharī bolī language was mainly cultivated amidst purely Hindū surroundings; this language being used by Hindū pandits, sādhus, merchants, etc.

These statements, of course, surmised in the ardour of Hindū patriotism, lead the Hindū scholars to contradict themselves, as they are obliged to acknowledge that the most ancient samples of Kharī bolī are to be found either in the works of Muslim authors (Amir Khusro, Kabīr) or in those parts of the works of the Hindū authors, where Muslims are represented.

Thus Śyām Sundar Dās writes[1] *Hindū kavyõ ne bhī apnī kavitā mẽ is khaṛī bolī kā prayog kiyā hai Prāyah Musalmānõ kī bātcīt we kharī bolī mẽ likhte the* " Hindī poets also used the Kharī bolī in their poetry In general they used to render the conversation of Muslims in Kharī bolī ".

Rāmcandra Śukla as well, in the above-mentioned essay on the development of literary Hindī,[2] says that from the point of view of Hindū poets the Kharī bolī is understood to be specially a Muslim language. *Is se Bhūsan, Sūdan ādi kavyõ ne Musalmānī darbārõ ke prasang mẽ yā Musalmān pātrõ ke bhāsan mẽ is bolī kā vyavahār kiyā hai* " For this reason Bhūṣan, Sūdan, and other poets when representing Muslim durbars or depicting the language of Muslim personages used to employ this language ".

It is quite evident the Hindū poets considered the Kharī bolī as a special spoken language of the Indian Muslims. Undoubtedly the Kharī bolī was the language of educated Hindūs, but in the midst of the Hindūs it was a spoken language used by them (as is mentioned by pandit Gulerī and other authors), outside the home, for the spoken home language was more or less coloured by local dialectical peculiarities varying in different provinces

Although the Kharī bolī has for long been used by Muslims not only as a spoken language, but also in Muslim poetry, where it

[1] *Bhāsā-vijñān*, p 343
[2] *Hindī sāhitya kā vikās*, p 207

appeared mostly in a form saturated with Persian and Arabic elements, the Hindūs absolutely ignore the use of Kharī bolī elements in the Urdū literature, although elements of Sanskrit tadbhava occupy quite an eminent place with several authors of the Urdū literature.

Completely ignoring the use of Kharī bolī elements in the Indo-Muslim literature, the Hindūs speak of its existence only in the form of a spoken language

However, from the history of no matter whatever language, we know if it lacks a literary language its spoken form is void of stabilization both from a lexical point as well as in respect of grammar, which in no case may be asserted with regard to the Kharī bolī, for it comes forward in quite a uniform style with various Hindū poets who sporadically use it in their poems written in the Braj. Besides, having no uniformity in the spoken language, Kharī bolī could not appear in such an analogous literary form at the beginning of the nineteenth century with authors who wrote in different parts of the country, as did Lallū Jī Lāl, Lāl Sadāsukh, and Inshā Allā Khān.

Up to the nineteenth century the only form of a literary language which to a certain extent directed the free development of colloquial Kharī bolī and communicated a certain steadiness and stability to the latter, was the literary language of the Indian Muslims—the Urdū That is its historical merit which the Hindū scholars cannot efface

Our acknowledging the exclusive role of the Urdū as a literary language, which has, during several centuries, influenced the Kharī bolī spoken language and added to it a certain stability, preventing it from splitting up into a number of dialects, does not mean to assert the literary Hindī to be considered as having risen from the Urdū Both the Urdū and the literary Hindī are grounded upon the spoken Kharī bolī. The difference is merely that the Urdū began to develop much earlier, therefore it was able to exercise a strong influence on the development of spoken Kharī bolī, attributing a certain steadiness to it.

The undoubted influence of Urdū upon the formation of literary Hindī is also proved by the fact that Lallū Jī Lāl, Munshī Sadal Miśra, Sadāsukh and Inshā Allā Khān all had a perfect knowledge of the Urdū , the priority in that respect belonging naturally to Inshā Allā Khān and Sadāsukh, the former being one of the most eminent poets of the Urdū literature, the second the author of several books in the Urdū and Persian languages.

It is quite comprehensible, therefore, that the Urdū did not

immediately affect the literary Hindī, but through the medium of a spoken language which, in the hands of the above-mentioned authors, was moulded into a completeness of form only owing to their perfect knowledge of the Urdū.

The patriotism of the Hindū scholars is manifested not only in their inclination to deny an obvious fact of the effects of Muslim Urdū upon the formation of literary Hindī, but also in that they try to disparage the role of Sadal Miśra and especially Lallū Jī Lāl—the authors who worked over the creation of a literary Hindī under the direction of the English, chiefly under John Gilchrist

In the introduction to "Prem Sāgar" of Lallū Jī Lāl (edition issued by Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā) the editor says that Lallū Jī Lāl is considered to be the first author of the Hindī prose as well as the first writer in the Hindī in its modern form,"[1] Śyām Sundar Dās and other authors repeatedly deny this role of Lallū Jī Lāl. In this manner Śyām Sundar Dās, in his course of general linguistics,[2] says *Lallūjī Lāl Hindī gadya ke janmadātā māne jāte haĩ Vāstav mẽ unhõ ne Hindī gadya ko ādhunik rūp nahĩ diyā* "Lallū Jī Lāl is considered to be the parent of prose Hindī In reality it is not he who gave the prose Hindī its modern form." The same is repeated by Śyām Sundar Dās in an essay treating of the development of the Hindī, supplement to the dictionary *Hindī-Śabdasāgar*,[3] and after him a number of authors, in particular Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā [4]

The most essential of all their arguments is firstly that Lallū Jī Lāl did not act independently, but by the direction of the Administration of Fort William College, secondly, his weak knowledge of Sanskrit and insufficient preparedness for such an important business as the creation of a literary Hindī

The Hindū scholars point out that besides Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśra the creators of literary Hindī are to be considered Munshi Sadāsukh Lāl and Syed Inshā Allāh Khān, whose activity in that line is all the more important as they both acted on their own behalf and initiative, and not upon the directions of the administration of Fort William College According to their assertions this fact is principally of great importance, as it is a proof that Indian society realized the

[1] Compare also Śyām Sundar Dās *Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya Nā° pra° Pa°*, navīn samskaran, bhāg 6, ank 1, 1982, p 19

[2] *Bhāsā-vijñān*, pp 348–9

[3] *Hindī bhāsā ḳā vikās*, p 41

[4] *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās*, pp 197–8

necessity of having a prose literary language; attempts were made, independently of the English, to satisfy this need.

Munshī Sadāsukh Lāl was a native of Delhi. He was born in Sam 1803 For a long period he was an employee of the East India Company He knew the Urdū and Persian languages perfectly and wrote several works in those languages He made a translation in prose of the Bhāgavat and gave it the name of Sukhsāgar Besides that, Sadāsukh wrote [1] several articles of which one was even printed.

Rāmcandra Śukla emphasizes that Sadāsukh wrote in prose language not according to the directions of some or other English official and not according to some kind of given standard, but according to his own initiative. As follows from the above, Sadāsukh wrote in the spoken language of educated Hindūs

One may doubt the proximity of Sadāsukh's language to the spoken language, anyway as far as his lexicology is concerned, because of his using Sanskrit tatsamas to a great extent. It is certain, however, that he followed the same way as most of the workers of the modern Hindī literature, who also use Sanskrit tatsamas to a large extent.

As Sadāsukh began to write a little before the other workers of the beginning period of the Hindī prose literature, his activity in this respect was considered to be of great import.[2]

Syed Inshā Allā Khān (died in 1817) was the most eminent poet of the Urdū literature He was a poet at the court of Delhi and afterwards of Lucknow and finally he was in Murshidabad at the court of the Nawab of Bengal Wishing to prove to his friends it was possible to write in a pure spoken language, Inshā Allā Khān wrote a story called " Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī ", in which he used only the vocabulary and terms of style of the spoken language of the educated circles of his time, avoiding both vulgarity and pretentious expressions typical of literary Urdū of his epoch Inshā Allā Khān's independence of topic, the simplicity, refinement, picturesqueness and vividness of style, imbued with expressions of everyday life, force the historians of literature to acknowledge Inshā Allā Khān's pre-eminence in the way of masterly use of the new prose style of literary Hindī, although historians generally point out the influence of Urdū in his lexicology and syntax

The third creator of the modern literary Hindī the Hindū scholars consider to be Pandit Sadal Miśra As well as Lallū Jī Lāl, he served

[1] Śyām Sundar Dās *Ādhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*, p 18
[2] Rāmcandra Śukla *Hindī sāhitya kā vikās*, pp 210–211.

in the East India Company in the capacity of teacher at Fort William College. In the year 1803 he translated into Hindī the tale "Nāsiketopākhyān". Although, according to the opinion of Hindū scholars, the language of Pandit Sadal Miśra is much better than that of Lallū Jī Lāl, it nevertheless has some deficiencies, of which the most important are The using of the Eastern Hindī forms such as *phūlanh*, *cahũdis*, *sunī*, etc , placing auxiliaries before participles of the verb, for instance, *uttam gatı ko haĩ pahũcte*, etc ; the dropping out of the copula, for example, *kanyā sab gātĩ*, instability of orthography, such as *kad hī* and *kadhī* and several other defects Notwithstanding these trifling deficiencies, the language of Pandit Sadal Miśra is considered to be better than the language of Lallū Jī Lāl.

Especially Lallū Jī Lāl and his language are subjected to harsh criticism.

Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā [1] points out that the work of Lallū Jī Lāl is much inferior to the mentioned works of Sadāsukh and Inshā Allā Khān, because Lallū Jī Lāl acted not upon his own initiative but according to the directions of others, being in the capacity of teacher at Fort William College. Besides all that, his "Prem Sāgar" written in 1803 at the same time as "Nāsiketopākhyān" of Sadal Miśra and "Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī" of Inshā Allā Khān is not considered to be an original production The language of Lallū Jī Lāl, according to the opinion of the mentioned author, is subjected to many deficiencies, of which the chief are there is no steadiness in grammar, Sanskrit tatsamas are used to a great extent, but their spelling differs from the standards of orthography The orthography of tadbhava is also not strictly kept to Lallū Jī Lāl has quite excluded Arabic and Persian elements from his vocabulary, whereas these elements have been without doubt substantially introduced into the Hindī and, on the contrary, he often uses Braj and introduces into "Prem Sāgar" a large quantity of verses in that dialect In other parts of his works besides poetry in the Braj language he sometimes makes use of rhymes

Based upon the above deficiencies, Lallū Jī Lāl's language, which, according to the opinion of the Hindū scholars is not void of some positive traits, cannot be considered as an example of literary Hindī. For that reason Lallū Jī Lāl cannot be considered to be the founder of that language.

[1] *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās*, p 197

Of the four authors who wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century in prose Hindī, according to the opinion of Rāmcandra Śukla,[1] the best should be considered to be the language of Sadāsukh Lāl, and for this reason he must be considered to be the creator of the modern literary language. Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā is of the same opinion in this respect as Rāmacandra Śukla [2]

From the point of view of purity and correctness of the literary language Śyām Sundar Dās ranks the three authors as follows. "The first place is to be occupied by Inshā Ullā Khān, the second by Sadal Miśra, and the third by Lallū Jī Lāl" [3]

In this way Lāllū Jī Lāl, who in the European literature is considered to be the inventor of modern prose Hindī, from the point of view of Hindū scholars occupies the last place, or is even completely excluded from the ranks of parents of the Hindī prose.

In order to estimate the cause of such varying conclusions both on the part of European authors and Hindūs, it is necessary to dwell upon the arguments used by Hindū scholars and their criterion of a model literary language.

Hindū scholars consider the deficiency of Lallū Jī Lāl to be in the following his grammar is not stable and has no standard, for instance, he uses several variations for the same form, in order to express the Conjunctive Participle he uses such forms as: *karı*, *karke*, *bulāy*, *bulāykarı*, *bulāykar*, *bulāykarıke* Further, in Lallū Jī Lāl's works we come across Braj dialect, such as. *bhaī*, *soī*, *nırakh*, *līyaı*, and others

Diversions from the standard modern language are to be found in the works of all four authors In Sadāsukh Lāl we come across such forms as *āvtā*, *jāvtā*, etc, *ko* instead of *koī*, etc, Inshā Allā Khān uses such forms as *ātıyā̃*, *jātıyā̃*, etc, Sadal Miśra employs forms already noted like *phūlanh*, etc Thus this deficiency is observed in the works of all the mentioned authors It is doubtful whether one should reckon these deviations as a deficiency, for most probably the spoken language of the latter period of the eighteenth century possessed a greater number of forms than the modern literary language, and different authors introduced variations of these forms into their works Only the subsequent development of the literary language actuates a certain standardization.

[1] *Hındī sāhıtya kā vıkās*, p 214
[2] *Hındī kī gadya śaılī kā vıkās*, p 195
[3] *Ādhunık Hındī gadya ke ādı ācārya*, p. 33

Secondly, even at the present time, the literary Hindī is not standardized to a great extent among different authors, not mentioning noticeable discrepancies both from a lexical and grammatical side As an example we may take the forms of the Conjunctive Participle, for which any grammar provides several variations, for example *bol, bolkar, bolke, bolkar ke*, or the Conjunctive form *jāe, jāye, jāy, jāve*, or the form of the Past Partıcıple such as *dıye, dıe*, etc

There is no doubt, of course, that some of these variations will gradually drop off with the further development of the literary Hindī.

The fact of Lallū Jī Lāl employing verse in the Braj dialect can by no means be considered as a deficiency of his language The adoption of verse in the Braj should be looked upon as a peculiar method of composition practised by Lallū Jī Lāl in his " Prem Sāgar ". Epic narration is carried out by him in prose language, moments of high lyrical tension are reproduced in a lyrical language, which the Braj dialect was ages ago considered to be Neither of these dialects are *mixed up with each other. Only single forms of Braj are sometimes* used in prose, which can evidently be explained by the fact of their being in affinity to the spoken language of the end of the eighteenth century

Hindū scholars consider Lallū Jī Lāl's language to be greatly deficient by his using Sanskrit tatsamas differing from the orthography generally used.

Evidently Lallū Jī Lāl, attempting to write in a language the nearest possible to the spoken, without doubt wrote Sanskrit tatsamas in such a way as they were pronounced at that time. It is a defect of orthography, but not a defect of the language

Orthographical questions are very complicated ones, and Lallū Jī Lāl, creating a new literary form, solved the difficulties as he considered to be more correct Secondly the orthography of the literary Hindī is its weakest point, and is to be further improved.

The Indian Press has recently discussed various projects of reforming the devanāgarī. In case one of these projects should be accepted, naturally the orthography of many modern authors will *become obsolete, but this does not mean that their language* will become obsolete as well

Because of the digressions from the Sanskrit tatsama orthography many authors state that Lallū Jī Lāl had quite a low knowledge of the

Sanskrit or even did not know it at all.[1] I doubt whether such a conclusion will be correct after a minute survey of the language of "Prem Sāgar" Such conclusions should not be drawn from this fact, all the more so as Lallū Jī Lāl was not prepared for such a role as the creator of a new literary language [2] Śyām Sundar Dās who also considers Lallū Jī Lāl hardly prepared enough for his role, still brings forward the opinion of other scholars, "some say if he lived at the present times he would never have attained such fame But this may be said about Newton and other world famous scientists" [3]

Besides, the role in history of this one or another promoter is not determined by the degree of his erudition Most probably at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many scholars who knew the Sanskrit and most likely the Hindī much better than Lallū Jī Lāl, but, nevertheless, they did not participate in this great undertaking as Lallū Jī Lāl did.

Hindū scholars, basing their views upon abstract facts of purity and correctness of language, find it impossible to consider Lallū Jī Lāl the founder of the modern literary Hindī, and they consider that such a role should be attributed to Munshī Sadāsukh and Syed Inshā Allā Khān and to a certain extent to Sadal Miśra

One may come to such a conclusion only in that case if one is to forget historical facts announced by these scholars. It is well known that the story of Sadal Miśra, "Nāsiketopākhyān", was soon forgotten and was not republished Śyām Sundar Dās himself says [4] the collection of Sadāsukh's articles was not even published, and the story of Syed Inshā Allāh Khān [5] was published for the first time by Rājā Śiv Prasād. Whereas "Prem Sāgar" by Lallū Jī Lāl was published many times and its popularity grew stronger and stronger It is quite comprehensible that the formation of a literary language should be affected only by such works as are propagated and widely read and not the ones which lie in manuscripts or which are forgotten immediately after their appearance

For this reason from all the mentioned works of the four authors considered by the Hindū scholars to be the founders of modern literary Hindī, the "Prem Sāgar" of Lallū Jī Lāl is the most noted work to play an honourable part; owing to it the idea of a prose literary

[1] Rāmcandra Śukla *Hindī sāhitya kā vikās*, pp. 212–13
[2] Śyām Sundar Dās *Adhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya.*
[3] Op cit, p 30.
[4] Op cit, p 18.
[5] Op cit, p 32

language became popular, many authors of the following stages of the development of literary Hindī studied prose language by it.

Hindū scholars attempt to diminish the significance of Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśra by pointing out their serving at Fort William College and their acting upon the initiative and directions of the administration of the College, whereas Pandit Sadāsukh Lāl and Inshā Allāh Khān were never employed at that College and therefore acted independently and upon their own initiative But, first of all, Pandit Sadāsukh also served in the East India Company, although not at the College, secondly, the fact that both the mentioned authors started to work upon a prose language only when Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśra were solving the same problem, and this undoubtedly is a sign they began their work also under the influence of Europeans.

The influence of Europeans upon the development of a prose language is not only to be seen in that they brought to India an idea new to this country of a literary language resembling that of a spoken language, but also as Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā [1] justly remarks, with the advent of the English and under their influence great changes have taken place in the economic, social, and religious life of India A new bourgeois class is formed which is in need of a literary language close to that of the spoken, and, with the assistance of the English, this class creates and spreads it by technical means (such as the press, etc.) adopted from Europe

Out of three literary forms set up on the basis of Kharī bolī, viz High Hindī, Urdū, and Hindustānī, this latter the Hindū scholars consider to be purely artificial, originated by the English " for political reasons ".[2] These scholars imagine the affair to have been enacted in the following way the English selected out of the Urdū and Hindī words common to both languages, kept the Hindī grammar and in this way invented a new language. Such a mode of explaining the formation of the idiom which the Hindus themselves call Hindustānī is quite mechanical and contradicts their own words, as the Hindū scholars declare that the Hindustānī is just the form of language *jise sab log bolcāl mē kām mē lāte haī* [3] " which is used by all in conversation ".

From the point of view of proximity to the living spoken speech the Hindustānī is the most perfect form of a literary language which can

[1] *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās*, pp 189–190
[2] Śyām Sundar Dās *Bhāshā-vijñān*, pp 342–5
[3] Śyām Sundar Dās *Bhāsā-vijñān*, p 342, 1

unite the Hindūs and Muslims. This is recognized by several Hindū scholars, for example by Bābūrām Saksenā [1]

Most of the Indian scholars have another point of view upon the matter and find that the literary language must differ from the spoken language, even of the educated class [2]; in accordance with this, these scholars see the only way of forming a literary Hindī on the basis of a spoken language by satiating it with as many pure Sanskrit tatsamas [3] as possible

The satiation of literary Hindī with Sanskrit tatsamas is not only done out of " purely theoretical " considerations, but with the purpose of rendering the Hindī comprehensible in other provinces, as in the literary languages of these provinces a great number of Sanskrit tatsamas is also found

It is omitted in this reasoning that the spoken Hindī or rather the Hindustānī did not need Sanskrit tatsamas in order to be widely spread

Although a sound judgment is raised in objection to excess of Sanskritizing the Hindī, for example by Rām Dās Gaur [4] and others, also several modern authors of literary Hindī Sanskritize their language to such an extent that tadbhava elements occupy quite an insignificant part in their vocabulary For instance, in Viyogī Harī [5] we read · *jab maĩ srotasvatī-sarit-tat-taru-śākhā-vihārit-kalkanthī-kokil-kuhuk-dhvani suntā hũ, prabhāt-ausakan-jhalkit-harit-tṛṇācchādit-prakṛti-parisikṛt-bahu-vanaspati-sugandhit-sukhad-bhūmi par lettā hũ..* "

From the above specimen we may draw the conclusion that a digression from the principle of connecting together spoken and literary language leads, practically speaking, to the restoration of Sanskrit.

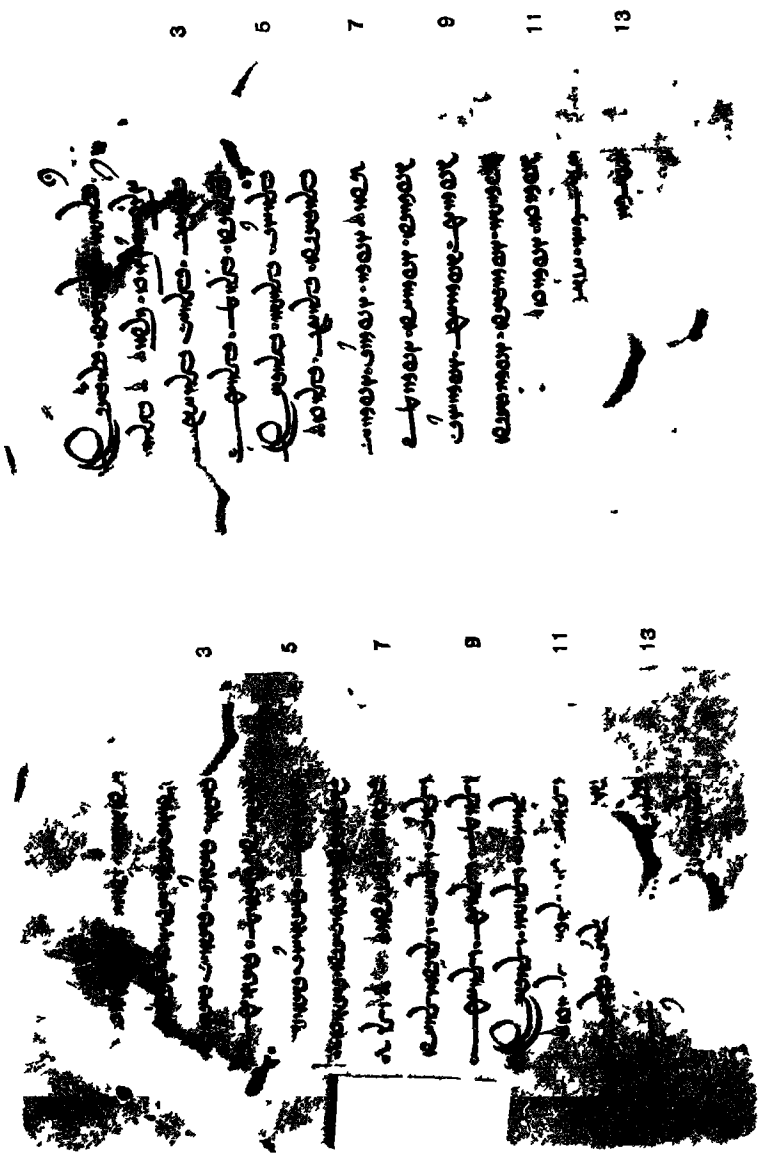
[1] *Bhāratiars kī ādhunik Ārya bhāsāē, Nā° Pra° Pa°*, navīn samskaraṇ, bhāg 11, ank 2, pp 121–162

[2] Śyām Sundar Dās *Bhāsā-vijñān*, p 353.

[3] Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrī Giridhar Śarmā Caturvedī *Varttamān Hindī mē Samskṛt śabdō kā grahan, Nā° Pra° Pa°*, navīn samskaran, bhāg 10, ank 1–2, 1986, pp 195–231

[4] *Śrīrāmcaritmānas kī bhūmikā*, Dehlī aur Kāśī, 1982, p 8

[5] Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās*, p 334.



PAHLAVI FRAGMENT TM 195 (P 1)

Remarks on the Pahlavi Ligatures 𐭩𐭭 and 𐭪𐭭

By K Barr

(PLATE III)

IN the *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl Preussischen Adademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang, 1904 pp 1136–7, K F Geldner published a transcription of a fragment of a Pahlavi-frahang found in Turfan and now preserved in the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin (registered as TM 195 (P1)) As some graphic peculiarities and especially the ligatures occurring in this fragment may be of particular interest for the history of the Pahlavi system of writing, I think it may be worth while to reproduce a photograph of it, obtained through the kind assistance of Dr W Henning and Dr. Gelpke, Berlin For permission to use it for this purpose I am greatly indebted to the kindness of the Secretary of the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geheimerat Luders

The fragment contains part of a list of verbs This list gives far more grammatical forms of each verb than the Pahlavi-frahangs published by Junker On the other hand, it does not give the Iranian equivalents of each verb-form, but only, after the enumeration of the ideographically written forms the corresponding Iranian infinitive Apart from the ligatures, the discussion of which is the main purpose of this article, the fragment has the following peculiarities The infinitive is always written 𐭩𐭭° and the past partic 𐭪°, both without the perpendicular stroke generally found added to these forms in Book-Pahlavi.[1] The stroke (marked ' in my transcriptions) is found

[1] I take it for granted that this stroke in Book-Pahlavi represents the final -*y* of the Sasanian inscriptions and the Pahlavi-Psalter, found not only as the ending of the cas obl of nouns, but also, being part of Aramaic forms, in ideograms like *L'YNY* ~ *pēš* and *'YTY* ~ *hast*, *L'YTY* ~ *nēst*, which words in good MSS always are written 𐭩𐭭, 𐭩𐭮𐭭, 𐭩𐭮𐭩𐭭 I may mention here that the -*Y* of *L'YNY* has been convincingly explained by Andreas as the Aramaic dual-ending This perpendicular stroke is, in my opinion, the only trace of the cas obl found in Pahlavi of the books It is, of course, only a graphic survival, and I consider the -*y* of the inscriptions and the Psalter to be so too, because only on this assumption is it possible to account for the irregularity of the -*y* being used or omitted

only in the ending *-išn*, written *-šn'* (R 1, 5, 10; V 1, 5, 10). At the end of a line some letters have special forms ן *-yy*, the ending of the 2nd sg pres ind (R 12; V 7), ץ (R 4, 13, V 4) The letter *n* sometimes has a shape with a curve below, which recalls the ⟨ of the inscriptions, the ן of the Psalter. This is the case at ends of lines R 6, 7 (perhaps also R 1), but also in initial position (וינשא V 7), and sometimes in the compounds ן *'n* (ויגשן R 2) and ן (v the forms of ויהלן V 8 seq) This special form of *n* might, of course, as well be considered merely a peculiarity of the individual hand The other graphic traits of our fragment, such as the diacritical marks ˙ and ˆ, marking ד as respectively *y* or *d* (wrongly used in a few forms of *YBLWN* V 1, 2) are met with also in the oldest Pahlavi MSS known

In the fragment the following seven verbs are represented I, *ānūtan*, II, *dāštan*; III, *šutan*, IV, *burtan*, V, *nūtan*; VI, [*uzītan*], VII, [*vindātan*] As the only form preserved of VII is the imper. sg, I omit this verb in the synoptic list I now have arranged in order to make out the value of the ligatures of endings found. The ligatures, which will be discussed below, are put in parentheses, restorations in brackets.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
	(3) *YHSNN*	*'ZLWN*	[*YBLWN*]	**DBLWN*	*YNPKWN*
	— *d*	(8) — *d*	[*Y*]*BLWNd*	(3) — (?)	— *d*
	— *yy*	— *yy*	*YBLNyy* (?)	— *yy*	— *yy*
	— *yt*	— *yt*	(13) *YBLWNyt*	— (*'t*)	(8) — *yt*
	(4) — *'t*	— *'t*	[— *'t*]	(4) — (*yt*)	— *'t*
	— *m*	(9) — *m*	[— *m*	— *m*	— *m*
	— *ym*	— *ym*	(14) — *ym*	— *ym*	(9) — *ym*
	(5) — *'m*	— *'m*	*YBL*[*WN'm*]		— *'m*
	— *'nd*	(10) — *'nd*	[*YBLWN'n*]*d*	(5) — *'nd*	— *'nd*
(R 1) *HYTYWNšn'*	— *šn*[*'*]	— *šn'*	(V 1) — *šn'*	— *šn'*	(10) — *šn'*
— [*yh*]*yt*	(6) — *yhyt*	— *yh*(*yt*)	— *yhyt*	— *yh*(*yt*)	— *yhyt*
— *t*[*n* ?]	— *yhst*	(11) — *yhst*	— *yh*(*st*)	(6) — *yhst*	— *yhst*
(2) — *yhst*	— *tn*	— *tn*	(2) — *tn*	— (*tn*)	(11) — *tn*
— *t*	(7) — *t*	— *t*	— *t*	— *t*	— *t*
'nytn	*d'štn*	(12) *šwt*[*n*]	*burtn*	(7) *nytn*	[ ]

A glance at this synopsis shows that, with one exception only, each verb is represented in the same grammatical forms, only with a few discrepancies as to the order in which the forms occur in the list II, III, and IV are in complete accord, and IV had very likely, at

least originally, the same number of forms agreeing with the others wherever a trace of a final is left, thus making the restoration of the form in question quite certain In V the 3rd pl conj is missing, and the indic and the conj 3rd sg are interchanged In I, too, an inversion of forms has taken place, that of the infinitive and the 3rd sg pret pass., if my restoration of the text is correct As for *HYTYWN*[*yh*]*yt* R 1,  exactly fills the gap, and at the end of the same line I think I discern a trace of the final *n* (cf at the ends of lines 6, 7) making up the infinitive I am, of course, not quite sure of the last point, as I have not had the opportunity of examining the original manuscript

R 10 and V 5, the ending *-yt* of the 3rd sg pres ind , elsewhere written with the common  , has a shape that cannot well be separated from the final  of the MSS. The same form of the final , with the great loop and the curved down-stroke, occurs in the compound *-st* in the 3rd sg pret pass *YBLWNyhst* V 1, elsewhere in the fragment written in the common way  At the end of V 3 we find a ligature which I hardly think can be read otherwise than *'t*, the ending of the 3rd sg conj , elsewhere  , though we have to assume the above-mentioned inversion of the 3rd sg conj and the 3rd sg indic The second part of this ligature has exactly the same shape as that of the ligature  of the MSS It is to be noted that these ligatures are all used at the ends of lines, but whether this fact is more than accidental we have no means of deciding, owing to the very limited extent of the fragment However that may be, the shape of the  , especially in R 10, V 1, 5, might easily be explained from the use of peculiar final letters in different kinds of book-scripts of Semitic origin

In V 6 we find another ligature, which according to the parallel forms of the other verbs surely represents *tn* The resemblance of this ligature and the  of the MSS is, I think, so striking that the two signs must be connected And I think the shape of the ligature in our fragment gives us the clue to understand at least one very frequent use of  The ligature in V 6 contains the same form of  , found in the ligature *'t* V 3, and the form of *n* mentioned above, p 392 As for the cross-stroke found in this ligature and in the ligatures for *-yt* and *- t*, I am not sure how it should be explained, but I feel inclined to regard it as an ornamental element, perhaps serving the purpose of binding the elements of the compound together It is found not only

in the ideogram 𐭠𐭭𐭣 *andar* < *BYN*, but also in the Av. ligature 𐭠𐭭, perhaps introduced there from Pahlavi [1]

Another element, the interpretation of which is somewhat doubtful, is the small oblique stroke added to the ligature *-yt* in R 10, but not in V 5, and perhaps to the ligature *'t* V 3 We may, however, compare the perpendicular stroke very frequently, but not regularly, found with the endings *-yt* and *-'t* of the 3rd sg pres ind and conj in our MSS , cf the *-y* of the personal endings of the Psalter (the inscriptions only have *-my* of the 1st sg) The absence of the stroke in the ending *-yhst* V 1 is in accordance with its omission in the past participles in the fragment

Finally we have to discuss the ligature with which the first form in V 3 is supplied From the parallelism with the other series I conclude that the form in question is the 3rd pl indic , being in the other verbs always characterized in the common way by adding 𐭩̂ to the ideogram This ligature is perhaps to be explained as representing *-ynd*, 𐭩 *y* being combined with a ligature of 𐭣 *d* and the aforesaid form of *n* If this explanation is correct we must assume that the ideogram in this case has been supplied with that form of the ending, which is normal only in verbs not ideographically written I have met such spellings in a few cases in the old MS of the Vendidad K 1 The instances found in this MS are, however, not conclusive because 𐭩̂𐭯° may be only a clerical error for 𐭩̂𐭭°

Provided that the explanations given prove to be correct, it can be stated that our fragment uses the ligatures, which I connect with 𐭠𐭭𐭣 and 𐭠𐭭 of the MSS respectively, in a way which is very common in the Book-Pahlavi The cases in which forms in 𐭠𐭭𐭣 alternate with 𐭠𐭭𐭥 and forms in 𐭠𐭭 with 𐭠𐭭 are in the MSS so numerous that I cannot agree with Nyberg, who regards every other use of the endings than that which he has tried to establish in his *Hilfsbuch* as only being due to errors of scribes who did not understand the real value of the

[1] It always ought to be kept in mind in discussing the origin of letters of the Av alphabet that Pahlavi and Avestan writing was executed by the same scribes Thus we shall have to take into account the fact that the form of the Av script, such as we know it, might be due not only to an "Ur-"Avestan Aramaic script, but also, to a certain extent, to a secondary influence from scribes versed in writing Pahlavi, the scientific language of Zoroastrian theology (cf e g the formal congruity of Pahl 𐭠𐭭 and Av 𐬀𐬭 ą which cannot be anything but secondary)

ligatures (*Hilfsbuch*, 1, Einleitung, p 18). As there are some texts, as, for instance, the Mēnōk i Xrat of K 43, which do not use these ligatures at all, whereas they occur very frequently in others, the question certainly needs closer examination, which must take into account also the problems of syntax and chronology of the respective texts and MSS I must here confine myself to a few references

 ° is for *-yt*, the ending of the 3rd sg pres ind, A(*βiyātkār* i) Z(arērān), § 48, end where a few lines above in the text the exactly parallel passage has instead of ° As for similar cases, cf §§ 51, 74, 76, 83, 88, 92, 95, 103, 105, 106, 110, 111 of the same text ° for *-yt* in the 2nd pl imper is found, e g. A Z., § 41 ≠ (plur maiestatis on account of *šmāh bayān* being the subject) As for the interpretation of , §§ 6 and 7, I am not so sure, though I consider a reading *hilēt* not altogether excluded A certain instance of *hilēt* written with ° is found in § 96 Further examples of the 2nd plur imper. are found in Kn (Sanjana), viii, 12, *Artaxšīr framūt ku ātaxš kunēt* (°) "A ordered Kindle a fire!", viii, 7, *framūt ku ka ač dīz e kirm dūt vēnēt, martānakīh kunēt* (°) *ut ō bun i dīz āyēt* (°) "when you observe the smoke from the citadel of the worm, be courageous and come up against the citadel!"

 occurs in the MSS frequently for °, the ending of the past partic. (and, more rarely, for the ° of the infinitive), the in the MSS representing the *y*-stroke and not the *n* as in our frahang This mode of noting the past partic is extremely common in the MSS of the Avesta-translation and especially in the Mādiyān i hazār dādastān, and is not rare in other Pahlavi-writings Cf A Z, § 2, *patgirift*, Kn viii, 2, *stat*, 3, *patgirift kart*, ix, 11, *stat* with v l. °, x, 15, *nīt*, v l. .

I do not see any difficulty in explaining and from cursive $y + t$ and $t + n$. I suppose the ligature to have been conceived rather as one single character than as a compound letter, and this

to be the reason why the shape of the *t* has lost its proper and distinct shape in . The same may happen in the case of , being in MSS. rather frequently confused with (as is also with). As for the curve of the down-stroke of the , I think it has to be explained from a merely æsthetic point of view as due to influence from the left-hand curve of . It is not likely that this shape has anything to do with the Sasanian form (v *infra*, p 399, footnote 2)

The fact that the ligatures and are used in the above way in a frahang makes it, I believe almost certain that we have to do with a generally adopted system of orthography A frahang arranged like ours has most likely not been composed to facilitate reading of Pahlavi but to teach how to write it Otherwise it would certainly not have given so many verbal forms without stating how they are to be pronounced It seems to me to be an orthographic handbook teaching how the most important forms of the ideographically written words are correctly spelled So I cannot help thinking that our fragment has some authority and it would be interesting to know how old it is Geldner in his above-mentioned paper from 1904 only remarks "Wohl alter als dreihundert Jahre" Judging from the character in which it is written, we might suppose it to be even older On the other hand, there is no reason to consider it older than our oldest MSS

The ligatures and denote in Pahlavi, as is well known, besides the forms already treated other forms of the verb. not rarely denotes the 3rd pl pres ind (in this case the MSS. often have or), and also occurs in this form It is difficult to say whether the ligatures are used here wrongly or whether we have in these cases to suppose that originally different ligatures have coalesced into those now exclusively found As for ~ *ynd* we might compare the ligature of the frahang V 3 This ligature might very well in time have become so like the of V 6 that they were confused This is, indeed, very uncertain and cannot strictly be proved The extreme difficulty of investigations of this order is greatly increased by the corrupt state in which most of our Pahlavi texts have come down to us Thus and are frequently interchanged We find instead

of 𐭩 in cases where exactly parallel forms in the same clause show the past participle (as for the change of 𐭪 and 𐭯, cf the similar one of 𐭯 and 𐭮 often found in MSS as Tavadia in his review of Nyberg's *Hilfsbuch*, ZII , 9, p 276, has justly pointed out), or forms in 𐭪° in parallelism to forms in 𐭩° or to the naked ideogram denoting the 2nd sg imper The same variations occur in the case of *variae lectiones* We cannot but recognize that the scribes have been utterly in doubt as to the real value of the ligatures

Professor H S Nyberg has, in his most valuable *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (1, Einleitung, pp 13 sqq), made an ingenious attempt to explain the origin and use of the ligatures under discussion. As the adoption of Nyberg's explanation would involve far-reaching consequences in our conception of Pahlavi morphology and syntax, I consider this sufficient to justify an examination of his views

According to Nyberg, the source of 𐭪 has to be sought in the Arsacid letters 𐭣, that of 𐭩 in the Sasanian 𐭲, both meaning *yh* There is, however, as already stated by Tavadia (11 , p 276), one serious objection to be made to this suggestion the letter *h* 𐭤 is only found in Aramaic elements Furthermore, we are hardly justified in assuming any influence of the Arsacid upon the Sasanian script, and Nyberg has not tried to give any evidence for this assumption of his Though I cannot, for the reason mentioned, adopt Nyberg's solution of the problem as to the origin of our ligatures, I think it is not useless to discuss the grammatical side of Nyberg's theory in the light of the middle-Iranian texts which have been made available since Nyberg's book appeared, viz the Turfan texts, ed by Andreas-Henning,[1] and the Pahlavi-Psalter [2]

Nyberg sees in the forms in 𐭪° the 3rd sg pres optative corresponding to optatives like *HWYndy* of the inscriptions and *'hyndyyh* of the Turfan texts Hence 𐭪𐭥𐭭𐭣, according to Nyberg, is to be read *kunēndēh*, the ideogram denoting not only the pres

[1] *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I–II (south-west dialect), III (north-west dialect), von F C Andreas (†) Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Walter Henning, *SPAW Phil.-Hist Kl* 1932, 1933, 1934, quoted as Andreas-Henning, I, II, III

[2] *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen* von F C Andreas (†) Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Kaj Barr, *SPAW Phil.-Hist Kl* 1933, quoted as Andreas-Barr

stem, but also the pres partic in *-nd-*. The form is explained as having arisen by way of analogy with *kart-ēh* This should be *kart hē*, or *kart-ē*, the ending normally being written 𐭩. This conjecture must be rejected for several reasons, the first being this, that the use at the pres. partic in *-nd* in Book-Pahl and in the Turfan south-western texts is limited in the same way as is the case in NP, i.e. to that of a noun, and it is highly improbable that the naked ideogram should be used to express a form which, though being from a historical point of view a derivation of the present-stem, does not strictly belong to the conjugation of the verb [1] In the second place, the form *HWYndy*, the only one occurring, is found only in the Arsacid parts of the inscriptions In the Sasanian parts the corresponding form is written *HWH* [2] Thus we must conclude already from the inscriptions that the form belongs to the north-western dialect That this is really the

[1] It may have been otherwise in the old north-western dialects and Professor Nyberg's explanation of the north-western optative *'hyndyyh*, etc, as a periphrastic formation from the pres part may well prove to be correct, this formation perhaps survives in the periphrastic pres indic in *-n(n)-* in Zāzā, in *-nd-*, *-n(n)-* in Sangisarī, Lāsgirdī, Šamerzādī, Tālišī, and other dialects spoken in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea, cf Lingvistkredsen i Koebenhavn, Aarsberetning for 1934, p 15, and Christensen-Barr-Henning, *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass von F C Andreas*, i, p 163, footnote 1 (in press) Professor Nyberg told me by letter that he himself had explained the *nd-* formations of the modern "Caspian" dialects in the same way as I did

[2] The correspondence of the north-west and south-west forms is quite clear from the Ḥājj -inscription In the Ars redaction (9–10) we have the past partic + *ḤWYndy* (as for the reading, cf Turfan *'hyndyyh*) in the protasis and the apodosis of an irreal period *'YK 'k šyty BNYt HWYndy, 'ly YHWT HWYndy* "(he said), that if a construction had been erected, it would have been visible" The corresponding period in the Sas redaction (9–10) runs *'YK HT čyt'ky čyty HWH, 'DYN pty'k YHWH W N HWH* Herzfeld reads *ast* for *HWH* as we, indeed, may do in places where the Ars text has *HWYt* I should rather suggest that *HWH* here is to be read *hē* the opt sg 3rd, cf 𐭧𐭥𐭲𐭩 (also 𐭣𐭥𐭲𐭩 or 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩 is found in the sg) common in the irrealis of the past (v Bartholomae, *Zur Kunde d Mittelir Mundarten*, i, pp 47–51, esp p 50[2]) Cf Pahl Ps 123, 2, *HTmn L' MH MRWHY YK'YMWNt HWIId*

(3) *'DYNšn zywndky 'wp'rty HWIIm* "If the Lord had not been with us they would have devoured us alive" Ps *HWIId* must be compared with 𐭠𐭥𐭲𐭩 (not with the conj 3rd sg 𐭧𐭥𐭲𐭩𐭩 Turfan *h'd* (*hāδ*) also used in irreal clauses, as I did in my glossary, Andreas-Barr, p. 130*a* It is not likely that the spirant δ < *t* in this form should have been written phonetically with ד ד here as in other cases in the Ps is for *y* as in the book-form) The orthography of the inscriptions being rather sparing as to the use of phonetic complements denoting verbal endings, I think a form like *HWH* without any phonetic complement may admit of more than one reading The *north-west texts published by Andreas-Henning offer some instances of this optative* (*'hyndyyh, wrdyndyh, qryndyh, bwyndyh*) We find the same formation of the irreal

case is confirmed now from the texts published by Andreas-Henning In the south-western dialect from Turfan the 3rd sg pres opt. ends in *-ē*, written *-yy*, *-yyh*, *-yh* (*bēh*, *hē*, *šāyē*, *barēh*), in the same way as is the ending of abstract nouns (cf Henning, *ZII*, 9, pp. 234 and 235 Bem) The *h* sometimes found might be due to analogy with the ending of the 2nd sg pres ind At least it can hardly be phonetically explained if we start from old Iranian optatives in *-aiti* [1] These optatives are represented in Book-Pahlavi by  *hē* and  *ēstē* (Dēnkart and Av translation), and I consider it not *a priori* impossible that the forms in  in some cases may be interpreted as opt , like those found in the Turfan texts If that be the case I should propose to read the ligature *yh*, *h* being explained in the same way as Turfan *-h* Cf the different spellings of the ending of the 2nd sg pres ind  For the shape of *h* may be compared the older form of the *h* occurring in the Psalter  with a down-stroke on the left hand. Unfortunately there are no examples of a *h* in final position As it, however, is very uncertain to what extent the special features of Pahlavi letters in the Psalter MS may have existed in a period prior to the development of the cursive of the Zoroastrian books, I should not emphasize this weak possibility [2] It could as

period as in the Ḥājj -inscription in *a* 49–50 (cf also *b* 117, 128) In other cases it is used to express a wish *'fryd bwyndyh* " benedictus sit " (*m* 50, 53) = south-west *'fryd byh*, or an obligation (b 53–57) where *wrdyndyh* and *qryndyh* are in parallelism to *nšst č'r* " you shall sit down ! "

[1] As for *bēh*, *hē* we might perhaps think of a connection with O P *biyā* and Younger Av forms like *hyaṯ* with mood-sign *-iyā* of the unthematic type

[2] For explaining ligatures found in the cursive script the most safe and methodic procedure is, in my opinion, to start from the cursive forms of the elements forming the ligatures and not from the forms of letters such as they appear on the stone monuments or in the Psalter MS written in archaic script to serve as a liturgic book of the church It is, e g , quite clear that  *andar* cannot have originated directly from forms like  of the inscriptions or  of the Psalter, but only from cursive ligature  = *BY* + *N* Ligatures, of course, arise in cursive writing, and the ligatures found on monuments, e g on the Derbend inscriptions published by Professor Nyberg, or in the Psalter, are due to the influence from the cursive script which in Persia as everywhere has developed independently and apart from the monumental script I therefore consider it a rather bold undertaking to try to make out the phonetic value of an obscure ligature in tracing it back to the monumental script, especially if the forms in question are not found in the inscriptions or in the Psalter The ligatures of the cursive are generally as ambiguous as are the single letters of the Pahlavi alphabet Thus we always have to consider the possibility of more than one solution of a Pahlavi-ligature, as we, e g , in the case of  , may have to assume a threefold origin · *BY* + *N*, *Y* + *T*, *Y* + *H* (?)

well be suggested that the final  is due to influence from the originally different ligature meaning *-yt* In fact, we rather often find the ligatures  ,  , and  written with a almost identical in shape with the Av final (fairly often in the MS K 20)

The possibility of the occurrence of such optatives in  being admitted, it must be stated that it it very difficult to ascertain the exact extent of their use In the Turfan texts written in some south-western dialect the optative is used to express a wish (so always *byh* , *hy* in M 219 R 7 Andreas-Henning II) and as a potential mood (M 49, II V 10–15 , M 9, I, R 12–16 l l , cf Henning, *ZII* , 9, p 236) In Book-Pahlavi it might be found as a potential in some kinds of relative and conditional clauses, but on account of the incertitude of our manuscript tradition we can never be sure The whole problem must be taken up in connection with a treatment of the use of moods in general, and I hope in a not too distant future to be able to publish the results of my studies in this field, and shall therefore here restrict myself to a few remarks

The optative mood can, apart from the form *hē*, not have been a real living form of the verb in the language at the time when the redactions of the oldest MSS took place That is perhaps the reason why we never find a verb not ideographically written in the optative mood expressed with That only the relatively few ideographically written verbs enumerated in the list, *Hilfsbuch*, I, Einleitung, p 14, to which  *šutan*, frequent with in the Av -translation, may be added, should have preserved the optative, if it really was a living mood, would be very difficult to believe I see in the few cases in which is not likely to represent (or some other form in cases of wrong use, e g. = *-ynd* Vd $4_{15} \neq$  = *'t* ~ Av conj. *frabarāt* Vd $16_6 \neq$, = *-t* *šut* Vd 15_8, etc) only graphic survivals taken over by the later redactors or compilers from their sources The ligature (and the same assumption may perhaps hold good in the case of  as a mark of the imperative 2nd sg , cf *infra*) could be preserved when combined with an ideogram because the copyists took those word-pictures as totalities representing to their minds the

pronunciation of their own time, while the phonetically written verb forms were brought into accordance with the spoken language in which the role of the optative mood had been taken over by the conjunctive and, to some extent, by the indicative Some optative forms seem to have disappeared early in Zoroastrian Pahlavi Thus we, e g, never find, as far as I know, a *  which would correspond with Turf *byh*, but only *bavāt* or *bāt* in the same function as that of Turfan *byh*, and in different MSS we find *hāt* used in the same way as *hē*, a development which may have started earlier in the dialect, which is at the base of the Sasanian Koine, than in the south-western dialects of the Turfan texts, in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta we have fairly often the 3rd pers indic with the particle *'y(w)* (Turfan *hyb*), the same is the case in the Psalter while the Manichæan Turfan texts in a few cases have preserved the optative (cf Andreas-Barr, 120*a* s v אית and Henning, *ZII*, 9 248)

In order to get a clue to the interpretation of the ligature  , Nyberg starts from the correct observation that it is very frequently found added to ideograms, where there can be no doubt that the meaning is that of a 2nd pers imperative Nyberg reads the ligature *ēh*, which, according to him, is to be derived from old Iranian medial imperatives of *-aya*-stems, showing *-ayahwa* in the sg, *-ayaδvam* in the pl. These two endings coalesce into Pahl *-ēh*, thus being the ending both of the 2nd sg and pl imper As to the pl, Nyberg finds a support to his view in the 2nd pl imper *hyrzydw* of the Turfan texts. I think this form had better be left out of consideration It is only found once (M 4*a*, 14, cf the remark of Salemann, *Man Stud*, II, 167), and it is, if at all genuine,[1] a north-western form, hence not being really conclusive as to the south-western dialect The texts published by Andreas-Henning have only *-yd* in the pl in both dialects In Book-Pahlavi we find  and, with ideograms, not rarely  .  in cases where from the context we expect a 2nd pl imper may be explained from the frequent confusion of and . Thus, in my opinion, only as a mark of the 2nd sg imper needs to be discussed here

As stated above, p 397, I cannot adopt Professor Nyberg's reading and explanation of the ligature, but I must immediately confess that

[1] Cf now Henning, *GGA*, 1935, p. 7, footnote 3.

I myself have not been able to find a satisfactory solution of the riddle. Any evident analysis of the ligature 𐫞° is only possible if we can prove it to be an adequate expression of a really established ending of a middle Iranian 2nd sg imper The possibility of the survival of the imper middle is in my opinion very weak, as the middle voice no doubt already at the end of the old Iranian period was gradually disappearing At least the existence of a middle-ending *-ayahva* cannot be proved by any analysis of the ligature 𐫞°. The only possible connection I can think of is that of the ending *-ē* < *-áya*, sometimes found in Book-Pahlavi (cf Tedesco, *ZII*, 2, 306 ff) Unfortunately the inscriptions give no evidence, and the evidence of the Psalter in which we meet imperatives 2nd sg supplied with a *-y* (*bwč-y, l'm-y, 'mwč-y*) is rather weak, because the Psalter in some cases seems to supply verbal forms with *-y* without any phonetic or morphologic ratio e g 1st sg pres in *-my*, 2nd sg in *-ydy* (i e. 𐫟 + *y*, I cannot adopt the view of Henning "ך pseudohistorische Schreibung fur gesprochenes *h*" *ZII.*, 9, 236), 3rd pl in *-yndy*, those forms occur only with verbs when written phonetically, the orthographic use of *-y* with verbs following the same rule as the *-y* of the cas obl of nouns !).[1] The ending *-ē* is written 𐫟° *-yy* or 𐫠° *-yh*, in other cases we find also 𐫡°, 𐫟°. There seems to be some confusion, on one side, with the ending of the 2nd sg. indic, on the other side perhaps with the 2nd sg conjunctive *-'y* known from the south-western Turfan texts and from the Psalter = *'h* of the north-western texts and in both dialects often used as an imper (in this way I am inclined to interpret the forms in 𐫡° A Z § 92, *šavāy, āβarāy*, § 93, *bovāy* and perhaps *framāyāy* though spelled with 𐫠°, § 109 *dārāy*, the ending is in all those places ascertained by the metre as restored by Benveniste, *JA.*, 1932, 245 ff. Cf. also Andarz ī Ōšnar, § 48, *zūt bē gīrāy* ' catch it quickly ! " *bē spōzāy* " leave it ! ") Though I cannot prove it, I do not find it altogether impossible that the ligature 𐫞 may be a

[1] The forms in -' with pron suff are not clear to me A change *-ē* in final, *-ā* in anteconsonantic position is not very probable in a text written in purely south-western dialect, as the Psalter A reference to the rather confused materials collected by Lentz, *ZII*, 4, 270 ff, does not help to clear up the problem Professor Arthur Christensen once, when I discussed the problem with him, suggested that *'m, 'mn* might be writings of the pron suff comparable with modern Pers. ام°, ات° used after •°.

variant of  perhaps modified through influence from a similar ligature originated from  like that discussed above, p 395. If this mere suggestion, as I freely own it to be, should prove correct, we must conclude that the *-aya* forms in the Pahlavi orthography have come down to us in a double form, one in  °, in use both with ideographically and phonetically written verbs, and one expressed through the obscured  °, only in use in connection with ideograms like the optative in  °. There remains, however, a difficult question to be solved In cases where a clause contains more parallel imperatives we regularly find the ideographically written forms in  ° paralleled with phonetically written forms without ending (cf Nyberg, *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender*, p 48 *goš rōč parvarišn ı gōš-urıak kunē u gāv ō varz āmōč*) This fact might perhaps be explained thus the imperative originated with the *-a* stems, which has prevailed in the south-western dialect of the Turfan texts, the Fārs-dialects, and the modern Persian Koine, at an early time entered into competition with and, at last, superseded the imperative in *-ē* < *-áya*, hence the *-ē* was, as being foreign to the spoken language, neglected by the copyists in phonetically written verbs The problem certainly needs further investigation

This article was almost finished when Dr Walter Henning, Berlin, kindly sent me his review of Nyberg's *Hilfsbuch* (*Gott gel Anz*, 1935, pp 1–19), in which he deals with Nyberg's explanation of the ligatures and (pp 6 ff.). I agree with Dr Henning in most of the particulars regarding the interpretation of text-passages, but not with his general views of the problem under discussion I therefore publish my article in the main unchanged, having only left out a few examples which, in my opinion, have been satisfactorily explained by Dr. Henning (and partly already by Dr Tavadia in his review, *ZII*, vii, p. 273 ff).

Sur quelques dvandvas avestiques

Par E. Benveniste

Tant que le dvandva n'est pas devenu, comme c'est le cas dans l'histoire de l'indien, un procédé de style, un mode d'abréviation qui finit par ne plus se distinguer d'un composé, il reflète certaines notions prégnantes d'une culture et d'un culte hérités On n'a pas assez tenu compte des enseignements que donnent à ce point de vue les dvandvas avestiques, dont une liste (sujette à révision) a été dressée par Bartholomae, *BB* x, pp 267 sq Et cependant il s'y conserve autant et même plus d antiquités que dans ceux du védique.

En ce qui concerne la forme, il est remarquable que les règles formulées par Pānini sur l'ordre des deux éléments dans les dvandvas védiques (Wackernagel, *Altind Gramm*, II, 1, § 70, pp 165 sq) s'appliquent aussi en avestique 1° Quand les mots sont d'inégale longueur, le plus court vient en tête[1] *aēθiya aēθiapaiti* " élève (et) maître , *āpa urvaire* " eaux (et) plantes ", *xšvīδa āzūiti* " aliments liquides (et) solides ", *təvīšī utayūitī* ' force (et) persévérance ", *sairi iaiəzāne* " confrérie (et) communauté " 2° Quand les deux mots sont parisyllabiques, celui qui commence par une voyelle vient d abord *aēsma barəsma* " bois (et) feuillage ", *aēsma baoiδi* " bois (et) parfums , *arəzahi saiahi* " ouest (et) est ", *aspa vīra* (dans le composé *aspa vīra gan-*) " chevaux (et) guerriers " 3° Si les deux éléments sont parisyllabiques et d initiale consonantique, la préséance est accordée au thème en *-i-* ou en *-u-* *pāyū θwōiəštāra* " tuteur (et) fabricateur ", *pasu vīra* " bêtes (et) hommes ", *fšuoni- vqθwa-* (voir ci-dessous) Les dvandvas védiques et avestiques sont donc soumis aux mêmes règles et reproduisent des modèles indo-iraniens

Bien que le vocabulaire traditionnel ait été de part et d'autre renouvelé, il subsiste dans la langue du rituel une corrélation précieuse, survivance du culte commun véd *idhmābarhis-* et av *aēsma barəsma* " bois (et) feuillage " (pour l'offrande) Le neutre correspondant à v *barhis-*, qui est av *barəziš-*, ayant pris le sens de ' coussin " (cf. Willman-Grabowska, *Symb gramm Rozwadowski*, II, pp 167 sq) a été remplacé par le terme consacré *barəsman-* " litière de branchages ", qui en est dérivé

[1] Sur cette question on lira avec fruit les pénétrantes observations de J Wackernagel, *Festschr Binz*, Bâle, 1935, pp 33 sq

Mais par delà la communauté indo-iranienne, c'est à des représentations indo-européennes que certains dvandvas avestiques se réfèrent Parmi les survivances propres à l'indo-iranien et à l'italo-celtique (Wackernagel, *KZ* xlm, p 295, Vendryes, *MSL* xx, p 280) on a déjà relevé la concordance de umbr. *dupursus peturpursus* = véd *dvipádaḥ cátuṣpādaḥ* bipèdes (et) quadrupèdes ' Or la locution est connue également de l avestique, dans les couples *bizəngra- čaθwarə zəngra-* et *bipaitištāna- čaθwarə paitištāna-* employés selon les êtres favorables ou néfastes, le terme *pad-* de connotation neutre, a été remplacé par *zəngra* (resp *paitištāna-*) ' jambe qui permettait d'opposer explicitement les créatures bonnes et mauvaises Une seconde corrélation connue elle aussi est propre à l'avestique seul et à l italique av *pasu vīra* = lat *pecudesque virosque* (Ovide, *Met* i, 286), umbr *vepopequo*, cf encore lat *hominesque gregesque* Peut-être doit-on en retrouver la plus ancienne attestation en hittite, dans l'expression *antuḫšāš* GUD UDU ' hommes, bœufs (et) moutons " (par exemple *Kleinasiat Forsch* i, p 168 et n 8), à condition que les idéogrammes GUD UDU recouvrent une désignation unique du gros et du menu bétail

Nous compterons une troisième et une quatrième correspondance du même ordre entre l'avestique et le latin Le composé av *aspa.vīra gan-* " tueur de chevaux (et) de guerriers " suppose un dvandva *aspavīra-* qui est aussi impliqué par les locutions *aspaŋhāδō vīraŋhāδō* (Aog 78) et avec une légère variante *aspō qarəm nərə garəm* (Y ix, 11) Les souverains Achéménides reproduisent le même tour quand ils vantent la terre d Iran " aux beaux chevaux, aux beaux hommes " (*huvaspā humaiyā*) Ce n est pas un hasard si le latin dit, dans la même succession *equus virus(que)*, quoique l'expression ait été spécialisée dans la langue militaire pour désigner l ensemble des forces, cavalerie et infanterie

Voici enfin le quatrième dvandva conservé aux deux extrémités du monde indo-européen et propre au même vocabulaire A côté de *pasu-* il existe en avestique une forme suffixée *pasuka-* " animal domestique " (cf skr *paśukā-*) qui fait couple avec *daitika-* " bête sauvage " Yt xiii, 74 *yaṇnō . pasukanąm daitikanąm*[1] les âmes des animaux domestiques (et) sauvages " opposition atténuée par une restriction naïve Y xxxix, 1 sq (cf Yt xiii,

[1] Après chaque mot de ce passage, le texte porte *yazamaide*, probablement pour des raisons de liturgie l'enoncé de chaque mot de la prière appelait le répons *yazamaide*. Autrement la suite grammaticale est intacte, cf. trad Lommel, p 121, n. 1

154) *urunō pasukanqmča yōi nā fjīǰšəntī* " les âmes des animaux domestiques qui nous nourrissent " *daŋuka nqmča aiδyūnqm urunō* " les âmes des fauves utiles " Ces deux mots ne s'emploient pas l'un sans l'autre, formés pareillement, ce sont des mots-rimes qui peuvent, comme *pasu vīra* être dissociés par *-ča* La locution *pasuka- daŋuka-* fait penser immédiatement aux *ferae pecudes* de Lucrèce I, 14 où M Ernout (*BSL* XXIV pp 72 sq) a reconnu un vieux juxtaposé " animaux sauvages (et) domestiques " Comparer encore lat. *pecua belluasque* (Naev ap Non 159 6) L'opposition des deux espèces d'animaux pour naturelle qu'elle soit dans une société d'éleveurs de bétail ne se marque dans aucune autre langue, à notre connaissance par un dvandva semblable Mais cette locution a été adaptée à des vocabulaires différents Tandis que le latin conservait dans *fera* l'ancien adjectif **ghuēr, *ghwero-*, il y a été substitué en avestique un adjectif nouveau **duta- daŋuka-* (probablement dérivé de *dant-* " dent ') qui reste encore en usage phl *dad* pers *daδ*, sogd *δt- *δat-* saka *data* On notera en outre que dans *pasuka- daŋuka-*, la priorité du thème en *-u-* (cf *pasu vīra*) est respectée

A la même catégorie appartient encore l'expression *fšaoni- vqθra-* dont le sens a été défiguré chez Bartholomae par la traduction ' Üppigkeit und Heerde (*IF b* 1027) Le nom *vqθra-* désigne certainement le gros bétail et sert normalement pour le troupeau de bœufs ou de chevaux métaphoriquement pour une troupe d'hommes Si *vqθra-* est souvent associé à *fšaoni-* et s'il dénomme le troupeau de gros bétail, il est évident que *fšaoni* doit signifier " troupeau de petit bétail " En effet on lit *Yt* x 26 après une série de locutions formées de deux noms, *uta fšaonīšča vqθrāna* qui doit se traduire ' à la fois le menu et le gros bétail ' De cet emploi ne saurait être disjoint celui de *Yt* IX 9 (où Bartholomae voit cette fois un adjectif feist, uppig) *yaθa azəm fšaoni vqθra ara barāni* " puissé-je apporter du menu et du gros bétail " souhait formulé par Yama qui vient de sacrifier des chevaux, des bœufs et des moutons Dans le dvandva *fšaoni vqθra* se dénonce ainsi une expression indo-européenne la même opposition des deux types de troupeau qui est rendue chez Homère par *πῶυ* et *ἀγελη* en latin par *pecus* et *armentum* Le sens que nous donnons à *fšaoni-* était par avance assuré puisque la famille entière de **pekw* se rapporte au mouton, l'animal " pourvu d'une toison " Le verbe *fšu-* (dont *fšaoni-* est dérivé comme skr. *yóni-* de *yu-*) participe aussi de cette signification, car *fšuyant-*, on ne le remarque pas assez, est le nom de celui qui fait paître le petit

bétail, tout comme fr *berger* (**berbicarius*) Il faut donc le distinguer de *vāstrya-* qui s'applique au pasteur des bœufs. Nous pouvons alors procéder à l'analyse de l'expression *vāstryō fsuyant-* qui, dans la hiérarchie des classes sociales, qualifie le troisième état, celui des agriculteurs Il est clair que *vāstryō fšuyant-* doit s'entendre comme un dvandva et comprend deux termes distincts " pasteur du gros *et* du petit bétail " C'est une locution où deux termes juxtaposés ont fini par faire corps, exactement comme dans lat *patres conscripti* (= patres *et* conscripti)

A l'intérieur même de l'univers iranien, un dvandva fournit la solution d'un problème d histoire religieuse On connaît, dans le groupe des Amṛta Spantas, les deux génies Harvatāt et Amṛtatāt (généralement écrits *Haurvatāt* et *Amərətāt*) " Intégrité et Immortalité ", qui veillent respectivement sur les eaux et sur les plantes On s'est souvent demandé d'où ils proviennent et pour quelle raison ils sont constamment associés Certains ont même voulu les prendre pour la figuration iranienne des Açvins Il ne faut pas chercher si loin Le groupe entier des Amṛta Spantas est très probablement la transposition abstraite des anciens génies des éléments, dont la fonction, sous leur désignation nouvelle, n'a pas varié Chacune de ces entités est attachée à un aspect du monde matériel, terre, métaux, eaux, etc , et le symbolise Or la plus ancienne mention du couple Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt en illustre la véritable nature C'est le passage gāthique Y xxxii, 5, *tā dəbənaotā mašīm huǰyātōiš amərətātasčā* " par ce (méfait), vous avez frustré l homme de la bonne vie et de l'immortalité " L'abstrait *huǰyāti-* " bonne vie " est l'équivalent théologique de *haurvatāt-* " intégrité (physique), bonne santé " A notre avis, il faut entendre l'expression *huǰyātōiš amərətātasčā* dans une acception matérielle "vous avez frustré l homme de l'eau et des plantes" (cf li, 7. *apasčā urvarāsčā anaiiātā haurvātā*) Dans toute cette Gāthā, le réformateur fait allusion à une série de crimes bien spécifiés consommation de la chair du bœuf, injures au bœuf et au soleil, destruction de pâturages, violences sur des Zoroastriens, etc Il accuse expressément ses ennemis d'avoir " détruit la vie " (11 *mōrəndən ǰyōtūm*), d'avoir " détruit la vie du bœuf " (*gəuš mōrəndən . ǰyōtūm*). Ces méfaits ont pour conséquence naturelle d'ôter à l'homme ses moyens d'existence. Nous ne croyons pas forcer le sens du vers, mais bien au contraire l accorder avec le reste de la prédication, en lui donnant son plein sens concret Par ailleurs, dans l'Avesta récent, la liaison de Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt avec les eaux et les plantes fait l'objet d'une

tradition claire et constante Il devient alors au moins vraisemblable que le couple Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt est la projection mythique du dvandva *āpa urvaire* " eaux et plantes ' attesté maintes fois (cf. Bartholomae, *Wb.* p 327) et indirectement par les expressions *tačaṯ.āpa uxšyaṯ.urvara* (Y xvi, 8) ; *taṯ āpō uxšyaṯ.urvarō* (Yt xiii, 43, cf. x, 61). Les deux termes se suivent dans l'ordre fixé par la règle I (p. 405), aussi bien *Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt* que *āpa urvaire* En lui-même le dvandva *āpa urvaire*, chez un peuple d'agriculteurs, n'a pas besoin de justification, c'est le dvandva des noms divins qui en demandait une. Le procès mythique que nous restituons achève de montrer dans ces entités des éléments divinisés.

La Charrue védique

Par Jules Bloch

Il y a eu un verbe indo-iranien pour désigner le labour RV imp *karsa, kṛṣatu,* av opt *pairi-karšōiṯ*, il s'y rattache des substantifs désignant le sillon av. *karša-, karši-* f., RV. sans doute *kṛṣí-*, ŚBr. *karṣū-*

Par contre les noms sanskrits de la charrue n'ont pas de correspondants connus dans l'Iran

L'un de ces noms, qui vit encore aujourd'hui, skr *hala-*, n'est pas attesté avant Pāṇini Est-il cependant plus ancien que le sanskrit ? On en a proposé plusieurs étymologies indo-européennes dont malheureusement aucune ne s'impose (v Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wb. der Indog Spr*, i, p 629, Scheftelowitz, *ZII*, ii, p 278) Le Rgveda offre deux autres noms encore

L'un, *lāṅgalam*, garde encore son sens ancien, non seulement en indo-aryen (mar *nāgar*, etc, J Bloch, *Marathe*, p 357), mais dans d'autres familles indiennes telugu *nāgal*, canara *nēgal*, tamoul *nāñjil* (et brahui *langai*), santal *nahel*, mundari *naĕal*, il semble bien y avoir été emprunté des Aryens en même temps que l instrument, ou du moins la forme perfectionnée de l'instrument car si l'on suit M. Przyluski (*BSL*, xxiv, pp 118–23) on verra dans *lāṅgala-* un nom indigène préhistorique ayant d'abord désigné le bâton à creuser des trous et ayant peut-être conservé cette valeur très tard, à en juger par la citation du commentaire à Nirukta vi, 26 *bhūmim bhūmiśayāmś caiva hanti kāstham ayomukham iti abhidheyaprasangāt lāngalam āha* Dans le Veda, le *lāṅgala-* est en effet caractérisé comme pourvu d'une pointe métallique, *pavīra-* Le soc a d'ailleurs une désignation, *phālah*, qu'on rapproche d'un nom persan de la charrue, *supār*.

L'autre nom védique, *sīram* (variante Kap S. *sīla-*), est déjà rare en pali, et ne semble plus usuel à l'époque moderne que dans le sens dérivé de champ non affermé et cultivé par son propriétaire (Turner, *Nep Dict*, s v *sir* [2]) Rien ne caractérise cet instrument dans le Veda, si ce n'est la mention d'attelages nombreux AV, viii, 9, 16, *sadyogáṃ sīram* " charrue attelée à six " — dans une énumération de choses allant par six, TS, i, 8, 7, 1, *dvādaśagavám sīraṃ dákṣinā*

" le salaire (du rite décrit sera) une charrue à douze bœufs ". Mais TS., v, 6, 21, 1, deux moutons le traînent, *sīravāhaú ávī*: ce n'est donc pas nécessairement un instrument lourd, contrairement à l'indication de Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index* (recueil cependant précieux, qui nous a servi de guide en tout ceci), il n'y a du reste sans doute rien de précis à tirer de ces chiffres, dont le premier dépend du contexte et les autres désignent peut-être des objets figurés.

Voilà donc au moins deux noms pour le même instrument. Mais est-ce bien le même instrument ? Même sans tirer parti du texte relativement tardif cité plus haut, on remarquera que la phraséologie du Veda ne traite pas les deux mots de la même façon. L'unique *lāngalam* de RV, IV, 57, 4 = AV, III, 17, 6, s'accompagne du verbe attendu *karṣ-*, le même verbe s appliquant du reste aux bêtes de trait (non spécifiées) et aux conducteurs

śunáṃ vāhāḥ śunám náraḥ
śunáṃ kṛṣatu lāṅgalam.

C'est naturellement le même verbe qui désigne l'action du soc ·

X, 117, 7, *kṛṣánn ít phālaḥ*
IV, 57, 8, *phālā ví kṛṣantu bhūmim.*

Mais avec *sīra-*, les deux fois qu'on le trouve dans le Rgveda (X, 101, 3–4 = AV., III, 17, 1–2; cf. TS, IV, 2, 5), c'est *yuj-* qui l'accompagne

3. *yunákta sīrā ví yugā́ tanudhvam* (AV, TS, *tanota*)
kṛté yónau vapateha bī́jam
4. *sīrā́ yuñjanti kaváyo*
yugā́ ví tanvate pṛthak.

De même, avec *lāṅgala-* *prabhid-* TS, VI, 6, 7, 4, *pratan-* Kauś, XX, 1, et nulle part semble-t-il *yuj-*, mais *yuj-* avec *sīra-* deux fois ŚBr., KŚS., XVII, 27, ĀpŚS, XVI, 185, *kars-* seulement avec le composé *sīralāṅgalam*, dont il sera question plus bas (je dois ces confirmations à M Renou)

Est-ce forcer l'indication que de remarquer que dans le Rgveda on trouve mentionné à côté du *sīra-* le joug, qui n'est qu'une pièce de la charrue, et même une pièce détachable ? C'est ce qui a conduit Grassmann (non suivi par Whitney) à traduire ' attachez les cordes ', *spannt an die Stränge* (mais IV, 57, 4, *śunám naratrā́ badhyantām*). Il a dû être guidé, non seulement par le parallélisme avec *yugā́* et le sens ordinaire de *yuj-*, mais aussi par la possibilité de rattacher étymologiquement *sīra-* à la racine de skr aor *ásāt*, opt. *sīmáh*, prés

syáti, part. *sitá-*, av pf *hiśāyā*, part *hita-*, inf *āhōiθōi*, dont le sens fondamental est " attacher ", sur l'*ī* dans ce type d'alternances, cf. RV. *ksitá-*, AV. *ksīná-* et Wackernagel, *Altind Gr*, I, p 87 s Dans cette interprétation, *sīra-* correspondrait exactement à v h a et all *seil*, v sl *silo* (Walde-Pokorny, II, pp 463–4) Les *sīrā* seraient alors sans doute les lanières qui joignent le joug à la charrue, l'auteur du *Bihar Peasant Life*, à qui une étude comme celle-ci se dédie tout naturellement, en a donné les noms modernes, § 18 *nāran* ou *lāran*, *nādha* ou *lādha* (à vrai dire aucun de ces noms ne rappelle *sīra-*) Et puisqu'il faut une autre lanière pour retenir le nœud fait par celle dont nous venons de parler (v Grignard, *Oraon-English Dict*, s v. *ugtā*, Hoffmann, *Encycl Mundarica*, s v *cutu-nangali*), le *pārisīryam* de ŚBr, VII, 2, 2, 3, qui est fait d'herbe muñja tressée en natte triple, serait alors cette seconde lanière

Mais dans ce cas, comment expliquer que le *sīram* puisse être de bois ? Or c'est ce que dit le même passage du Śatapatha Brāhmana : *sīram yunakti aúdumbaram bhavati* S'agirait-il alors d'une cheville de bois ? Justement *sail* est d après H M Eliot et Beames, *Memoirs on the N W Provinces of India*, II, p 342 et fig, le nom de deux des quatre chevilles qui retiennent ensemble les deux barres dont le joug est fait les *sail* sont les chevilles extérieures, les *gata* les chevilles intérieures, plus longues, et il y a une corde (*pārisīryam* ?) pour rejoindre un *sail* et un *gata* sous le cou de la bête

Mais ici se présente d'abord une difficulté linguistique Sans doute **saila-* est le dérivé à vṛddhi normal de *sīla-* mais ceci n'est vrai qu'en sanskrit Dans une langue moderne, on s'attend qu'une diphthongue *ai* provienne de deux syllabes différentes du sanskrit, la forme attendue est celle qu'on trouve dans bih *sel*, *selī* (*Bihar Peasant Life*, § 109), h *selī* " collier de fil noir des ascètes ", s *selhī* " corde faite de cheveux ", cf Turner, *Nep Dict*, s v *selo* D'autre part *sail* a un doublet plus développé, que nous connaissons grâce encore au *Bihar Peasant Life* § 15, " The outer pins, which join the two bars of the yoke are *sailā* or *samail* to the west and *kanail* to the east ", § 16, " the inner pins are *samail* or (Patna) *samaila* and (Gaya) *samaiya*." Si bien que malgré qu'au Tirhut NE *samail* ou *samel* désigne la corde passée au cou de la bête (§ 18), on peut soupçonner dans ces mots des composés dont le second terme serait le nom de la cheville, skr *kīla-*, cf le synonyme de *kanail* qui est à Bhagalpur *kan-killi* La cheville ajustant le manche au corps de la charrue est *tarala*, avec la même finale.

Remarquons enfin que dans l'hypothèse " cheville " comme dans l'hypothèse " corde ", on ne s'explique pas ce que pouvaient être les *sīra-* à six ou douze bêtes

On est donc amené à chercher ailleurs et le sens et l'origine de *sīra-*. Qui observe les langues non aryennes de l'Inde sera d'abord frappé de la coïncidence avec un nom dravidien de la charrue gondi *ser*, kui *sēru*, tel can. tam *ēr(u)*, coexistant avec *nāgal*, etc [1] Malheureusement, même si les probabilités n allaient pas contre l idée d'un emprunt fait par l aryen, ce que nous savons jusqu'à présent du phonétisme des deux groupes n'explique pas non plus le passage de *ē* à *ī* tant qu'à rapprocher les deux séries, on songerait plutôt ici encore à l'entrée en dravidien d'un dérivé à vṛddhi

Mais en indo-aryen même il est permis de faire état d'une racine indo-européenne, partiellement homonyme de celle qui a été examinée, à savoir celle de **sē-* " semer " Que cette racine ait poussé des rejetons jusqu en sanskrit se reconnaît au nom du " sillon ", ou plutôt, puisqu'il s'agit ici d un adjectif verbal au féminin, de la " terre ensemencée " *sītā* · la place de l'accent s'expliquerait par un changement de fonction, comme dans d autres mots que M Renou me signale amicalement *ásta-*, *mārta-*, *sārta*, sans doute *vrāta-* La signification primitive du mot [2] paraît encore dans les dérivés comme Pān Am. *sītyam* " champ labouré " (plus tard · blé, grain ", cf khowar *sīri* " orge ", où *r* provient de *t*), elle subsiste encore abondamment, v. Turner, *Nep. Dict*, s.v *sīyo* (ajouter bhadr *sīth* f , *sīthnu* " faire un second labour ") [3] Du nom du sillon se rapproche aisément celui de la raie des cheveux, et par suite du sommet de la tête, et d'autre part, suivant une évolution bien constatée (Vendryes, *Mélanges P Boyer*, p. 13 s), de la limite skr. *sīmán-* m (et *sīmanta-*), d'où pj *sẽ*, etc , v Turner, *Nep. Dict*, s v *simānā*.

[1] En santal et mundari, *si-* signifie " labourer ", mais *er-*, *her-* " semer ", d'autre part en sora *or-* ' labourer ', *ertib-* ' charrue " en regard de *lūd-* " semer " La suite permettra d'interpréter ces échanges Et il ne faut pas oublier que le vocabulaire n'a pas plus de raison d'être indigène ici que l'instrument

[2] On sait la fortune qu'il a eue comme nom propre Est-il permis de se demander si en face de *Sītā*, la terre labourée, *Ahalyā*, traîtreusement séduite par Indra, n'a pas été d'abord la terre interdite au labour ?

[3] Le lien entre *sīram* et *sītā* a-t-il été senti ? Dans le Jātaka de Mend(h)aka, il est dit de son esclave que quand il laboure avec une charrue, sept sillons se forment *ekanangalena kasantassa satta sītāyo gacchanti* (Mahāvagga, vi, 34), ce que le Divyāvadāna, p 124, l 7, exprime ainsi *sa yadaikam halasīram kṛṣati, tadā sapta sīrāḥ kṛṣṭā bhavanti* Faut-il corriger le texte, ou admettre un nouveau *sīra-* signifiant " sillon ", d'où dériveraient mar *serā*, etc ? Chez Amara *sīrah* se situe entre *godāranam* et *samyā*

Il est remarquable qu'il existe en marathe des mots de type **saira-* et de sens voisin si l'on peut rattacher *serā* " bout " à *sirā* attesté aussi en hindi avec le sens de " limite de village ", suffira-t-il pour l'expliquer d'invoquer skr *śirah* " tête " ? En tout cas ce recours serait insuffisant pour *serī* " ruelle, passage entre des clôtures "

Mais ici une objection grave se présente semer n'est pas labourer, nulle part ailleurs i.e. **sē-* ne désigne le travail de la charrue, ni **ar-*[1] les semailles, pour lesquelles existe en sanskrit une racine *vap-* (indo-iranienne [2] v Morgenstierne, *AO*, i, p 256), laquelle est encore en usage, v Turner, *Nep Dict*, p 645 s v *ubāunu* En fait, il arrive à *vap-* d'accompagner le même contexte que *kars-* en deux passages du Rgveda

i, 117, 21, *yávam vṛkenāśvinā vápantā*
viii, 22, 6, *yávam vṛkena karṣathah*

Mais on ne peut rien en déduire, même si ce " loup " avec lequel les Aśvin tour à tour sèment et labourent devait finalement être un véritable nom d'instrument, dont le nom appartiendrait à la racine de lit *velkù* " je tire ", laconien *ϵυλακα* " charrue " (Vendryes, ibid, p 14, Walde-Pokorny, i, p 308) Y avait-il donc dans l'Inde ancienne une charrue susceptible de semer ?

En tout cas elle existe dans l'Inde moderne. Consultons à nouveau le *Bihar Peasant Life* : au § 857 sont décrites trois méthodes de semailles, à la volée, le long du sillon à la suite de la charrue, enfin avec le *tār* ou *tõr*, instrument décrit à son tour au § 24, sous le nom de drill-plough, charrue-semoir La charrue ordinaire s'appelle *har* ou *hal*, et à Gaya *lāngal*

Quant au *tār*, c'est une charrue à laquelle s'ajuste un tuyau, *bãsā* ou *cõgā*, surmonté d'un réceptacle appelé *māla*, *māleva* ou *paila* ou encore *ukhri*, *akri*, où on verse la semence Le *Hindī śabdasāgar* de Benares confirme cette description précisément aux mots *bãsā*

[1] Risquons encore une hypothèse Si **sē-* a des rejetons dans l'Inde, est-il impossible de reconnaître **ar-* dans l'indo-iranien *uriarā*, qui serait alors également un adjectif féminin désignant la terre vastement (*uru-*) labourée, ou celle dont on laboure les sillons (**uru-*, cf lat *uruos*, gr *οὖρος*, etc, pour l'accent sur le 2e terme du composé, v Wackernagel, ii, § 114*d*, cf § 96 *b*, 8) ? L'unique *phárvara-*, artificiel ou non (v Henry, *MSL*, xiii, p 172, Oldenberg, *Rgveda Noten* ad x 106 2) en serait une imitation, construite soit sur *phāla-*, soit sur le radical des mots qu'on trouve dans le même hymne, *pharpharat*, *parpharīka-*, qui est peut-être celui de gr *φάρος* " charrue "

et *akrī*.[1] De même chez Elliot-Beames, p 340, *hal* ou *har* est une charrue " si l'on peut donner un nom aussi noble à un instrument sans coutre ni oreillon " , mais p. 227 le *bāsā* (à Delhi *orna*) est le tuyau par où la semence descend dans la machine à semer , nous allons voir plus bas ce qu'est sans doute cette machine , on ajoute qu'au Nord-Ouest le *bāsā* est généralement attaché à la charrue proprement dite — comme au Bihar

Comme au Rajputana aussi en 1809 Th. D Broughton rencontre à Udaipur l'instrument suivant (*Letters written in a Mahratta Camp*, p 215) " They use a drill-plough The drill part consists of a piece of bamboo, about two feet long, split and widened at the end, where it is covered by leather, so as to resemble a funnel, and which is fixed behind the main stick of the plough In this wide part the driver keeps his left hand, filled with grain, with which he at the same time steadies the plough , while in the right hand he holds the reins of rope and a long stick, with which he guides the bullocks that draw it One man only is required for each plough "

Et au Deccan . en 1800 Fr. Buchanan (*A Journey from Madras*, i, 283, et fig) voit à Kolar semer le sorgho " by means of an instrument named *sudiky*, which is tied to the handle of the plough ". Cet instrument peut se compliquer le *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, iii (1893), décrit aussi le *gorru* telugu, s v. *gorroo* " A seed drill It consists of a beam with three or six shares fitted into it, and a corresponding number of bamboos attached to a *zaddigam*, or drill, into which the seed is thrown and is thence carried into the ground by bamboos The gorroo is also used as a plough " Le *curigy* avec lequel Buchanan a vu à Banawasi semer certaine espèce de riz comporte quatre tubes (iii, p 236 et fig) , mais ailleurs et pour d'autres graines on en emploie qui ont douze tubes (de même R H Elliot, *Experiences of a Planter*, 1871, ii, p 40) , et il arrive que derrière les douze tubes du *curigy* qui versent le ragi on attache l'unique *sudiky* qui sert à ajouter la graine de *avaray* ou *tovary* (i, p. 285 et fig , cf. i, p 377)

Ces instruments, qui réalisent couramment le miracle attribué à l esclave Mend(h)aka par la légende bouddhique (v p. 414, n 3) sont, non pas des dérivés, mais des parents très éloignés des semoirs européens, qui ne datent que du XVII[e] ou du XVIII[e] siècle (v. *Encycl.*

[1] Mais je n'y trouve pas *vairnā*, *ūirnā* donnés par Fallon et Platts ; mots dérivés de skr *kir-* , cf mar *per-* " semer " de *prakir-*

Britannica, 14e éd. s v *sowing*; Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, Anthropos Bibliothek, 1931, p 453), et qui sont indépendants de la charrue

En voilà assez sans doute pour marquer l'extension de la charrue-semoir dans l'Inde Quant aux mots qui la désignent, ou bien ils ne sont pas clairs, ou bien ce sont des termes généraux désignant sa matière ou sa forme *bāsā* dérive de *bās* " bambou ", *cōgā* désigne un réceptacle ou un tube de bambou (v Turner s v *cūgo*), brahui *nārī* veut dire " tube " Qu y aurait-il d'étrange à ce que *sīram* de son côté eût exactement la valeur du français " semoir ", entendant par là soit l'ensemble charrue *plus* entonnoir, soit plus simplement l'entonnoir lui-même ? L'expression *sīram yuj-* signifierait alors soit " atteler la charrue-semoir ", soit plutôt ' ajuster l'entonnoir à la charrue " suivant l'opération plusieurs fois mentionnée ci-dessus, et dans ce cas *sīralāngalam* Vādh S (*AO*, vi, p 117, avec *prayacch-*, p 237, avec *samsṛj-*) désignerait l'assemblage, et ŚBr *pārisīryam* la corde (dessinée par Fr Buchanan) maintenant cet assemblage

Pour donner force à l'interprétation et à l étymologie ici proposées de *sīram*, il faudrait prouver l'existence de la charrue semeuse dans l'Inde antique La démonstration directe est impossible C'est encore une chance que les bas reliefs de Bodh Gaya et du Gandhara nous renseignent sur les types de charrue proprement dite en usage aux alentours de l'époque chrétienne et nous assurent de l'antiquité des types actuels M Leser, qui en a reproduit trois exemplaires dans l'ouvrage capital auquel nous nous sommes déjà référé (*Entstehung* . ., planches 17 et 18, cf p 382), a montré que leur extension dépasse l'Inde et remonte a une époque très haute Il a de plus mis en valeur (dans le même ouvrage, p 245, et dans son article de la *Festschrift P W. Schmidt* intitulé " Westostliche Landwirtschaft ", pp 416–19, avec figures) le fait que l'entonnoir à semences également se retrouve en Syrie et en Chine, et dès une époque très ancienne en Mésopotamie — mais non en Egypte Il en reproduit (respectivement, p 244 et p 417) une image datant du troisième millénaire et une datant du second millénaire avant J -C , il en signale d'autres, par exemple celle du palais de Sargon, celle du monument d'Asarhaddon du viie siècle , le tube à semences apparaît du reste ici comme encastré entre les deux manches de la charrue En voilà plus qu'il n en faut pour assurer de l'antiquité reculée du procédé, et cela à l'intérieur d une aire où M Leser montre que d'autres techniques se retrouvent

répandues, et confinées · par exemple, la herse simple ou le rouleau servant de herse (la herse aussi manque en Egypte) Cette communauté, et ce qu'on sait ou devine par ailleurs des relations préhistoriques entre la Mésopotamie et l'Inde, engage à admettre que la charrue semeuse est dans l'Inde bien antérieure à la compilation du Veda, et que par conséquent il ne serait pas étonnant de l'y trouver mentionnée.

The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit

By T. Burrow

THE "North-Western Prakrit" as Konow has called it is represented by the following documents

(1) The two versions of Aśoka's edicts preserved at Mansehra' and Shahbazgarhi At this stage many of the characteristic features of the language have not yet developed, e.g. *śr* > *s*, *śv* > *śp*.

(2) The later Kharosthi inscriptions, mostly short, collected by Konow in the second volume of the *Corp Inscr Ind*

(3) The Kharosthi manuscript of the Dhammapada discovered near Khotan (*Manuscript Dutreuil du Rhins*)

(4) The Kharoṣthi documents from Niya, representing the administrative language of the Shan-Shan kingdom in the third century A D.

In the *Journ As*, 1912, pp 337 ff, J Bloch examined the dialectical peculiarities of the *Manuscript Dutreuil du Rhins* and showed that they appeared in modern times in the languages of the North-West

The later Kharosthi inscriptions of the North-West along with the *Kharosthi Dhammapada*, were taken by Konow as a basis for a detailed treatment of the North-Western Prakrit in his introduction to the second volume of the *Corp Inscr Ind* He did not bring in the Niya documents, although, owing to their extensiveness and comparative freedom from literary influences, they are the most important of all

It is the purpose of this paper, not to give an account of "Niya" phonology, but to discuss specifically those points in which it coincides with or differs from the several varieties of the language of the North-West mentioned above; and on the basis of this to show that out of the modern languages of the North-West Torwali is the one which shows the most striking resemblances to the dialect of Niya

I Comparison with the Kharoṣṭhi Versions of Aśoka

Points in common are —

(1) Preservation of the distinction between the three sibilants *ś*, *s*, and *ṣ*, which was early obliterated except in the North-West.

(2) A better preservation of conjunct consonants, especially groups with *s* and *r* (*st*, *tr*, *rt*, etc).

(3) Development of the vowel *ṛ* into *ri* or *ru*. In the rest of India

there is usually no trace of an *r* Examples from Aśoka are (Mansehra) *mrige*, (Shahb) *mrugo*, (Mans 5) *ıudhresu* (but Sh *vudheṣu*), (Sh 11) *graha* (M *geha*), Sh 13 *drıdha* In the Nıya Prakrıt usually *ri* (which may be wrıtten *r* ın ımıtatıon of Sanskrıt), e g *etrıśa* " such ", *krita*, *krısatı ghrıda*, *drıtha trıtı*, also *kıta grha*, etc which is merely a matter of spellıng

(4) Assımılatıon of *s* to *ś* ın the words *anuśaśanam*, *anuśaśıśaṃtı* (S M 4)

In Nıya *śāśana* (510)

(5) *sy* > *ś* S M *manuśa*, *anuśaśrśamtı*, etc , Nıya *manuśa*, *karıśatı*, etc The wrıtıng *sy* which occurs ın Nıya sıde by sıde wıth *ś* ıs, of course, merely due to the ınfluence of Sanskrıt

(6) The prımary endıngs are appended to the optatıve , Aśoka *patıpajeyatı*, *apakareyatı*, *nıvaṭeyatı* , Nıya *anuvarteyatı*, *avarajeyaṃtı* (*apa-rādh-*), *vıṣarjeyası*, etc., etc These forms occur ın Palı, usually ın the later texts (Geıger, *Palı Gr* , § 127) In Prakrıt accordıng to Pıschel (§ 459, § 462) we do not find the prımary endıngs ın the thırd sıngular, although they are common enough ın the second sıngular, which suggests that the process started ın the second sıngular as an effoıt to dıstınguish the endıngs which had become confused, and was not ın all dıalects extended to cover all the persons, but only consıstently ın the North-West and ın that dıalect, presumably western, which lıes at the basıs of Palı The *-ā-*, which ıs always long ın these forms, must come orıgınally from forms ın *-yāt*, *kuryāt*, etc , which also explaıns Prakrıt forms lıke *vatteyyā*, besıde *vatteyya* and *vatte* (Pıschel, § 459)

(7) Indeclınable partıcıples ın *-tı* Aśoka *tıthıtı*, *draśetı*, *vıyıntı*, *alocetı* , Nıya *śrınıtı* 341. *apruchıtı* 39, *vaʃıtı* " havıng read " 376, etc

(8) Infınıtıves ın *-anaye* *ksamanaye* S 10 (other versıons have *-tave*) Nıya *karamnae*, *deyamnae*, etc , etc.

In some poınts the Nıya Prakrıt approxımates more closely to one of the Northern versıons of Aśoka than the other Thus the change from *-j-* to *-y-* (Nıya *mahaıaya*, etc) occurs only ın Shahb , e g *samaya* (= *samāja-*), *raya*, *kamboya* Sımılarly the assımılatıon of *dv* to *b*, Shahb *badaśa*, Mans *duvadaśa*, Nıya *badaśa* Also the changes *ñj* > *ñ* and *ny* > *ñ* , Shahb *vamñanato* (Māns probably *vıyamj-*), Shahb *puña*, *hıraña* (Mans *puna* as ın the East)

On the other hand Mans agrees wıth Nıya ın turnıng *tm* ınto *tv* ın *atva* (S *ata*) Most ımportant ıs the treatment of final *-as* of the noın sıng , etc In Shahb ıt predomınantly appears as *-o*, ın Mans

as *-e* The Niya dialect agrees with Mans , e g *tade* and the usual ablative termination *-āde* This *-e* does not, however, appear in the nominative singular because that has been confused with the accusative and both appear as *-a*, but its original presence there is attested by verbal forms like *gademi* < *gato'smi*, etc

In addition there are numerous points in which the Prakrit of Niya is differentiated from both the Kharoṣthi versions of Aśoka Of course, there are the characteristics of a later stage of the language, such as the weakening of internal consonants, but these are of no importance from the point of view of dialectical distinction Points showing parallel different development are —

(1) *r* appears as *ri* (*r*) much more consistently in Niya than in Aśoka In the former *ri* is almost universal, while in the latter the proportion of forms in which the *r* has disappeared is quite large Thus in Aśoka, side by side with forms like *mrige*, *mrugo*, *graha*, *vudhresu*, we find a great number of forms like *kita*, *kata*, *viyapata*, *viyaputa*, *nivutiya*, *usatena*, *bhataka*, *muto*, *vuta*, *edisani*, *paripucha* , in fact the *r* is lost in the majority of forms, with invariable cerebralization of a following dental Also even when the *r* is preserved sometimes we find cerebralization occurring—*viyaprata*, *katra*, *kitra*

(2) A closely related point to the above, the combinations or *r* + dental are better preserved in the dialect of Niya than in Aśoka Cases of assimilation (with or without cerebralization) are the exception in Niya. We find *bhataraga* " master " obviously a loan-word, *parivat* " to exchange ", possibly so, *katavo* besides *kartavo* (Here there is no reason to assume external influence, but the verb *kar-* is subject to irregularities because perhaps of its being used as a kind of auxiliary and weakly stressed) The same reason no doubt accounts for the disappearance of *-r-* in the preposition *ṣadha* " with " (= *sārdham*) But in the vast majority of instances the *r* is preserved, e.g *krti*, *vardhati*, *artha*, *ardha*, *anuvarteyati*

In Aśoka, on the other hand, the assimilation of *r* + a following dental is almost the rule, e g Shahb *anuvatatu* (M *anuvatatu*), *katava*, *anuvatamti*, *nivateti*, etc , *atha*, *nirathiya*, *vadhisati*, *vadheti*, *vaḍhita*, *dradha* Usually, as seen from these examples, cerebralization appears, but not always In Shahb the only example of the preservation of such a combination seems to be *athra* in iv, 10 There are also a few examples where *r* is preserved along with cerebralization of the dental, e g *kitri* and *athra* In Mans , while assimilation is common, we do find more examples of preservation than in Shahb ,

e.g. *niratkriya, athra, vadhrite.* and *vadhrayisati* (these forms are presumably just a way of writing *artha,* etc., cf. Hultzsch, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, i. p. lxxxvii), but even here assimilation is the commoner.

(3) The group *-rṣ-* is preserved in Niya *varsa, darṣida* "packed". It is usually assimilated in Aśoka *vaṣa kasamti, paṣaṃḍa* (also preserved in *praṣaṃḍa* with transposition of the *r*).

(4) *-śc-* appears as *-č-* in Niya. i.e. it is distinguished from *c.* In Aśoka no distinction is made.

(5) *ts* is preserved in Niya. *vatsa, saṃvatsara.* It is assimilated to *-s-* (= *ss*) in Aśoka *cikisa.*

(6) *ṃs* develops into *ṃts* in Niya *samtsāra, nāṃtsa.* The nasal is simply omitted in Aśoka *vihisa* (= *vihiṃsā*) Similarly *ṃś* > *ṃc* in Niya *saṃcaya* (= *saṃśaya*) but Aśoka *saśayika.*

(7) *-ly-* is preserved in Niya e.g. *lalyana.* In Aśoka it is assimilated to *y* (*kayana* Mans.) and *l* (*kalana* Shahb.)

(8) *-lp-* is assimilated in Aśoka *apa, lapa* It is regularly preserved in Niya *alpa śilpiga* artisan

(9) *sr* appears as *sp* in both versions of Aśoka *spagra, spamikena, spasuna* In Niya it becomes *śr śrasa śramti*

(10) In Aśoka *-sm-* of the locative sing becomes *sp.* i.e *-aspi* (through **-asmi*) or alternatively it is assimilated to *-asi, uthaṭasi,* etc. Niya, when it does not use the old *-e,* has invariably *-amme*

Thus dialectically there are considerable differences between the Niya Prakrit and the North-Western versions of Aśoka And the interesting thing is that phonologically the language of Niya presents a pronouncedly more archaic aspect than Aśoka namely in preserving better the consonant combinations such as *-tt- -ddh, -rs- -lp-, -ly- -śc-* Nor is there any reason to think that this is a question of orthography in Niya due to the influence of Sanskrit, because when assimilation did take place there it was usually written e.g. *tt* > *th dhitha,* etc Sanskrit forms do, of course occur throughout the documents but they are sporadic and tend to occur in those parts where the style was slightly more elevated, for instance, in introductory formulæ to letters

Obviously we cannot derive the Niya Prakrit from the language of Aśoka, and the most natural conclusion to draw from the fact that phonetically it is better preserved is that its home is to be sought further to the west. Because it seems clear (then as now) that the more remote a language was in the direction of the North-West the less liable it was to phonetic decay.

II The Later Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions of N W India

The inscriptions later than Aśoka are not very extensive and are spread over a considerable number of centuries Consequently they provide no satisfactory basis for determining the dialect of a particular area at a particular time Nevertheless, they furnish useful points for comparison on the one hand with the earlier Aśokan texts, and on the other hand with the dialect of Niya They more closely resemble the latter than the former, naturally in being further developed (e g in the weakening of internal consonants), but also in most of the points mentioned above

Thus we find that most of the inscriptions agree with Niya in preserving conjunct consonants better than Aśoka, e g *Kartiya*, *anugraharthae*, *Khardaa*, *sardha*, °*vardhia*, *samvardhaka*, etc *rs*, on the other hand, usually appears assimilated in *vasa*, whereas Niya has *varsa*

Likewise (agreeing with Niya) there is no tendency to transpose *r*, as is found in Aśoka *dhrama*, etc We always find *dharma*, °*śarma*, *karma*, etc This is in a way surprising because in the modern languages of the North-West this transposition is general, and it is naturally to connect it with the similar phenomenon in Aśoka and assume that it started very early We do, on the other hand, find examples in this period in the Kharosthi Dhammapada, so that presumably it was current in some areas of the North-West at this time and in others not

Amongst other features may be mentioned the transition of *-ñj-* and *ny* to *ñ*, e g *puña*, *ñati*, the preservation of *ks* (however it or the Niya *c̄h̄* were pronounced) as a separate sound , preservation of the group *st* (medially but not initially according to Konow, p cxi , the state of affairs in Niya seems to be roughly the same, but we do find initial *st-* in *stāsyati* alongside forms like *thavamnae* and *thana*)

st is assimilated to *th* as in all the varieties of the North-Western Prakrit.

Likewise, just as in Niya we find *samtsare*, or perhaps *samtśare* if Konow's contention (*BSOS.*, VI, 405) be right Further, *śr* > *s* in *ṣamana*, *savaa*, *sadha* Cf Niya *masu* < *śmaśru*, *sayati* < *śrayate* (with the sense of " seizes "), *samana*, etc The change was universal in the North-West. The Kharosthi Dhammapada shows it and also a similar treatment of *sr* in *anavasutacitasa* = *anavasruta*°. An intermediate stage is represented by Khar Dh p *viśravatena* = *visravatā* A similar tendency to this latter is manifested also by the Sanskrit of the *Divyāvadana*, e g p 450 *lālāśrotasā*, p 553 *śrastā*. Likewise

in loanwords in Central Asia Saka *ssamana*, Sogd *šmn*, Toch *ṣūmam*, and probably from Central Asia, N Pers. *šaman* "an idolater".

In agreement with the Niya Prakrit *-to-* is assimilated to *-p-* (= *-pp-*) in *sapana* (*sattvānām*), *ekacaparisai* "41", Niya *caparisa* "40" The word *ātman-* is treated in a variety of ways. On the one hand we find it developing to *-tv-* and through that to *-p-*, e g *apanaǵe*, *atvan°*, *atvanasa*, Niya, compare *apane* (139) = *ātmanah* and *apanasya* 201 (*apanasya krtaǵa* "your own deeds"). In other inscriptions we find as in Shahb *ata*

śv usually develops into *śp—viśpasu*, *išparaka* Similarly in Niya *aśpa*, *śpedaǵa* 'white

*-*asmi* of the loc sing usually, as in Niya, appears as *-ami* (*-asi* is doubtful in the list of forms given by Konow, p cxi) There is no trace of the Aśokan *-aspi*.

sv is always preserved in these inscriptions—*svakiya*, *svami*, *svarga* There is no trace, either of the Aśokan tendency to change it into *sp* or of the tendency of the Niya Prakrit to produce *śv*

The weakening of internal consonants has proceeded much along the same lines as in Niya It was customary to indicate this by appending the *r-* sign to a letter, however it may have been pronounced, thus *k(r)* *g(r)* corresponding to Niya *ǵ*, *s(r)* corresponding to Niya *ṣ* There is a similar tendency to use *jh* to express Iranian *z*, e g. *vajheska*, *erjhuna*, *marjhaka* But it is only found once to express the voiced internal *-s-* in *majh[e]* In Niya forms like *divajha*, *dajha*, beside *divaṣa*, *dāṣa*, are commoner

Internal *-j-* appears as *-y-* just as in Niya Also internal *-c-* —*ayaria*, *sahayara* The latter in Niya apparently becomes *ś*, *ǰ* (representing *-ź-*), *praśura* < *pracura*, *vaǰida* < *vācita* "read". The Kharosthi Dh P always has *-y-* here—*śoino* (i e *śoyino*) for *śocinah*, so that the *ś* (*ǰ*) is apparently a peculiarity of the Niya Prakrit

In inflection the evidence is much less extensive than for phonology, owing to the jejune nature of the texts It appears, however, that the process of decay and innovation has not been pushed so far as in the Niya Prakrit For instance, the original forms of the nominative *-e* and *-o* are preserved, whereas in Niya, though there is evidence to show (see above) that the nom sing originally ended in *-e*, it is now confused with the accusative, both ending in *-a* Sten Konow (*Corp. Inscr Ind*, vol ii, p. cxii), after examining the places where *-o* occurs and those where *-e* occurs, comes to the conclusion that *-e* prevailed in the regions west of the Indus, while *-o* is usually to be found in the

districts to the east of it The original home of the Niya Prakrit would therefore on this ground have to be sought in the area west of the Indus.

The locative sing in *-ami* agrees with the Niya dialect as opposed to Aśokan *-aspi, -asi*

A syntactical point found both in these inscriptions and in the Niya documents is the habit of stringing large numbers of nouns together in quasi-compounds

Examples are (from Konow, op cit, p cxv) *mahadanapati Patikasa erghuna Kapasa, maharaja rajatiraja Hoveshasa*, (from Niva) 133 *priya nivasaga Svaneyasa* " to his dear neighbour Svaneya " 575 *maya rajadivira śramamna Dhaṁmapiiyena* By me the royal scribe, the monk Dharmapiiya "

Certain technical words are common to both sets of texts, notably the terms used in giving dates, *ksana* ' time " and *saste* ' day "

On the whole, then it is quite clear that the correspondence is very close, much more than with the Aśokan texts There are very few points, indeed, where they seriously diverge The change *sv* > *śv* is peculiar to Niya, but might easily have developed out of *sv* at a quite late date In inflection the Niya dialect shows quite a number of innovations not found in the other Kharosthi Inscriptions But these, too, indicate merely a more advanced stage of linguistic development rather than actual difference of dialect Such are the confusion of nominative and accusative mentioned above and the development familiar in modern Indo-Aryan of a transitive preterite from the past participle passive, *didem* I gave , *dithesi* ' you saw ", etc

Dividing the dialect of the Indian inscriptions according to the nom sing in *-e* or *-o*, we may class the Niva language as being very closely connected with the *-e* dialect

III

The only literary text in the North-Western Prakrit is the *Kharosthi Manuscript of the Dhammapada* This text shows strong influences of the original dialect from which it was derived, and before evaluating it for dialectical purposes this has to be discounted Examples of this element are —

The treatment of *ks* as *kh* *bhikhu, khano, cakhuma, pratimukhe, puñapekha* The regular dialectical treatment is *ch—chaya, bhichati, vichitam* No distinction is expressed, as in the Niya documents, between *cch* = *ks* and *ch* = *ch* Of interest is *aveha* C[vo] 31 which

= *apekṣa*. The change *ks* > *h* (after a long vowel) is characteristic of Ardha Magadhi Obviously the original text from which this was adapted cannot have been Pali but, if not Ardha Magadhi, at any rate something connected with or influenced by it This points to the existence of versions of the Buddhist scriptures in Prakrit dialects of which no direct trace remains

Further assimilation of *r* is often to be ascribed to the same source *śilavata* B 24, *udaga* B 30, *kaṇa* (= *karṇa*-) B 34, *bhayadaśima* B 32, *abha* (= *abhrāt*) A² 3, *dhama* A³ 4 as opposed to the regular dialect forms *marga* B 6, *daṛśana* C^vo 37, *maṭṛena* B 24, etc

vasa appears with assimilation of *-rs-* in C^vo 18 19, as commonly in the inscriptions of the North-West On the other hand, we find *ṭarsa* C^vo 2 as in Niya In some cases it is not easy to say whether we are dealing with a form borrowed from the original text or the genuine dialect form namely when both forms are found elsewhere in different North-Western documents Thus *vasa*, which occurs twice (see above) we might have thought to be the genuine dialectical form because that appears both in Aśoka and the later Kharosthi inscriptions But at C^vo 2 we find *ṭarsa* as in the Niya documents Similarly we find *apa* for *alpa* *lp* is assimilated as pointed out above in the North-Western versions of Aśoka but preserved in Niya Since we cannot be sure that the assimilation in *apa* of the Khaṭosthi Dhammapada is not due to the original text, we cannot be quite secure in taking it as evidence that this text represents a dialect in which that assimilation had taken place

Other examples that may be mentioned are *suyi* = *śuci*, probably because the adjective *śuci*- existed no longer in the vernacular of the North-West *anasava* (= *anāsrava*-) contrasted with the regular treatment of *sr* in *anaṛasutacitasa* Further may be mentioned numerous inflexional forms which were current when these verses were composed, i e in the early Buddhist period, but later were not used in middle Indian, for instance the ablative in *-a* (= *āt*) *abha* (*abhrāt*), gen sing of stems in *-ant* in *-ato* (by this time everywhere *-antasa*), futures like *uvehisi* C^vo 22, aorists etc , most of which had to be preserved, of course for the sake of the metre

Subtracting these elements the language displays considerable similarity to the dialect of Niya The weakening of internal consonants has proceeded on much the same lines, although the alphabet expresses it much less satisfactorily There is, for instance, no difference between *s* and *ṣ*, *c̄h* and *ch* and this may easily be due to defects of the

alphabet Internal *-g-* appears written as *-k-*, e g *mako*, *śuñakare*, etc This is curious but there is no doubt that it represents what in the Niya documents is expressed as *ǵ*, because just as Niya *ǵ* it tends to be confused with *y* Thus *udaka* is written for *udaya* (B 13, C^vo 18) and *dhoreka* for *dhoreya* C^vo 37 Similarly in Niya *aprameǵo* is written for *aprameya* and *vyaǵa* for *vyaya* The omission of internal consonants which in Niya occurs only in suffixes *-ika*, *-aka*, *-uka* (e g *aǵamduśa*), is somewhat further developed in the Dh P Thus, besides cases of omission in suffixes *daruna* = *dāruka* C^vo 31, *athayo* A^3 4 we have forms like *roa* = *roga*, *bhoha* = *bhoga*, with *-h-* inserted in the hiatus Similarly *-t-* is omitted in *abhai* B 7 = *ābhāti* *phasai* A^3 10 = *spṛśati*, although it is usually preserved , *sati* is written for *sāyam* in C^vo 12, showing that *-t-* was coming to be very lightly, if at all, pronounced

The appearances suggest that the Dh P represents a slightly more advanced stage of development phonetically than do the documents from Niya, and the sporadic omissions of *-g-*, *-t-* etc , probably mean that in the spoken language of the people connected with the manuscript the tendency had become general but the traditional orthography only allows it to appear occasionally in the text From this we would conclude that the manuscript was later than the Niya documents

Further common characteristics are the changes *ny* > *ñ*, *śv* > *śp* and *śr* > *s* , *ms* becomes *mts*, but the *anusvara* is consistently not written in this manuscript, so it appears as *ts*, *satsara* A^2 6, *ahitsai* A^4 8 It was wrongly transliterated *ns* by Senart

A marked characteristic of this text is a tendency to represent *v* by *m*, e g *bhamanai* < *bhāvanāya*, *nama* < *nāvam*, and even *pusavina* for *puspam na* In the Niya Prakrit this occurs regularly in one word—*games* " to seek ' , also *amcēḷita* in the verses quoted from the Dhamma P , No 510 Perhaps *cimara* 149 may be < *cīvara*

A tendency common both to the Niya Prakrit and the Kharosthi Dh P is the voicing of unvoiced stops when preceded by a nasal, and the omission of voiced stops in a similar position This was treated by J Bloch in the article mentioned above, showing that it occurs in modern times all over the North-West Examples are (*a*) *paja* ' 5 ' , *sagapa* < *sankalpa*, etc , (*b*) *huñaru* " elephant ", *udumaru*, etc. In Niya we find (*a*) *upaśamghudavo* = *upaśank-*, *samghaludavo* from *samkalayati* " to collect ', *gamdavo* (so written fourteen times as against *gamtavo* twice) No examples are found in the case *ñc*, *pamca*, etc , being invariably found We cannot be sure how this is to be accounted

for because there is a constant tendency due to the phonetic character of the native language to unvoice voiced stops in Indian words which might possibly mask a change like this Still the fact that *-mj-* never occurs would speak for the change not having taken place in this dialect

(*b*) *gamñavara* ' treasurer " (Iranian **ganǰaβara-*), *chinnatı* " he cuts " < **chindati* which has replaced Skt *chinatti*, *bhinnatı*, *bannanae* ' to bind But forms like *bandhitaga* 660 are not uncommon The development has not taken place in Niya in the case of *nd* (as it has in the Dh P *panito* < *pandita*, etc) We always find *pinda damda*, etc In the case of *-mb-* the only example available is *hastama* quarrel , which is an Iranian word from the base *stamb-* (cf *BSOS*, vii p 788)

On the whole, then, the Kharosthi Dhamma P is much the more consistent in carrying out this change and it may be taken as an indication of dialectical difference

There is a tendency, sporadic but quite common, to change *e* into ī, e g *vinanesu pramodia*, *unito*, *sarıı* This change is not found apparently outside Khotan (see below) The question, therefore, which naturally arises, whether the manuscript was copied in Khotan or imported from India is settled by this point It must have been copied in Khotan perhaps more than once, to account for this specifically Khotanese change

There is one point in which the Dh P differs from the Niya dialect and the later Kharosthi inscriptions, but agrees with Aśoka, and that is a tendency (not universal, but common) to transpose *r* Examples are *drugatı*, *dhumedhino dhugha pravata*

The specific Aśokan change *sv* (and *sm*) > *sp* is not found here, as, indeed, in any other text outside Aśoka

In inflection the most important difference is the treatment of the nominative singular The Kharosthi Dhammapada represents an *-o*-dialect, Niya, as shown above an *-e* dialect Judging from the division of these forms geographically, which is mentioned above, the home of the Dhamma P dialect is to be sought to the east of the Indus

As we have seen at Niya, no distinction is preserved between nominative and accusative This would seem to have been the case at the time the present copy of the Kharosthi Dh.P was made Because, there reigns complete confusion, as seen from the following list of examples —

N. S. m	*-o*	*magana athagıo śetho*
,,	*-u*	*naı kalu pramadasa*
,,	*-a*	*aśoka śoino jana*
Acc S m	*-u*	*so ıtu loku ohaseti*
,,	*-u* and *a*	*dhamu sucarıta cari*
N Acc N	*-o*	*bhayo* C^vo 7
,,	*-u*	*pıanotı paramu sukhu; abhaya namu sa diśa*
,,	*-a*	*apramadu amatapada, pramado mucuno pada*

This state of affairs seems most naturally to be explained by assuming that the people among whom the document was current no longer distinguished the two cases This is in agreement with the conclusion above, that phonetically there were indications of a more advanced stage in the popular speech

Another important distinguishing mark is the locative singular That, as we have seen, is *-aspi* or *-asi* in Aśoka and *-ami* in the later Kharosthi inscriptions and Niya In the Kharosthi Dh P we frequently find a form in *-asa*, e g *uthanaalasa* (cf A² 6, A³ 6. A³ 13, B 30, 38, C^vo 3, 28, 30) The form as it stands is identical with the genitive singular but the syntax in all these passages demands a locative It must therefore represent an original *-asi* How the final *-a* instead of *-i* is to be accounted for is not easy to say We might think of a phonetic process resulting in the confusion of final vowels, but there is no further evidence to support this The only other explanation is that it was due to ignorance of a form *-asi* among the people among whom the text was current Not knowing the form they would easily confuse it with the genitive in *-asa* But how did this occur ? We might assume that original text (in which already one Ardhamagadhi characteristic has been pointed out above) had locatives in *-a(m)si*, and that these were not current in the dialect into which it was translated On the other hand, locatives in *-asi* are attested in the North-West in Aśoka, though not in the later Kharosthi inscriptions and in Niya Since, however, the Dh P shows quite a number of differences from these latter texts, it would not be at all surprising to find the locative in *-asi* in it The difficulty in that case is to account for the confusion with the genitive which there seems no reason to explain from phonetic causes

A further point of comparison is afforded by the indeclinable participle in *-ti*, which as in Niya and Aśoka is in *-ti* *upayıti* C^vo 44, *pramayıti* A² 3, *parivajeti* A² 8.

To sum up, the main differences between the two dialects are not many but striking where they occur We notice in the Dh P. a more pronounced tendency to voice voiceless stops after nasals and omit voiced stops in similar positions, a more pronounced tendency to change *-v-* into *-m-*, the transposition of *r*, the nom sing in *-o*, and possibly the locative singular in *-asi*. In all these the group of later Khaiosthi inscriptions having nom sing in *-e* agrees with Niya rather than with the Dh P In one point, the transposition of *r*, the Dh P recalls Aśoka, possibly also in the locative *-asi* The evidence leads us to seek the original home of the Dh P east of the Indus Its date is, if anything, later than the Niya documents

IV The Dialect of Khotan

One document out of the collection—661—is written in a different script and dialect from the rest It was found at Endere, but since it is dated in the tenth year of Avijida Simha, King of Khotan, we may take it as representing the administrative language of Khotan, just as the Niya documents represent the administrative language of the Shan-Shan kingdom. The date of the document is not settled, even approximately

Since the language looks noticeably different from that of Niya, it will be profitable to analyse the differences in detail.

e and *o* become *ī* and *ū* Kali *saǵaśi* (= *sakāśe*), *uvadayi* (< *uvadaye* < *upādāya*), the optatives *vidiyadi* (Niya *veteyati*), *uthaviyadi*, *cudiyadi*, *dhinadi* "he gives" (Niya *denati*)

o > *ū* in *cudiyadi* (Niya *codeyati*) The same characteristic appears in Khotanese Saka (S Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp 19, 20) It appears in this document in the Iranian title *Hinajha* = στρατηγός (*BSOS*, vii, 514) Its occurrence in the Dh P was mentioned above as indicating Khotanese influence in that document

In the instrumental the *-e* is treated differently, becoming *a*, e g. *mulyana*, *tana* The same appears in the 3rd sing of the causative, *madradi* = *mamtreti* It is not obvious why there is this difference. We might think of it as due to their being terminations and therefore less strongly accented, resulting in a shortening of the *ē* to *ĕ* But the *-e* of the locative singular is treated like the ordinary *e*—*kali*, *saǵaśi*.

Initial *d-* is regularly aspirated, *dh-*, *dhivajha* "day", *dhitu* "gave", *dhaḍu* = *daṃḍam*. It must be due to native Khotanese pronunciation.

Internally the change does not occur in the only example available, *vivadu = vivādam*

Between vowels *-t-* always appears as *-d-*, *haradi*, *kida*, *grahidu*, *uvaǵadu*, *dhinadi*, *syadi*, etc This being the case, we can conclude that since the past participle of *dā-* appears as *dhitu* we are dealing with a double consonant, i e **ditta-*. Niya *dita* therefore is not directly derived from Aryan **dita-*, i e. *dətó*, but another of the numerous new formations that appear in India The form **ditta-* for the North-Western Prakrit is also shown by Torwali *dit* " gave " A single *-t-* would not have been preserved, cf Torw *gā* " went "

The tendency to voice internal *-t-* was, of course, general in the North-West as everywhere In the Niya documents, however, the development is masked on account of a general tendency to confuse voiced and unvoiced sounds The native language of Shan-Shan, as I have shown in *JRAS*, 1935, pp 667 ff, was like Tocharian in being devoid of voiced stops Consequently they confuse them in Indian words The fact, therefore, that a similar confusion does not exist in this inscription is of great interest, because it demonstrates that the native language of Khotan (pre-Saka) was quite different from the probably Tocharian language of Shan-Shan Naturally one document does not enable us to say what it was, but it is satisfactory to be able to fix a boundary to the extension of Tocharian at this time

The group *st* which otherwise is assimilated in all varieties of the North-Western Prakrit is preserved in *asti* " 8 " The final vowel is also surprising, recalling Saka *hasta* (besides *hasta*) On the other hand, we find the usual assimilation of *-str-* in *utah* " camel ".

The group *-sy-* is always preserved in the genitive singular *°simhasya*, etc Of course, this is merely a case of imitating Sanskrit.

In inflection the most important difference is that in this document the distinction between nom and acc is still preserved, whereas in Niya it is quite obliterated The nominative appears either as *-a* or *-ah*, the acc as *-o* or *-u*

Examples of the nom sing are *asti manuśa naǵaraǵa* " There is a man of the city ", *asti mayi utah tanuvaǵah*, *so utah Vaǵiti Vadhaǵasya tanuvaǵah samvritah* " That camel has become the property of V V " Examples of the acc. sing are *so uto vikrinami* " I am selling that camel ", *Vaǵiti Vadhaǵa niravaśiso mulyo masa dhitu* " V V gave the whole price (the construction of *maṣà* in this sentence is not clear), *vivadu uthavyadi* " should stir up a dispute ", *dhaḍu dhinadi* " pays a penalty ".

This being established, the phrase *so utah aphiñanu haradi* is to be translated ' That camel carries *aphiñanu* " and not (as wrongly taken by P S Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 451 and by me, *BSOS*, vii, 515) " Aphiñanu carries away that camel "

Of these two forms of the nom sing *-ah* if it really represents the visarga must be simply a Sanskritism The *-a* is some kind of *e*-sound, as shown by the forms *tana* and *mamdradi* It is to be classed therefore with the *e*-dialects along with Niya What is surprising is that we seem to have here a treatment of the *-ah* of the nominative sing distinct from all other Prakrits Everywhere where it becomes *-e* the *-e* is not distinguished from the ordinary *-e*. of the locative singular for instance Here we have *i* < *e* in the locative and *a* < *ah* in the nom sing It is a pity there is not more information, e g in the form of ablative singulars (Niya *-ade*) on the point The only other form containing an original *-as* is *puradu*, with development in the *o*-direction This, however, is of no significance. because regularly in those dialects which have *-e* in the nom sing *-o* occurs in adverbial forms like these (J Bloch, *BSOS*, vi, pp 291 ff , *L'Indo-Aryen*, p 8)

The change *-am* > *-u* in the accusative singular is interesting In Niya it appears as *-a* as does the nominative, but there are traces, in the pronominal forms, of the change *-am* > *-u*, namely *ahu* I " *amahu tumahu* (< *asmabhyam*, etc) *tuo* " you " < *tuvám*

In *yatha rajadhamu syadi* we apparently have the neuter singular

The document further throws considerable light on the history of the new preterite which the Niya dialect has formed out of the past participle passive They say, for instance, *ditemi*, *diteṣi*, *dita*, *ditama*, *ditetha*, *ditamti* for ' I, you, etc , gave " It is not clear from the Niya language itself what the *-a* in *dita* (3rd sing.) represents The Khotanese document, however, shows that it was originally the neuter singular that was used here We find, for instance, *tasya utasya kida Vaǵiti Vadhaǵa niravaśiso mulyo masa dhitu Khvarnarsasya grahidu* ' For that camel V V gave the whole price and it was received by Khvarnarse " Here we find both the original construction (*Khvarnarsasya grahidu*) and the new one (*dhitu* with the nom sing) side by side

Development in a similar direction is shown by the Niya documents We get —

(1) Constructions with the subject in the instrumental 16 *maya maharayena Peta Avana camkura Arjunaṣa picavida* " By me the great king P A was handed over to the *camkura* Arjuna ".

(2) The nom sing supplants the instrumental in conjunction with the past participle *edaṣa mahuḷi stri Ramaśri umdi gida* " His wife took a woman Ramaśri as an adopted child "

(3) The instrumental is used as a nominative even with the present tense 622 *maharayaputra kala Pumñabalena lihati* " The king's son *kala* Pumñabala writes '

Whether the application of the personal endings to the past participle had taken place in the Khotan dialect as it has in Niya it is not possible to say No example happens to occur in the present text.

The intransitive *samvṛitah* agrees in gender and number with its subject In Niya transitive and intransitive verbs are treated alike

The differences between the two varieties of Prakrit may therefore be classified under the following headings (1) Special developments in Khotan, $e > \bar{\imath}$, $o > \bar{u}$, $d- > dh-$

(2) Special developments in Shan Shan, notably a widespread tendency of unvoicing and confusion of surd and sonant

(3) Differences due to the fact that Prakrit of Khotan is more archaic than the Niya Prakrit They are the preservation of the distinction between nom and acc , and a somewhat less advanced stage in the development of the new preterite from the past participle passive

(4) There remains the possibility of original dialect differences in their Indian sources One document naturally does not provide much to found hypotheses on. There is *asti* " 8 " where there seems to be preservation of *-st-* This is certainly not what we would expect because otherwise that group is assimilated in all varieties of the North-Western Prakrit The final *-i* also is difficult to account for

The possibility must certainly be taken into account that a form like this is due to the influence of Khotanī Saka, which has *hasti* for " eight " When the Sakas came to Khotan is not known, but there is clear Iranian influence in this document The king has an Iranian title *hinajha* (**hīnāza-*) The man whom the document is about has a name which is undeniably Iranian, *Khvarnaise* (= **xvar-narseh*, *BSOS*, VII, 789) So that it is natural to assume that Iranians, presumably Sakas, were already here That being so, Iranian influence seems more probable than actual preservation of *-st-* in the Prakrit Also we get the usual assimilation in *utah*

If we are going to consider the possibility of Saka influence, we might also see it in the nom sing. An *ā* is otherwise unknown in Middle

Indian, but we do get a similar modified *a* in Saka in the nom. sing. *gyasta*, etc Since there is no trace of such a form inside India, from which the language must have been imported, and since everywhere the *-e* < *ah* of the nom sing is not distinguished from original *e*, there is hardly any possibility left except that it was invented in Khotan. Similarly *tana* = Saka *ttana* *mudradi* = Sak *dyāñata*, etc. The accusative, too, in Saka is *-u*, *gyastu* etc , just as here

If we assume that these things are due to the influence of Saka, then there remains no difference between the two dialects which need to be attributed to their Indian source. Basically they are the same language and the fact that they look so different is due almost entirely to recent developments in their Central Asian environment. The Niya dialect, as we have seen, coincides pretty closely to that part of the Kharosthi inscriptions of N W India, which have the nom in *-e* These for the main part are concentrated in that area to the west of the Indus round Peshawar, which was the centre of the Kushan dominions It is this official language, then (as one would have expected for historical reasons), which has been transplanted to Khotan and Shan-Shan, taking on a slightly different form in each

Most of the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect reappear in the modern Dardic languages A few of the phonetic developments are particular to Torwali, namely —

(1) *sv* > *śv*, Niya *śvasu*, Torwali *šū* In the closely related Garwi *išpo*, as once in Niya, *priyaśpasuae.* On the other hand, Ṣina has *sū* with the *s* preserved

(2) *śv* > *śp* Niya *aśpa*, *śpeta*, Torwali *pais* < (*ś*)*paṣū* < *śvaśrū* This change is also found in Ṣina, *ăšpo* but not apparently in Kaśmiri, *chyaṭᵘ* ' white "

(3) *sm* > *m* Niya *amahu*, and locatives in *-ammi*, Torwali *mō* " we " < (*a*)*mahu* On the other hand both Ṣina and Kaśmiri show a change to *s* (as in Aśoka to some extent and the Kharosthi Dh.P), Kś *asᵘ* " we ' , Ṣ *aseı* ' ower ".

These are the most important points establishing close relationship. Other forms of interest are Torw *bıž*, Niya *bhıja* " seed " (with unexplained *bh*-) Usually in the North-Western Prakrit *-j-* became *-y-*, *maharaya* The *-j-* in this form is probably to be explained by gemination *bīja* > *bīya* > *biyya* >, *bjja* > *bhija* > Torw *bıž.*

Similar is the case of Niya *ija* " here ". Skt *iha* > Aśokan *ia* > *iya* > *iyya* (with additional emphasis natural in such a word) > *ijja* > *ija*

In Niya Skt *dv* is treated differently according as to whether it was originally *dv* or *duv-* Thus *dvara* but *biti*. Similarly Torwali has *bī* "second", *der* "door" (though the latter looks as if it may be Persian) On the other hand, they disagree in the word for "12": Niya *badaśa*, Torw *dvāš*

One point which appears in Torwali but not apparently in Niya (as mentioned above) is the transposition of *r* Torw *ǰīk* "high" < **drīgha* < *dirgha-*, *ǰūbal* "thin" > **dṛubala* > *durbala*

Further there is no trace in any of the Dardic languages of the *-t-* which develops between *ms* in *māmtsa*, etc Torw *māš*, Şina *mos*.

It might be going too far to say that Torwali is the direct lineal descendant of the Niya Prakrit, but there is no doubt that out of all the modern languages it shows the closest resemblance to it A glance at the map in the *Linguistic Survey of India* shows that the area at present covered by "Kohistani" is the nearest to that area round Peshawar, where, as stated above, there is most reason to believe was the original home of the Niya Prakrit. That conclusion, which was reached for other reasons, is thus confirmed by the distribution of the modern dialects.

On the Alphabetic Notation of Certain Phonetic Features of Malayalam

By Raymond T Butlin

To search for "unity" and 'system" at the expense of truth is not, I take it, the proper business of philosophy, however universally it may have been the practice of philosophers —G E Moore

IT is proposed here to offer some considerations on the representation of certain Malayalam[1] sounds It is not the purpose of these notes to present a detailed laboratory account of the acoustic and physiological phenomena to be symbolized, but while characterizing these phenomena sufficiently for the reader to appreciate their general nature, rather to consider certain specific phonetic circumstances of their occurrence and the significance of these in the elaboration of a notational system

[A brief indication is here given of the sound-values which the reader should attach to the symbols hereafter employed in order to enable him to make some verbal response to the visual forms, and in the case of those familiar with the language, to assist in the identification of the words

Vowels and Diphthongs —The precise value to be given to the vowels and diphthongs is irrelevant to the present discussion Twelve symbols will be used, viz **a, aa, e, ee, ɪ, ɪɪ, o, oo, u, uu, ə, aɪ** (A symbol is not a letter **aa** and **a** are two distinct symbols) It will be found sufficient for the present purpose to read these symbols in accordance with international phonetic usage, length being represented by double letters

Consonants —The reader will find it sufficient to attach to the following symbols the values described in J R Firth's 'Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation"[2] **p, pp, t, tt, ʈ, ʈʈ, c, cc, j, k, kk, m, mm, ɳ, ɳɳ, n, nn, ŋ, ŋŋ, l, ll, ɭ, ɭɭ, v, vv, y, yy** Those who are unfamiliar with this work may, without prejudice to the main considerations of this article, interpret these symbols, together with **b, ʈh, g, jj, s, ç, ʃ,** and **h,** in accordance with international phonetic usage, subject to the following modifications **c, cc, j, jj** are palato-alveolar affricates, **ç** is used for the

[1] Our informants were Travancore Brahmins

[2] Appendix to Arden's *Grammar of Common Tamil* (new and revised edition), published by the Christian Literature Society of India, 1934

International Phonetic Association ʂ, ʃ is retroflex, y has its English value in *yes*.

The following symbols require special explanation: t̪t̪, n, nn, n̪, n̪n̪, ŋ̪ŋ̪, r, r. ɽ. k̟k̟.

t̪t̪. The primary articulation of the sound represented is alveolar and tense, with slight secondary palatalization

n, nn. To be read respectively as short and long nasals with primary dental articulation and slight secondary velarization

n̪, n̪n̪. Short and long nasals respectively with primary alveolar articulation and slight secondary palatalization

ŋ̪ŋ̪. Pre-velar articulation, intermediate between n̪ and ŋ.

r. A short alveolar trill with slight secondary velarization

r̪. A denti-alveolar or dental trill with secondary palatalization

ɽ. The symbol should be given the value assigned by Firth (v s) to ɹ. A retroflex frictionless continuant

k̟k̟. Should be interpreted as a tense voiceless palatal plosive]

Our observations are based upon an examination on the phonetic level, of the circumstances in which certain sounds occur in a number of selected Malayalam words These sounds will as a result of our analysis, be symbolized by (t, tt, t̪t̪, ʈ, ʈʈ), (m, mm, n, nn, n̪, n̪n̪, ɲ, ɲɲ, ŋ̪ŋ̪. ŋ, ŋŋ), (l, ll, ɭ, ɭɭ), (r, r, ɽ), (k, kk, k̟k̟). Both from the point of view of orderliness of exposition and of typographical convenience we shall find it advantageous to treat the material in groups, as indicated above by the use of brackets It should be stated that this methodological device has been so chosen as in no way to affect our conclusions

We shall examine in detail the alternances occurring within these groups in initial intervocalic, medial, and final positions The material will not, however be presented in this schematic order but in diminishing sequence from the series presenting the maximum, to that presenting the minimum number of alternative terms [1]

In certain cases it has been possible to establish a complete series on the basis of a single term alternance in complete words Such series are prefixed with an asterisk

Important as such cases are, it would, however, be impossible to devise an adequate notational system exclusively on the basis of entire words since, of the theoretically possible number of single-term alternances in complete words, only comparatively few are actual No doubt further investigation will reveal such series which the writer has not yet had the good fortune to discover. Neverthe-

[1] *The expression "alternative phonetic terms" is used by J R Firth in The Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds* (English Studies, 1935)

less, it is certain that no amount of research would reveal single-term alternances in all the contexts chosen for the present purpose.

In the majority of cases, therefore, it has been necessary to employ words exhibiting multiple alternance, by extracting from them appropriate isolates[1] in the form of particular phonetic sequences exhibiting single-term alternance The specificity of the isolates selected for the present purpose is such as to enable us to devise a notation making the fullest use, compatible with unambiguity and practical convenience, of contextual conventions involving contiguous terms By increasing the degree of specificity, such contextual conventions could be considerably reduced

TABLE A

SERIES I INTERVOCALIC

t		tt		tt		t		tt	
*patı	husband	*pattı	hood of snake	*pattı	glued	*paṭı	a step	*paṭṭı	dog
*kutı	a jump	*kuttı	stabbed	*kuttı	tent-peg	*kuṭı	a drink	*kuṭṭı	boy
koti	greed	kottı	stung			koṭı	flag	koṭṭı	struck
paata	path			paatta	cockroach	paaṭa	scum		
						koṭa	umbrella	koṭṭa	basket

SERIES II MEDIALLY, PRECEDED BY HOMORGANIC NASAL

t		tt		t	
pantə	ball	tantte	one s	kaɳṭu	saw
nıntuka	to swim	makantte	son's	nıɳṭu	became long
		entte	my		

SERIES III MEDIAL GROUPS (OTHER THAN THOSE INCLUDED IN SERIES II AND IV)

t		t	
vaastavam	truth	kaʃṭam	troublesome
paɲtı	column	ʃaʃtıpuurttı	60th birthday

[1] The term has been adopted from Professor H Levy

SERIES IV MEDIALLY, WITH r OR y

tt

raattri	night
varttamaanam	news
sattyam	truth
marttyan	man

SERIES V INITIAL (INCLUDING INITIAL GROUPS)

t

tanta	father
tekke	south
tiirccа	decision
tuṭal	a chain
tyaagam	a sacrifice
tyajikkuka	to discard
stanam	breast

It will be seen that in Table A the series exhibiting the maximum alternance occurs intervocalically and contains five terms, while medially with preceding homorganic nasal we have a three term series in other medial groups a series of two terms and a single term initially and in medial groups with r or y

It is evident that the number of symbols necessary and adequate for the representation of a series of alternative terms is in direct proportion to the number of such terms The maximum number of symbols will be required in the series exhibiting the maximum alternance the minimum in the minimum series

Now it is important to realize that no useful purpose whatsoever can be served by seeking a chimerical unity between a term in a major series and one in a minor series or even between the terms of two different series containing an equal number of terms since to do so is to leave out of account the relevant context of their occurrence and so to invalidate any conclusion

Strictly speaking each term might be distinctively symbolized but for the practical purposes of notation it is desirable to practise some measure of symbol economy This may best be effected if the choice of symbols in a minor series be determined by an empirical comparison of the sounds in question to similar sounds in a major series (subject however to a provision to be explained subsequently)

TABLE B

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

m	mm	n	n	nn	ɳ	ɳɳ	ɲɲ	ŋŋ	ŋŋ
aama tortoise	umma kiss	raaaai (place name)	gaanam song	kannı mouth	maɳı bell, clock	aliŋŋaɳɳi crocodile	paɲɲa rotten	naaraŋŋa lemon	maaŋŋa mango
kaamuko areca palm	ammaaɲ cobbler	pookuuna is going	aɲumaanam a guess	paaaaaso rotten	puɳam money	kaɳɳa eye	kuɲɲa infant	mattaŋŋa pumpkin	moogguka to moan
roomam hair	tammil between us	eeaau went	muuiŋŋi shone	puuai a plait	reeɳu dust	kaɳɳaaţi glass	tikaɲɲu became full	ciŋŋam name of a month	viŋŋi sobbed
		uuniruuuu waited	ituo for the		puɳam corpse	maɳɳo soil	paaɲɲuul earthworm		

SERIES II MEDIALLY, FOLLOWING HOMORGANIC STOP

m	n	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ
kampo stick	**canta** market	**tante** one's	**raɳţo** two	**aɲjanam** lampblack	**maŋka** virgin
kampı wire	**cantam** a sight, e g in "What a sight"	**ente** my	**puɳţam** a burnt offering	**maɲcal** litter	**aŋkam** organ (of body)
tuumpa spade	**javantı** kind of flower	**avante** his	**kaɳţham** neck	**ıɲci** ginger	**saŋgatı** news
	pantə ball		**paɳţə** once		**paŋkə** a share

Thus tt is used in medial consonant groups in the foregoing examples on the ground that empirical observation shows the sound to be almost identical with that symbolized by tt in the intervocalic series

Absence of approximate acoustic identity does not necessarily preclude the use of identical symbols for two terms in different series. Thus, although there is a difference of tensity and voicing between the terms of the initial and intervocalic series symbolized by t, no ambiguity can arise if the appropriate convention be adopted It would, nevertheless, have been equally legitimate to employ a distinctive symbol, say ð, for the term in the intervocalic series, and such a proceeding might, for certain pedagogical purposes, be advantageous Since, however, Malayalam is a written language, and that in the orthography both terms are represented by identical symbols, for general purposes it is perhaps more convenient, without implying any relationship, to use similar symbols in both cases.

SERIES III. OTHER MEDIAL GROUPS (EXCLUDING THOSE IN SERIES IV)

m	n	ŋ
samsaarikkuka to talk	**aŋŋan** stranger **tinmaan** for eating	**paŋti** column

SERIES IV. INITIAL

m	n	ɲ
maattuka to move	**naaraŋŋa** lemon	**ɲaaɲ** I
maram tree	**ninnu** stood	**ɲaŋŋal** we
mula bamboo	**niinti** swam	**ɲoti** moment

SERIES V. MEDIALLY, AFTER r OR ɽ

mm	nn
nirmmikkuka to appoint	**tirnnu** finished **taaɽnna** lower

SERIES VI. FINAL

m	n
maɳam smell	payyan boy
ıkkaalam thıs tıme	veeṭan hunter
addeeham he	cemmaan cobbler

SERIES VII. INITIAL GROUP

n
nyaayam justice

The nasal group presents a maximum series of ten terms intervocalically. The series with following homorganic stop presents six terms It will be observed that for the second, fifth, and sixth terms of this series, symbols have been employed which do not occur in the notation of the maximum series, viz n, ɲ, ŋ.

Now, although the sounds thus symbolized do not occur intervocalically, it would be possible, by establishing a contextual convention as to length, to employ either nn, ɲɲ, ŋŋ, or n, ɲ, ŋ in both series. Such simplification nevertheless appears unnecessarily

TABLE C

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

l	ll	ḷ	ḷḷ
palaka plank	pallakkə a litter	kaḷa weed	veḷḷam water
baalika girl	allı bud	kaḍaḷı kınd of banana	paḷḷı church
mula breast	mulla kınd of plant	muḷa bamboo	muḷḷə thorn

SERIES II. FINAL

l	ḷ
pakal daytıme	avaḷ she
mayıl peacock	kavıḷ cheek
vaçaal perhaps	aaḷukaḷ persons

SERIES III. INITIAL

1

laaṭam horseshoe
ookam world
lejja shyness

SERIES IV. MEDIAL GROUPS

1

taalppaṛyam meaning
kalppam kind of tree

schematic and is of no practical convenience. It is gratuitous to assume that in all cases contextual conventions are necessarily preferable to additional symbols.

Similar arguments have been advanced for the use of either h or ŋ for both h initially and ŋ finally in English. It is interesting to note that by applying the method here described, such fruitless discussions are avoided The intervocalic series in English contains both h and ŋ, while the initial (a minor series) contains h but not ŋ, and the final (also a minor series) contains ŋ but not h. Reference to the intervocalic (major) series will suggest the use of h for a similar sound in the initial series, while reference to the same series will suggest the use of ŋ for a similar sound in the final series.

Tables C and D are presented without comment, since they involve no new problem.

TABLE D

SERIES I INTERVOCALIC

r	ṛ	ṭ
*kara sap	*kara coast	*kaṭa punt-pole
kiiri tore	kuṛi mongoose	kiṭi bundle
coorə cooked rice	cooṛa blood	kooṭi fowl
	puṛa thatched hut	puṭa a stream
mara screen		maṭa rain

SERIES II. MEDIAL GROUPS

r	ṛ	ṟ
ıırcca uneasıness	**suuryan** sun	**covvaaṟcca** Tuesday
yaattra journey	**kaaryam** fact	
tarkkam dispute	**vıiṛyam** bravery	**taaṟnna** lower

SERIES III. INITIAL

r	ṛ
raantal lantern	**raattri** nıght
raaṇi queen	**rucı** sense of taste
ravukka cotton or sılk jacket (women's)	**roomam** hair

SERIES IV. FINAL

r

payar peas
kayar rope
malabaar Malabar

SERIES V. INITIAL GROUPS

r

kramam gradual
çramiccu trıed

There remaın the velar and palatal unaspırated plosıve alternances (Table E). It should be notıced that previous wrıters have failed to observe the alternance value of the third term of the ıntervocalıc serıes, Aıyyar,[1] for ınstance, treatıng such cases as variants of **kk** " ın assocıatıon wıth palaṭal vowels ". The following examples leave no doubt that **kk** ıs a discrete term.

[1] L. Vishwanātha Rāmaswāmı Aıyyar, *A Brıef Account of Malayalam Phonetıcs.*

TABLE E

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

k	kk	ḳ̣
akam inside	**akkam** a numeral	
pookə go (imper.)	**pookkə** gait	
makaɭ daughter	**makkaɭ** children	
	kaakkuka to guard	**kaakḳ̣uka** to ripen
	aṛakkə sealing wax	**arakḳ̣ə** grind (imper.)
	arakkuka to saw	**araḳ̣ḳ̣uka** to disguise
	avaṇ vikkaaṇ he is going	**avan vikḳ̣aaṇ** he is going
	pookunnu to stammer	**pookunnu** to sell

SERIES II. INITIAL (INCLUDING INITIAL GROUPS)

k

kaṛam	tax
kaṛiŋŋaali	name of tree
kiiri	mongoose
kramam	gradual

SERIES III. MEDIALLY, PRECEDED BY HOMORGANIC NASAL

k

maŋka	virgin
vaŋkaṇ	fool
paŋkajam	lotus

SERIES IV. OTHER MEDIAL GROUPS

kk

tarkkam	dispute
markkaʈam	monkey
karkkaʈakam	name of a month

CONCLUSION

Avoiding that crude hypostatization of the visual symbol which vitiates so much contemporary research, it has been possible, by a methodical examination of certain sounds in their relevant contexts, to establish a systematic, unambiguous and manageable notation

Although not an end in itself, a notation is an indispensable instrument both in broader linguistic studies, whether descriptive or historical, and in pedagogical practice.

In itself a notation cannot be said to constitute a phonetic analysis of a language, nor can any mere enumeration of the symbols employed, however precise the accompanying definitions of their acoustic values, possibly be accounted as such A true phonetic analysis is provided only by a systematic presentation of the material investigated on the basis of alternances established in specific contexts, together with precise definitions of the acoustic and physiological characteristics of the sounds symbolized

Analyses of this type are particularly valuable both to the linguistic historian and to those engaged in the practical teaching of languages To the former the historical study of phonetic phenomena in specific contexts can alone be profitable Attempts to investigate data divorced from the relevant context have repeatedly led, and must inevitably lead, to bewildering confusion.

The value of systematic phonetic analysis in linguistic pedagogy needs no emphasis The establishment of alternance tables such as those presented above is the first task of those who seek to give a truly linguistic basis to their practical phonetic teaching, since only by a consideration of the particular circumstances in which varying degrees of phonetic differentiation occur in the foreign language and in the mother tongue, is it possible to bring order and proportion into what is otherwise so apt to degenerate into a meaningless travesty of pedagogical method.

Śakadhūma

By †Jarl Charpentier

LITERATURE · Weber, *Omina und Portenta* (1858), p. 363; *Naxatra*, ii (1861), pp. 272, n, 393; *Ind Studien*, v, 257, x, 65, Haug, *Sitzber. Bayer. Akad Wiss.*, 1875, ii, 506; Zimmer, *Alt. Leben*, p 353; Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, iii, 187; Bloomfield, *JAOS*, xiii, p. cxxxiv sqq, *AJPh.*, vii, 484 sqq.; *Atharva Veda*, p 81, *SBE.*, xlii, 532 sqq.; Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-Veda*, pp 377 sq., Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, pp. 68 sqq; Oldenberg, *RV-Noten*, i, 160; Caland, *Alt. Zauberritual*, pp 16, n 13, 175, n. 8; Papesso, *Inni dell' Atharva-Veda*, p 127, n.

The not unknown hymn *AV*, vi, 128,[1] runs as follows:—

śakadhūmaṃ naksatrāṇi yad rājānam akurvata |
bhadrāham asmai prāyacchan idam vāstram asādhi || 1 ||
bhadrāham no madhyandine bhadrāhaṃ sāyam astu nah |
bhadrāhaṃ no ahnām prātā rātrī bhadrāham astu nah || 2 ||
ahorātrābhyāṃ nakṣatrebhyah sūryācandramāsābhyām |
bhadrāhaṃ asmabhyam rājyam chakadhūma tvam kṛdhi || 3 ||
yo no bhadrāham akarah sāyam naktam atho divā |
tasmai te naksatrarāja śakadhūma sadā namah || 4 ||

"When the constellations made *Śakadhūma* their king they bestowed upon him auspicious time 'this shall be his realm.'[2] (1).

"Auspicious time for us at noon, auspicious time be ours at evening-tide, auspicious time for us at the dawn of the days, auspicious time may night be to us (2)

"During day-and-night, during (the time of) the constellations, during (the time of) sun and moon do thou, O king *Śakadhūma*, make auspicious time for us[3] (3)

[1] The verses 1–2 and 4 are found in the *Paippalāda* xix, with rather strong differences in vv 1–2, these *variæ lectiones* are, however, not important (except perhaps in v 1*d* *tato rāstram ajāyata* instead of *idaṃ rāstram asād iti* of the Vulgate)

[2] Better perhaps *Ppp* *tato rāstram ajāyata* "thus did his rule originate"

[3] This verse is partly metrically irregular and is not found in the *Ppp*, it may perhaps be a later interpolation But quite apart from that, Whitney's translation ("from day-and-night", etc) is unintelligible to me There is, of course, not the slightest doubt that *ahorātrābhyām* may mean "during day-and-night" (cf Delbruck, *Alt Syntax*, p. 130, Speyer, *Ved u Skt Syntax*, p 13), though there may seem to exist some difficulty concerning the other two words However, I can see little difference between, e g, *naksatrebhyah* and *naksatresu* in a connection like this one. "The time of the constellations" would probably be = *sāyam*, the very beginning of the night when the stars first become visible

"Thou who hast made auspicious time for us at evening-tide, by night and then by day—hail always to thee, O *Śakadhūma*, king of the constellations" (4)

The passages of the *Kauśikasūtra* where this hymn is mentioned, and where consequently the word *śakadhūma* again occurs have been indicated and discussed by Whitney and Bloomfield and need not be quoted here It is also found in the compound *śakadhūmaja-* in *AV.*, viii, 6, 15 —

yesām paścāt prapadāni purah pārsnīh puro mukhā |
khalajāh śakadhūmajā urundā ye ca matmatāh kumbhamuskā ayāśavah |
tān asyā brahmanaspate pratībodhena[1] *nāśaya ||*

In this verse, to which we shall not return in the following, the sense of *śakadhūma-* is quite clear. It simply means "dung-smoke"; and it is a well-known belief that evil spirits sometimes have their favourite abode in dung-hills

The word *śakadhūma-* does not seem to occur otherwhere except in Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramanī*, p 11, there it is simply an explanation of the *śakamayo dhūmah*, which occurs in the *brahmodya*, *RV*, i, 164, 43 (= *AV*, ix, 10, 25) .—

śakamáyam dhūmám ārād apaśyam visūvátā pará enávareṇa |
uksānam pṛśnim apacanta vīrās tāni dhármāṇi prathamány āsan ||

The formal translation of this verse is not a difficult one, with the exception of the words *visūvátā pará enávarena*[2] Anyhow, the sense must be something like this "From far off I beheld the smoke of dung in the middle room (or on the middlemost day) further off from this lower one, men cooked a speckled bull—these were the first settlements"[3] Whatever the sense is—and we shall revert to that presently—there can be no doubt whatsoever that *śakamayo*

[1] *pratībodhena*, although approved of by the dictionaries, can scarcely be quite correct Perhaps *pratībādhena*, which has undoubtedly been suggested by some scholar, may help us (other suggestions are rather too far off)

[2] Henry, *MSL*, ix, 247, translates "entre ciel et terre", which is scarcely possible Geldner, *Rigveda*, i, 212, has "in der Mitte jenseits dieses unteren (Raumes)," which is formally quite acceptable though the sense remains somewhat obscure Grassmann, *Wb*, 1308 supplies *agninā* and seems to think that we should translate "by the middle (fire)" which is out of the question Ludwig, *RV*, ii, 583, is, as usual, extremely obscure

[3] The words *tāni dharmāni prathamāni āsan*, which recur in i, 164, 50 (= x, 90, 16), must mean something like this; *dharmāni*, according to my humble opinion, does not here mean "laws" or "customs".

dhūmah is here = *śakadhūmah*, and that, consequently, it means some sort of star or constellation We have here a piece of old celestial lore,[1] and we shall presently try to find out whether the real sense of the verse can by any means be got at.

Great authorities have judged quite differently concerning the real sense of the word *śakadhūma* Thus Weber, *Omina und Portenta*, p 363, believed it to mean the fire lit before the break of the dawn while the stars are still visible, by the rising and falling of its smoke it would prognosticate the weather of the day to come To Weber this *śakadhūma* appeared anyhow to be identical with the *śakamayo dhūmah* of the *RV*, i, 164, 43 Haug, however, pointed out that this passage does undoubtedly speak of the sacrifice of a bull, and that the sacrificial fire is fed by wood and not by cow-dung [2] Caland again,[3] thinks that *śakadhūma* is originally a lump of cow-dung, which contains the smoke within itself, and in *AV*, vi, 128, where he is called the "king of the constellations" the *śakadhūma* is in reality Agni in his aspect of the moon, the *adhipati* of the *naksatras*.[4]

Henry [5] believes that *uksā pṛśnih* can mean nothing but a storm-cloud, and that *RV*, i, 164, 43, describes the preparation of the breaking of a thunderstorm This, although rather eccentric, tallies fairly well with the explanation of Sāyana, which is, however, not decisive, although an authority like Geldner describes it as possible [6]

Already Roth was of the opinion that *śakadhūma* must needs mean a constellation, though I cannot find that he especially pointed at the Milky Way. A similar opinion has been more or less vividly endorsed by Whitney, by Ludwig, by Zimmer, by Oldenberg, and by Macdonell and Keith [7] Most of these authorities speak of no special asterism though there are hints that the name would perhaps most probably designate that giant cluster of solar systems called the Milky Way. Of that suggestion we shall have to say a few words presently.

Finally we have to mention the opinion of Bloomfield, which stands

[1] Cf Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten*, i, 160

[2] The reasoning of Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iv, 456, concerning this detail appears to be rather a casuistic one

[3] *Zauberritual*, p 16, n 13, p 175, n 8

[4] Cf. *AV.*, v, 24, 10, vi, 86, 2, *TS.*, iii, 4, 5, 1 (= Pāraskara, i, 5); *PBr.* 5, 9.

[5] *MSL.*, ix, 247 (cf *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, pp 68 sqq)

[6] Geldner himself would not like to decide whether *śakadhūma* does really mean a constellation, dung-smoke or (according to Bloomfield) a weather-prophet

[7] *Vedic Index*, ii, 346

all by itself[1] His case may be shortly stated as follows. Dārila, in commenting upon the *paribhāsāsūtra Kauś* 8, 17 · *pramandośīra-śalalyupadhānaśakadhūmā jarantah* "(when in the following are mentioned) the plants *pramanda* and *uśīra*, a porcupine's bristle,[2] a pillow, and a *śakadhūma*, they are old ones", interprets *śakadhūma* by *brāhmana* This, of course, is entirely without value as it seems absolutely clear that *śakadhūma* means simply a smoking lump of dung (*śakṛtpinda*), and such a one must be old, i.e. dry. Just as valueless is the *Atharvanīya-paddhati* on *Kauś* 76, 19–20, where it is said that at the wedding four *śakadhūmāh* recite the *sūryapātha*, as it seems perfectly clear that the author had not the slightest idea what is meant by *śakadhūma* Finally, in *Kauś* 50, 13–16, a ceremony for prognosticating fair weather is prescribed, in which lumps of dung—not burning ones, though—are placed on the limbs of an old Brahmin who seems to be styled *śakadhūma*[3] Summing up these passages Bloomfield concluded that *śakadhūma* could mean nothing but "weather-prophet", a suggestion that has met with but scant applause In spite of Bloomfield's undoubted authority in Atharvavedicis there is not the slightest reason to assume that an earthly weather-prophet should be styled *rājā naksatrānām* as is the case in VI, 128, 1, 4, and thus the whole suggestion seems to me to fall flat

Śaka-dhūma- "dung-smoke" is a compound, the first part of which consists of *śaka(n)-*, the heteroclitic stem interchanging with *śakṛt*[4] According to Wackernagel, *Ai Gramm.*, II, 1, 56, older

[1] The passages in which Bloomfield has dealt with *śakadhūma* have already been quoted above

[2] Why Bloomfield translates *śalalī* by "a boar's bristle" is not clear to me, the *śalalī* being well known from the *sīmantonnayana*

[3] This may be deduced from 50, 16, but is by no means quite clear

[4] The etymology of *śakṛt, śakan-* now generally accepted seems to be the one connecting it with *κόπρος* "dung, manure, filth", and which is of rather recent date (cf Bartholomæ, *BB*, XV, 41, Fick, *Vergl Wb*,[4] I, 421, Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p 353) Let me admit at once that this etymology appears to me entirely inadmissible. The correct etymology of *κόπρος* is found already in Pott, *Et Forsch*,[1] II, 205 sq, Benfey, *Griech Wurzellex*, I, 269, etc, the word belongs to *καπνός* "smoke, fume", *καπόω* "to breathe forth", *ἐγκάπτει ἐκπνεῖ* Hes, lit *kvāpas* "fume, odour", *kvepiù, kvēpti* "to breathe forth, to smoke", Slav *kopŭ* "fume", etc Lat *vapor* does not belong here, but to ONorse *vafr-logi* "a magic wall of flames surrounding Asgard", *váfuðr*, name of the wind, *váfa* "to totter, to shake", Germ *wabern*, cf. Danielsson, *Gramm anmarkningar*, I, 16, n 2, Johansson, *Goett gel Anz*, 1890, pp 767 sq, *BB*, XVIII, 31 Armen *k'ami* "wind" (Lidén, *Armen Stud*, pp 124 sq) scarcely belongs here. The undoubted relationship between Lat *fūmus* and *fimus* well illustrates the connection between *καπνός* and *κόπρος*

compounds such as *śaka-pūta-* [1] N pr , *śaka-piṇḍa-* " lump of dung ", *VS* , *śakaṛdha-* " dung-fire " have only *śaka(n)-* as their first member, while later ones, from the times of the sūtras on (cf Pāṇini, iii, 2, 24), have *śakṛt°*, cf , e g , *śakṛt-pinda-* (Āpastamba), *śakṛd-rīti-* " dung-flow " (Hiranyakeśin, *Gṛhyasūtra*, i, 16, 9, according to Caland, *ZDMG* , lm, 214) The parallel *yakṛt*, *yaka(n)-* " liver ", appears only in compounds of a quite late date with *yakṛt°* as their first member, such as *yakṛl-loma(n)-* N pr. of a people (*MBh*).[2] Greek compounds with *ἡπατο-* as their first member (e g *ἡπατο-σκοπέω*, etc) are of very late date and furnish us with no allusion to the original status of compounds formed from heteroclitica like *yakṛt* and *śakṛt* The Latin stems *jecur-*, *jecin(or)-* also carry us no further as far as composition is concerned.

There can thus be no doubt at all concerning either the formation or the meaning of *śakadhūma* Its original sense is " dung-smoke ", " smoke of burning (lumps of) dung " This, however, will not do for *AV* , vi, 128, where *śakadhūma* is styled " king of the constellations ". To find out its sense in this passage we must return to the suggestions of older authorities, viz. that *śakadhūma* is the name of a constellation The question is only this, whether we can find out what special constellation was called in Vedic times " dung-smoke ".

There have been put forth mild suggestions that the celestial phenomenon called *śakadhūma* should in reality be the Milky Way. Amongst the many different interpretations by which various people—Greeks, Hindus, Chinese, Negroes, Indians, etc —have tried to solve the riddle of this most prominent ornament of the nocturnal sky there is scarcely even an allusion to its being a column of smoke [3] Generally the Milky Way is believed to be a path or an enormous river stretching right across the heavens ; however, even if there be also a great number

[1] This *Śakapūta* is met with in the *RV* , x, 132, 5 *asmin sv èṭác chákapūta éno hité mitré nígatān hanti vīrān*, within a hymn which is more or less entirely obscure (cf Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iv, 123 sq , Oldenberg, *RV -Noten*, ii, 349 sq). There is, however, no doubt at all that this is the *Śakapūta* spoken of in *Jaim Br* , i, 171 (Caland, *Verhandel Akad Amsterdam Afd Letterkunde*, xix, 4 (1919), 66 sq), and that with the help of this passage the hymn may be partly reconstructed, though no such attempt can, of course, be made here

[2] What Brugmann, *Grundriss*,[2] ii, 1, 581, says concerning these compounds is incomplete and insufficient

[3] In the *Symbolæ philologicæ O A Danielsson dicatæ* (Uppsala, 1932), pp 13–42 I have collected somewhat ample materials concerning the lore of the Milky Way amongst various peoples This collection was meant to illuminate the puzzling Homeric expression (*ἐν*) *νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ*, which is probably itself an old poetic name of the Milky Way

of other ideas attached to it the one of its consisting of smoke is either entirely unknown or, at least, confined to some very remote and isolated parts of the earth [1] It may be taken for absolutely granted that it is not known within India

There is, however, a constellation which might perhaps quite well be called the "king of the *naksatras*", viz the *kṛttikāh*, the Pleiades It is quite irrelevant at what time the *kṛttikāh* became the constellation of the vernal equinox, whether at 2500–2300 B C or perhaps some centuries earlier or later [2] For our present purpose it is quite sufficient that during Vedic times in general the *Kṛttikāh* are considered to be the first among the constellations of the old lunar zodiac and might thus well be looked upon as having been installed as their sovereign by the other *naksatras* The one objection to such a suggestion is that the names of the constellations are generally feminine ones, and it would certainly be contrary to Indian ideas if the asterisms were to be ruled by a female being Such an objection, however, falls flat if we suppose that the name was at a certain period not *kṛttikā(h)* but *śakadhūmah*, which is, of course, of masculine gender and presents no such difficulty.

If we suppose that *śakadhūma* is really an older name of the Pleiades we shall perhaps obtain a somewhat plausible explanation of that puzzling verse, *RV*, 1, 164, 43, quoted above "From far off," it runs, "I beheld the smoke of dung [3] men cooked a speckled bull—these were the first settlements" We must remember, I venture to think, that the Pleiades are closely attached to the constellation called the Bull (*ṛṣabha*), are in reality the seven stars η, etc, Tauri Immediately in front of them is the sign of Rohinī (α, β, γ, δ, ϵ, Tauri) which is generally compared with a wagon (*śakata*) [4] There is absolutely no proof that the Hindus of yore looked upon this constellation as being the celestial bullock [5], but on the other hand there is also no

[1] As far as I am aware only the aborigines of certain parts of Australia consider the Milky Way to consist of smoke, viz the smoke from the camp-fires of dead warriors Cf Stanbridge, *Trans Ethnol Soc N S*, 1 (1861), 302

[2] Cf Weber, *Ind Stud*, II, 240, 413 sq, *Ind Skizzen*, pp 97 sq, 136, *Naxatra*, II, 364, Jacobi, *Festgr Roth*, p 71, etc The words of Weber *Naxatra*, II, 277, concerning the date of the substitution of the *kṛttikāh* for *rohinī* may still be quoted as a beneficent criticism of the somewhat extravagant theories of Professor Jacobi

[3] I leave out here the words *ucūdātā parā enāvareṇa*, which are somewhat obscure and cannot possibly be of any decisive importance in this connection

[4] *Cf*, e g, Kirfel, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p 138

[5] In the Vedas the stars are sometimes styled "bulls" (*usrāh*, *gāvah*), cf *Symb. phil. O A Danielsson dicatae*, pp 23 sq

proof that they did not And I shall thus venture to suggest that the contents of this puzzling verse is really a scrap of star-lore, according to which men cooked a bull (the constellation of Taurus) on a dung-fire, the smoke of which, the " dung-smoke ", is in reality the Pleiades [1]

Though I have collected somewhat extensive materials concerning the names and lore of the Pleiades amongst various peoples, I am not aware of any special instances where they are looked upon as being a sort of heavenly smoke This in itself is, however, scarcely a valid objection against the suggestion put forth above For undoubtedly the Pleiades are sometimes believed to be a light-coloured cloud in the sky ; and there is little difference between " cloud " and " smoke ",[2] especially as the " dung-smoke " (*śakadhūma*) is of a whitish colour However, there seems to exist within India at least one proof of the fact that the Pleiades were sometimes connected with the idea of smoke Hemacandra, *Deśīn*, 5, 62, has preserved an expression of probably popular origin, viz *dhūmaddhayamahisīo kṛttikāh* With this word seem to be connected *dhūmaddhao tatāka mahisaśca* in 5, 63, and *dhūmamahisī*, which in 5, 61, together with three synonyms,[3] is interpreted by *nīhāra* " a cloud " The Pleiades consequently were also known as the *dhūmadhvajamahisyah* The pond (*tatāka*) with the mist floating over its surface is *dhūmadhvaja* , there is, however, a difficulty in understanding how the buffalo (*mahisa*) could also be called *dhūmadhvaja*, unless such an explanation is simply a lapsus caused by the misunderstanding of the *dhūmadhvajamahisī* As far as I understand the word *mahisī* in this compound cannot be the usual one meaning " a female buffalo " , it must be another, otherwise unknown word meaning " mist, fog, cloud ", which is connected with p *mahikā* " mist, cloud " and its possible relationship.[4] It even seems doubtful to me whether *mahisī*, *mahisī*, is the correct and original

[1] The last words of the verse *tāni dhármāni prathamány āsan* I have ventured to translate " these were the first settlements " This, according to my humble opinion, means that the men of yore were at their death metamorphosized into stars and thus had their abode in the nocturnal sky, an idea which is by no means foreign to Ancient India (cf , e g , Schermann, *Am Urquell*, vi, 5 sqq , and the present writer, *Symb phil O A Danielsson dicatae*, pp 30 sq) According to such an interpretation the *devāh* in *RV* , i, 164, 50 (= x, 90, 16) are also called " the first settlements ", which is, of course, by no means impossible

[2] Cf , e g , *Meghadūta*, 68

[3] Viz *dhūmarī*, *dhūmā*, and *dhūmasikhā* According to the *Petersburg Dict* , *dhūmamahisī* in certain native dictionaries means " a cloud " On *dhūmarī* cf Zachariæ, *Beitrage*, pp 55, 66, 85 , *dhūmarikā* occurs in the Comm on *Gaüdavaha*, 639

[4] Cf *ZDMG* , lxxiii, 146 sqq , and J J Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p 112, n

form of this word, but this must be left aside here Be it enough to state that the name *dhūmadhvajamahisyah* may probably denote the Pleiades as " the smoky cloud " or something very much like that [1]

That the Pleiades rule over the changes of the weather is a well-known idea amongst many peoples [2], and many are the peoples all over the earth who begin their year either with the rise or with the setting of the Pleiades As, however, I shall hope to deal with these topics in the near future, I cannot enter upon them here. We may only remember that amongst the names of these seven stars preserved to us in the Yajur-vedas (*ambā, dulā, nitatnī, abhrayantī, meghayantī, varsayantī, cupuṇīkā*),[3] there are at least three (*abhrayantī, meghayantī, varsayantī*) which allude to their domination over the clouds and rains To pray to them for fair weather, to try to prognosticate from their appearance the weather of the day to come would only be quite a natural thing to do This is what I think is included in the Atharvanic hymn to the *śakadhūma* and in the ceremonies performed with the help of it.

[1] The *kṛttikāh*, as is well known, are also called *bahulāh* (cf Pāṇini, iv, 3, 34, a person born under this constellation is called *Bahula*) This scarcely means " the numerous ones " (thus Weber, *Naxatra*, ii, 368), but rather "the obscure, dark ones" or possibly " the ones crammed together "

[2] Cf, e g, the quotations from Aratus and Mouro in *Athenæus*, xi, 490 A, 491 B, etc

[3] *TS*, iv, 4, 5, 1, *Kāth*, xl, 4, *MS*, ii, 8, 13 (with the variants *bulā*—a simple mistake—and *stanayantī* instead of *varsayantī*); cf. *TBr.*, iii, 1, 4, 1

Purāṇa Legends and the Prakrit Tradition in New Indo-Aryan

By Suniti Kumar Chatterji

It is now generally admitted that a great deal of the ancient and medieval myth and legend enshrined in the Sanskrit epics and Purānas is of non-Aryan origin, and that even in Vedic mythology certain pre-Aryan elements are present Puranic myths of the gods and legends of kings, heroes, and sages, in the form in which we find them in the Sanskrit works, represent undoubtedly a considerable amount of modification from their original forms, whether Aryan or non-Aryan witness, e g , the treatment of what would appear to be a genuine Aryan (? Indo-European) saga—that of Purūravas and Urvaśī, as we find it in the Rigveda and the Śatapatha Brāhmana, in the Visnu Purāna and in the subsequent Purānas The non-Aryan speaking masses in Northern India became Aryanized in language, and their tales and legends were retold as a matter of course in the Aryan language of their adoption A good many of these were Sanskritized and obtained a place in the Purānas and other Brahmanical literature, and so received the stamp of official or orthodox Hinduism. These Hinduized stories in their Sanskrit version then obtained a prestige far above that of the older or original versions, which might linger on for some time, but they were inevitably lost with the loss of the non-Aryan language and non-Aryan tradition, or, when they were of Aryan origin, with the later rehandling by Brahman scholasticism The Aryanized or Hindu version in Sanskrit, if it came into being sufficiently early, imposed the Aryanized or Sanskrit names of the gods and heroes among the people, though here and there some debased non-Aryan names might continue in connection with village cults and ceremonial which were tolerated, and at times even encouraged with good humoured indulgence, by the followers of the official Brahmanical religion

When the Sanskrit names were in use early, before the close of the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) period, we might expect to find Prakrit forms of these names to be in current use among the people as something received traditionally, like the religion and like the general mass of words in the language itself And such MIA names would in their turn

be expected to be handed down together with the myth and legend and the religions as well as linguistic traditions, to the New Indo-Aryan (vernacular) speeches. But in this matter, more than in any other thing there has been a constant interference from the sacred language Sanskrit This interference began with the beginning of MIA thus the MIA *bāmhana bāmbhana, bābbhana* < *brāhmana* has continued down to NIA (e g Bengali *bāmun*, Bihari *bābhan*, etc), but already in Pali the vernacular word is ousted by the Sanskrit *brāhmana*

The Sanskrit versions of the Purāna legends became the standard versions They became pan-Indian during the last 2,000 or 1,500 years A local cult or a local deity with its local legends could address itself to an all-India audience only through a Sanskrit Purāna in which it found a place either as an independent cult or by incorporation into or synthesis with some other cult or deity In this way it became one of universal Hindu appeal and universal Hindu popularity, although originally it was not much known beyond its own little tribe or district

The Rāma story, the Mahābhārata story the Krsna legend—all these, and many more, are now so very much the common property of the Indian (Hindu) people that it is hard to realize that 2,000 or 2 500 years ago a good many of them were either not in existence (at least in the form in which they are current now) or were not known to the greater part of the Indian world of the day. They were passed on from one part of the country to another as a part of the Hindu (Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist) religion which seems to have been taking shape in the Upper Ganges Valley through an initial fusion of the Aryan with the Dravidian and Austric peoples and cultures, during the middle of the first millennium B C From the Pali Jātaka it would appear that even during the centuries immediately before Christ the Rāma story had *not* yet crystallized—it was still in a fluid state and that the Mahābhārata story was not yet fully known to the Aryan and Aryanized people of the East among whom the Buddhist canon, including the Jātaka (the latter at least in its primitive form), grew About the Krsna legend too we find versions and references in the Jātaka quite confusing in their contradictions to and occasional agreements with the Purāna and the Mahābhārata The Brahmanical Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata, and Purānas made a clean sweep of the older versions, seemingly wiping them out of the popular mind (I say *seemingly* because in some cases these extra-

Purāṇa versions persisted despite the supreme position of the Purāṇa) and with the establishment of the above works the Sanskrit forms of the names put out of use the vernacular or Prākrit ones which had been current in the land from the earlier pre-Aryan or pre-Brahmanical tradition or had obtained currency from the stories being carried by vernacular oral tradition from province to province during the MIA period

We have no means of knowing how and when what may be called "the Sanskrit Purāṇa tradition" established itself among the people in a particular locality but there is no doubt that it was pretty late in being introduced in some parts of the country Sanskrit names now reign supreme in most of the NIA speeches in either their pure (*tatsama*) or modified (*sama tatsama*) forms This can give us no clue for finding the likely period of introduction of a Purāṇa legend among the people of a particular locality of its coming into vogue among them The masses followed their *grāmya dharma* their village cults which could be described as a sort of half-cooked animism on its way to transformation into higher Hinduism to which it had in a vague way affiliated itself The *grāma devatā* or village gods and godlings had their own names vernacular Indo Aryan or pre Aryan unmeaning of anything to their worshippers The Sanskrit gods and heroes with their Sanskrit names brought in a new world of dignity and romance and also of spiritual inspiration and the *grāma devatās* as a result were cast into oblivion or were identified with the new deities with their Brahmanical prestige In a case like this the cultural status and the power of assimilation and resistance of the people being brought under the influence of official Brahmanism decided how far the new pantheon and the new names would be victorious Thus in the Dravidian South in the Tamil land the Indo Aryan Hindu gods imposed their worship and their legends and also their names (and at the same time they absorbed a great deal from the local cults and local legends as well) but some of their Dravidian counterparts or prototypes did not wholly surrender their native names have survived for we have the Tamil *Murukan* beside *Kumāra* or *Subrahmaṇya Māl* beside *Viṣṇu Koṟṟavai* beside *Durgā Māyōn* beside *Kṛṣṇa Vāḻiyon* or *Vellaiyon* beside *Baladeva*, and the names *Śiva* and *Śambhu* themselves have been suggested as being early Sanskritizations from the Dravidian A study of the onomastics of the North Indian *grāma-devatās* (full lists and studies of the cults of these are still lacking) will undoubtedly reveal as much of interesting

and important facts about pre-Puranic and pre-Hindu religion in India as that of the Sanskrit mythological and legendary names.

The present question, however, is that of the introduction of Puranic myths and legends of gods and heroes in the various Indo-Aryan tracts, and of their original or earlier forms If in this connection we can find in a NIA language a name of Prakrit origin, either still current or obsolescent or wholly obsolete, used side by side with or suppressed in recent years by the corresponding Sanskrit one, that would certainly be a very strong argument for the assumption that the story of the particular god or hero in some form or other had become popular in the MIA or pre-vernacular period In this way we may obtain from Indo-Aryan (and other) linguistics some valuable ancillary help for the reconstruction of the religious history of Aryan India It is, however, necessary to guard against an *argumentum ab silentio* in a situation like this, as there is every likelihood of an old Prakrit name having been supplanted by its Sanskrit form. Thus we see from Al-Bīrūnī how during the last 800 or 900 years some common geographical names with a religious association have become altered from Prakrit to Sanskrit—old Prakritic names like *Māhūra* (or more correctly *Mahura* as given by Al-Bīrūnī's elder contemporary Al-'utbī) and *Jawn*, which Al-Bīrūnī heard and wrote down about 1000 A.C. have now been supplanted by the *semi-tatsama* forms *Mathrā* and *Jamnā* (*Muttra, Jumna* = *Mathurā, Yamunā*) But the positive fact presented by the Prakritic or MIA. vernacular names cannot be ignored, that the Puranic legend in question actually existed as a popular one, not confined to the Sanskrit texts, at some period before the development of the NIA. vernaculars

Thus, among the Bengali-speaking people, the persistent use even at the present day, of a number of names of MIA. origin in connection with the Krsna legend would testify to the fact of its popularity in the pre-Bengali period, and the occurrence of one or two names in their Prakritic forms would also point to the existence of certain episodes or versions of that legend before 1000 A C , the *point de départ* for the NIA vernaculars The same thing we cannot say of the Rāma legend : although no MIA forms of names of characters from this cycle are found in Bengali, it might have been for aught we know equally popular with the Krsna legend in the pre-vernacular period and, as a matter of fact, there is other evidence pointing to the existence of old popular versions of the Rāma story side by side with or to the exclusion of the Sanskrit version as in Vālmīki. The

following names from the Krṣna legend are to be considered · *Krsna*. MIA. *Kaṇha*, Old Bengali *Kānha*, Middle Bengali *Kānha*, *Kāṇa*, *Kānha*, *Kāna*, New Bengali *Kānu*, *Kānāi* (< *Kāna* + *-ū*, *-āi*)

Rādhā, *Rādhikā* MIA *Rāhiā*, *Rāhia*, MB *Rāhī*, *Rāi*, NB. *Rāi*

Nanda. MB *Nānda* = *Nāⁿda* (with reduced nasal, cf *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp 360–2), *Nāda* (*Śrīkrsna-kīrttana*)

Kamsa · MB. (*Śrīkrsna-kīrttana*) *Kāśa* On the basis of this MB form, with *-ā-* for *-ăm-*, the Mohammadan historians wrote down in their Persian histories the name of the Hindu feudatory prince (who during the second decade of the fifteenth century wrested the kingdom of Bengal from its Mohammadan ruling house) with an *alif* (= long *-ā-*) in the middle, as *k'ns* = *kāns* for **kās*

Abhimanyu MIA. *Ahimaṇṇu*, *Ahivaṇṇu*), Late MIA **Ahimaṇṇa* (*Ahiwaṇṇa*), **Ahivaṇṇa*, early MB *Āihana* (as in the ŚKK, from *Ahivaṇṇu*), *Āimana* (pronounced *Āiwana*, as in the *Harivamśa* of Bhavānanda from *Ahimannu*), late MB *Āyān*, NB *Āyān*. (*Āihana* appears to be an early West Bengali, and *Āimana* an early East Bengali form)

The Bengali forms based on those of MIA would certainly demonstrate a continuity of the tradition among the Bengali-speaking people in the matter of the Krṣna legend, at least from the time when *Ahimannu-Ahivaṇṇu* and *Rāhă* were current in popular speech.

The form *Āihana-Āimana-Āyān* = *Abhimanyu* has an important bearing on the development of the Krsna legend in Bengal

The episode of the hero's amours with the *gopīs* in the Krsna legend grew with the centuries From the scanty references to this *Vraja-līlā*, or sports in Vraja of Krsna and the cowherd maidens, in the older Purānas like the Visnu Purāna (and the Harivamsa), it was elaborated by successive generations of poets and Vaisnava teachers, the process continuing down to the eighteenth century in Bengal Mr Sukumar Sen in his recent work, *A History of Brajabuli Literature* (Calcutta University, 1935), which is a very valuable historical and literary study of their lyric literature of Bengal Vaishnavism, has given a useful conspectus of the "Historical Development of the Rādha-Krsna Legend" (chap xxiii, pp. 472–481, also chap xxiv) It seems that the Rādhā-Krṣna legend, particularly in a detailed account of the loves of the two divine lovers, received a greater elaboration in Bengal than anywhere else, certain matters and episodes not mentioned in the Purānas both early and

late being found in Bengali Vaishnavite literature only and in no other vernacular literature Rādhā, as the favourite of Krsna among the gopīs, came to be recognized in the Purānas very late—the Harivamśa, the Visnu-Purāna, and even the Bhāgavata Purāna do not know her even by name, on the other hand, elaborate Rādhā stories with her family tree and *entourage* all complete and her special status and mystic place in the Krsna-gopa or Vraja-līlā episode form a fully established feature in the very late Purānas, the Padma and the Brahma-vaivarta, the latter of which was compiled in West Bengal as late as the sixteenth century (*vide* Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyānidhi's Bengali articles on the subject) In Bengali Vaishnavism, Rādhā has been exalted even above Krsna, and while the earlier Purānas are silent about Rādhā, and while in the North Indian tradition, as e g in Sūra-dāsa, the Braj poet of the sixteenth century, Rādhā, is just an unmarried *gopī*, the embodiment of the human soul in quest of God through faith and love, the Bengali tradition, from the poet Badu Candīdāsa, the earliest Bengali writer on the Krsna legend (fourteenth century (?), fifteenth century (?)) onwards, makes Rādhā a married woman, the wife of one Āihana (Āimana, Āyān).

This name in its Sanskrit form is unknown to Bengali, the Sanskrit equivalent *Abhimanyu* occurs for the first time in the Sanskrit literature of the Bengal school of Vaishnavism during the sixteenth century the Brahma-vaivarta Purāna gives the name in the form *Rāyana*, which is obviously based on the sixteenth century Bengali *Āyān*—and in this way this Purāna betrays its indebtedness to sixteenth century vernacular Bengali sources for this episode *Āyān-Āihana-Āimana* goes back to MIA times, the MIA *Ahivannu-Ahimannu* alone can explain the Bengali forms by linking them up with *Abhimanyu* the Bengali forms as derived from MIA unquestionably establish an old tradition and if the name *Abhimanyu* were a new one in the Krsna legend (as many names in the Rādhā-Krsna cycle are), cropping up or gaining currency at the hand of the Vaisnava scholars in the sixteenth century, we should have found only the *tatsama* form or a *semi-tatsama* equivalent for it in Bengali, and no *tadbhava* or Prakritic form like *Āyān-Aihana-Aimana*

Rādhā's position as the wife of a respectable man who is carried by the frenzy of her passion for God incarnate as Krsna, quite against social conventions and social morality and reckless of social obloquy, gave rise in Bengal Vaishnavism to the doctrine of the *Parakīyā* or *Another's Wife Way*, in which the love of man for God could be

compared only to the intense passion of a married wife for another man, a passion which may lead her to sacrifice everything in the world The germs of the *Parakīyā* idea could only be based on the initial belief that Rādhā was already a married woman before she loved Kṛṣna , and it may be suspected that the *Parakīyā* idea arose partly from the necessity to explain or justify what pained most people as something anti-social and immoral in a popular legend when the latter was made the basis of religion and philosophy Moreover, to ease the conscience of the Vaisnava faithful, by showing the immaculate nature of Rādhā's conjugal life, her husband Āyān (Abhimanyu) was described as an impotent person—there being some insistence on this point among the later Vaisnava writers But all this, much less Rādhā's marriage, and even her very existence, is unknown to the older Sanskrit Purāna tradition , and the North Indian and other Indian tradition know Rādhā to be just a simple cowherd maiden, one among the *gōpīs*, whom Sūradāsa in his Braj lyrics marries to Krsna according to the Gāndharva rite How old can this be in the Rādhā-Krsna legend, and where would it have come into being ?

The oldest literary mention of Rādhā occurs in the " Gāthā-sapta-śatī ' of Hāla, which, although it undoubtedly presents older elements going back possibly to the first century A C , cannot date, in its present form, from an epoch earlier than the middle of the first millennium after Christ But it appears there is plastic evidence in Bengal dating from the sixth century A C , as to the existence of Rādhā as the *gopī* par excellence, the one specially loved by Krsna We have to mention the famous Paharpur Stūpa bas-reliefs in stone of the Krsna legend, comprising the unique slab with a pair of youthful lovers whose divine nature is indicated by a floral halo round their heads,—the lover, an ephebe (*Kiśora*) and the girl standing side by side in an affectionate manner in poses which remind one of the characteristic poses for standing Krsna and Rādhā in later Bengali art (The famous Pallava bas-relief on a heroic scale at Mahābalipuram near Madras, one of the grandest creations of Indian sculpture, depicting the holding of the Govardhana Hill by Krsna and dating probably from the seventh century, seems also to show the figure of Rādhā to the left of the hero but this is slightly later than the small slab at Paharpur, where it will be allowable to see Rādhā and Krsna in their oldest plastic representation)

Rādhā (Rāhā) is thus attested from literature of pre-vernacular times, and plastic art seems also to have figured her from the sixth

century The Bengali name Āyān-Aihana-Āimana for her husband, presupposing the MIA source-forms would establish the occurrence of this character in the Rādhā-Krsna story as current in Bengal about the same time if not earlier Rādhā as a *Parakīyā Nāyikā*, therefore, can reasonably be deduced from the Prakrit form of her husband's name as having existed from MIA times—from the middle of the first millennium after Christ, at least the germs of the spiritual translation of the *Parakīyā* idea which was formally adopted as an important doctrine in Bengal Vaishnavism in the sixteenth century, therefore, can be taken back so early. This conception might have originated in Bengal, with the Buddhistic Sahaja-yāna, and it remained confined to Bengal, and restricted among a local group of Vaisnavas (among whom we have to count Jayadeva, the author of the Gītagovinda, of the twelfth century), who drew upon the Rādhā-Krsna story as a spiritual pattern, or spiritual experience and exercise, up to the sixteenth century, when, under the impetus of the Vaisnava revival inaugurated by Caitanya, it asserted itself as an idea, and was adopted by the followers of Caitanya, who built up the Gauḍīya or Bengal Vaisnava doctrines, and was carried by them to Purī, to Brindāban, and to other centres

The Prakritic names current in the vernacular are thus a strong evidence for the antiquity of some of the features of the Krṣna legend, despite the silence of the early Purānas about them. The Prakrit tradition in Bengali in this matter can thus be utilized as evidence for the existence of a base for the *Parakīyā-vāda* in pre-Mohammadan times, possibly almost coevally with the Rādhā story itself—at least in Bengal

Later legends in Bengal and in the late Purānas give the names of the cowherd attendants and associates of Krṣna and the *gopī* friends of Rādhā The Bhāgavata Purāna knows some of the former, but the latter are gradually created in Bengal Vaishnavism, eight of them (*asta-sakhī*) being finally named and selected as special confidantes of Rādhā, and superior to the rest, whole hosts of whose names occur in the different works In the earlier versions the *gopīs* form merely a crowd, as a background for Rādhā, and one old woman, the beldame *Badāyi* (so she is called in the ŚKK and in other MB works, the name commonly occurring as *Badāi*), stands out as Rādhā's confidante, her chaperone, who acts as a sort of *kuttinī* or *dūtī* (go-between or messenger) between her and her lover. In some late Sanskrit works *Badāyi's* name is given simply as *Jaratī* or " the old woman ". Latterly

the character of Baḍāyi took up a Sanskrit name of one of Rādhā's Sakhīs—she became merged in Vrndā, popularly called "Vrndādūtī" in Bengal, who has assumed most of the functions of Badāyi The Prakritic name *Badāyi* (< *bada* "big, great", of uncertain origin, and *āyi* < *āyī* = *āryikā* "grandmother") may be taken to indicate that this beldame also comes down from the pre-vernacular tradition of the legend, and belongs to the older, non-Puranic or pre-Puranic stratum.

The above Prakritic forms in NIA. Bengali are thus of great value in studying the origin and growth of the Purāna legend of Krṣna-Rādhā in Bengal. But the same cannot be said of the Rāma legend Only *ts.* and *sts* forms of the Sanskrit names are in use in Bengal In the Awadhī tract, on the other hand, as we find from Tulasīdāsa's works, forms of the names of the Rāmāyana characters which could only have come down from the MIA. are extant. Thus —

Sītā MIA. *sīā, sīa,* Old Eastern Hindi *sīya, siya,* present day *siyā, sayā* (e g. the Bengali name *Sayārām,* sometimes "corrected" to *Sahāy-rām,* which is borrowed from Eastern Hindi *siyārām*).

Laksmaṇa: MIA *Lakkhana,* OEH *Lakhana* The influence of the Sanskrit form with *Lă-* was certainly responsible for modifying the *Lā-* of an expected **Lākhana*

Rāma the form commonly used in NIA is the Sanskrit *Rāma* (*Rām*), instead of the expected vernacular **Rāwa, Rāw* but the fact that in the early Hindi MSS, राम *Rāma* is frequently—almost always—spelt as रांम = *Rāmma,* would seem to suggest that this spelling with the nasal was a compromise between a popular pronunciation **Rāŵa* or *Rāwa* and the learned form *Rāma*

Vasistha Hindi *Basīth* This name has changed its meaning, and in some respects has degenerated semantically in Hindustani.

No other names bear the stamp of MIA on them, but these would enable us to assume that the popularity of the Rāma story, in the Eastern Hindi districts at least, dates from the MIA period

The great gods of Hinduism were worshipped in the pre-vernacular period in Bengal, but the vernacular Prakrit names which were in existence have in most cases been ousted by Sanskrit *tss* or *stss* If a *sts kestå* (or *keśtå*) has not been able to make the Prakritic *kānu, kānāi* obsolete, even in present-day Bengali, another *sts. Bistū* (or *Bistū*), nowadays "corrected" to *Bisnu,* in pronunciation, has driven out the Bengali equivalents of the MIA *Venhu, Vinhu* A MB. *Bambha* occurs as a *sts*, but now we have the *ts. Brahmā* only

(pronounced as *Biomhā*, or *Bemhā*, *Bemmā* in folk Bengali) *Śiva* occurs as a *ts* *Śibā*, *Śibo*, *Śib* in Bengali, but in the Bengali surname *Śī* it is just likely that we have the Prakritic form (This *Śī* may equally be from MIA *sīha* = *simha* but *singha* and not *sīha* seems to have been the form native to the source—Prakrit of Bengali, *sīha* being a Western Indian, probably also a Midland, form cf *Simhapura* = *Singur* in Bengal (or *Singur* = *Śringa-pura* [1]), but in Kathiawad we have *Sihaur*, and in Rājasthānī *sī* = *simha*)

Prakritic names of deities which have survived in Bengali are *Dūgī*, a folk-form, often used in contempt, as an equivalent of the name *Durgā* (*Durgikā* > *Duggiā* > *Dūgī*), and *Sāth* or *Sāth* (pron *Sāth*) = the goddess *Sasthī*, a form of Mātrkā worshipped on the sixth day of childbirth (*Sasthī* > *satthī*, *śatthī* > *sāthī* > *sāthi* > *sāth*. the spelling with *s-* is due to Sanskrit influence) The form *sāth* is now mostly used as a pious exclamation from mothers and grandmothers to avert a bad omen from little children—it is merely an invocation to the goddess *Sasthī* *Kālī* in Bengali might be the *ts* *Kālī*, but it is equally likely that it is the *tbh* form of *Kālikā*

When Bengali and other NIA languages started on their new career the number of such traditional Prakrit names was undoubtedly much greater But after the first century and a half of the storm of the Turki conquest, when much of Hindu religion and culture was endangered, a renaissance of Hindu life began There were two streams in which this revived cultural life flowed the Bhakti movement on the one hand, and the vulgarization or popularization of the Purānas on the other Sanskrit exerted a tremendous influence on both, and Sanskritization of Prakritic names came in as a matter of course with the attempts of both the reformers and orthodox Brahmans to re-establish a higher Hinduism which could stand the onslaught of Islam both as a political power and as a proselytizing religion Establishment of the Sanskrit names linked up the Sanskrit Purānas and the epics with the life of the masses and gave a certain classic dignity to this aspect of popular Hinduism, but it broke up the Prakrit tradition or obscured it The old Prakritic names, precious indications of the situation in the popular faith in pre-Mohammadan times, became more and more restricted The few that still remain or may be gleaned are well worth investigation, by resuscitation from the older strata of NIA. literatures and from NIA. folk-speech, for a close scientific study.

Some New Awromānī Material

prepared from the collections of Åge Meyer Benedictsen

By Arthur Christensen

In the late Åge Meyer Benedictsen's note-books from his visit to Persia and Kurdistan in the year 1901, which are now in my possession, due to the kindness of Mrs Meyer Benedictsen, I find some unpublished Awromānī texts dictated to Meyer Benedictsen by 'Abdu'l-Ghafúr, native of Awromān,[1] viz an unfinished tale, not accompanied by a translation, and the so-called 'Bacmeisterscbe Sprachproben" I here submit these texts, prepared according to the principles laid down in *Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa* and noted in the system of transcription used in that book[2] The translation of the tale has been made by me with the aid of a few marginal notes in the manuscript The paragraphs quoted in the footnotes refer to the Grammar given in *Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa*. I leave unnoticed a few differences in the forms of the words, vocalization, etc.

As to the story of Dalla and the Khorásánian, only the beginning has been noted Cf *The Wiles of Women*, from the Turkish by J A. Decourdemanche (London 1928) pp 77 ff The principal figure, Dalla, is, of course, the wily Dalīla of Baghdad, known to readers of the *Arabian Nights* (*vide* Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, No. 147)

Abbreviations

Awr = Benedictsen-Christensen, *Les Dialectes d'Awromān*, etc

M-H Gûr = O Mann, "Mundarten der Gûrân, bearbeitet von Karl Hadank" (*Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, III, 2) Berlin, 1930 Awromānī, pp 367–395

Soane = "A Short Anthology of Guran Poetry," by Major E. B. Soane, *JRAS*, 1921, pp 57 ff

ar = Arabic

awr. = Awromānī.

kand. = Kandūlaī

p. = Persian.

[1] Vide *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa* Textes recueillis par Åge Meyer Benedictsen, revus et publiés avec des notes et une esquisse de grammaire par Arthur Christensen Cop, 1921 (*Det Kgl Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, VI, 2), p. 3

[2] Observe *j* is English *y*, *ǰ* is English *j*

The Story of Dàlla and the Khorásánian

J̌a ša'r-u-Baγδaǰana šaχsēwæ bē. ısmaš *Xoaǰa* Moḥammaδ bē *Xaıla* dåwlaδman wa χaıla sahab-χoδrat [1] bē Zanēwaš bē, fəræ zarıfa bē Ā žānia lámaš poræ bē, tā īna *Xoaǰa* Mohammaδ ıraδáš karδ bəlo zıarat-u-jánow χoδáj Be taqδıa[2]-u-χoδá *Xoaǰa* Mohammaδ taδarák[3]-aš karδ ǰa tæk[4]-u-haǰāǰıana luā paj Makká-ı-šarífi Jara sāłá ǰa Makkána moattál bēn bī, tā ǰara hắǰaš kárδa Čåwmaj [5] *Xoaǰa* Moḥammaδ āmắwæ pē Baγδáj, jāwā [6] ow jāna wēš Dıā žanakēš lamaš har por-ana.[7] na-zājna.[8] Saraš sırr [9] bē. Čåwmaj wātaš ba žanakıa "Bā balmá [10] ow law Abu J̌afarı Helalı rámāłı" Dæs-u-žanēš gort. luāj ow law Abu J̌afarı Helalí J̌a lamåw ī žanē Abu Jafarı-šān hālı karδ Abu J̌afarı tamāšåw ramłıš [11] karδ, wātaš ' Åwıč [12] haırān [13] mana [14] ' Wātaš "Tefl zaruewæn [15] ǰa lamåw ı žanēna, æmmæ aǰab ajāl [16] måwo [17] wa qaδámaš χās na-måwo paj aδåw bābáıš." Čåwdmaj hurazaj,[18] amēwa paj jāna wēšān

Ja-dmåw jara mæŋa ā žana kənāčawaš dıē [19] Aδåw bābaš ǰa-dmåw jara mæŋa har dua mardē.[20] Kənāčēšān dā ba dæs-u-dājána Tā jara sāła dājana šōtaš dā pena,[21] nāmašān nıā ba [22] Dalá Dalaw Baγδaj maškur-ana Čåwdmaj jānåw bābåw wēšana neštara [23] Qor ānaš wēnē,[24] æmmæ kənāčēwæ šırın-e-mahbub-e-qašaŋka bē Har čaı maχluq-u-Baγδáj bē kul ašøq ba Dala bıē. Dala šu-š ba kæsı ná-karδ. tā roıwæ [25] pıájwæ χorasắnı āma ow Baγδá. J̌a rā-u-hamamıena χorasắnı Dalaš dıa, ašøqaš bı Kawt ow šōnēš,[26] tā āma jånåw wēšān. *Xorasānı* wātaš ' ' Àj Dala, bō, šu-m-pēnam b'kara." Dala wāt " Ægar honárawāt bo, áıbēš nían šu-t-pená bakáru. '

[1] Ar -p *qodrāt* [2] Ar -p *taqdīr* [3] Ar -p *tadāruk* [4] Awr, p '126 *b*
[5] = *čåwεδmaj, čawδmaj, čåudmaj* [6] § 58 [7] § 105.
[8] § 69, cf § 35, rem 2, here the syllable *-na* ıs affixed to the 3rd person of the singular.
[9] The ar -p. substantive *serr* used as an adjective
[10] § 137 at the end
[11] *Raml*, instrument of divination, ordinarily a tray of sand
[12] § 124, 134 (*-ıč*)
[13] Adjective used as a substantive (= *serr*, Benedictsen's note).
[14] § 84
[15] § 69, it seems to be a special future form
[16] Ar -p *'eyāl* "family', "children '
[17] § 47 [18] § 66 [19] § 46 [20] § 61
[21] § 129 In Kurdistan, the children are suckled until the age of four or five years (Benedictsen's remark).
[22] § 128, remark concerning the use of *bā*
[23] § 63. [24] § 96, 1st Preterite *wānām*
[25] = *rueuæ* [26] § 81, § 128.

Xorasāni wātaš: "Huraza!"[1] ba balma bazár" Dæs-u-joašān[2] gørt u luáj bazár

Qáδera[3] gʻałaj[4] ba bazárana Sarāfešān dı, sar-u-dukān-u-wēšow neštá bera, χaılawa teław noqra war-u-dam-u-wēšana nıā bēra[5] Xorasánı wātaš ba Dala "To čēga baníšara, ta amøn bəlu law saráfi, ınjā[6] bázana amøn čēš makarú" Dala nıštara Xorasānı luā, law sarāfi-ow nıštara. Sárāf marhabá karδ, wātaš. "Dukán-u-wēt-an, har čēδ lázəm-an buāča"[7] Xorasānı wātaš "Ašrafí rómı-δ han?" Wātaš "Boła, hanəm" Xorasānı wātaš· "Kısēwa sar ba mōr[8] bowra"[9] Sarāf luā kísēwa por-àš āworδ; sar ba mōr bē Xorasānı wātaš "Lua, kısē wætarı sekā-je neišapurı bowrá!" Sarāf luā, kısē wætarı sar ba mōraš āworδ Xorasānı wātaš "Lua, kısē wætarı sekáw ırānı bowra!" Sarāf lúā āworδaš Wātaš "Lua, kısēwa sekáw ıŋgılısı bowra!" Sarāf luā āworδaš Xorasānı wāt "Lua, kısēwa sekáw urusı bówra!" Sarāf áworδaš Qarás[10] hæft[11] kısa sar ba mōr záraš āworδ, wær-u-dom[12]-u-χorasānı nıášara. Čawdmaj χorasānı jo-jo kısakēš wáznē karδ, jo-jo nıajšēna[13] baχalaš[14] Saráf wātaš "Čēš makarı?" Xorasānı wāt "Luaj məlú"[15] Sarāf wātaš· "Hæft kísow amøn banıérow lúa" Xorasānı wātaš "Mal-e-wēm-an" Sarāfi wātaš "Čaní mal-u-wēt-an?" Xorasānı wāt "To χejáłat ín-ana amøn rut[16] bákarıno?[17] Čı bā[18] zarana?" Sarafi wātaš dubára "Maláw amøn banıérow, lua" Xorasānı wātaš "Amøn amána, moʻámela bakaru, ıstæ moʻamela n'makaru Sowδa ba zor namáwo"

Āχər χorasānı u sarāf gøzıaj,[19] fəræ jaktarınšān[20] košt,[21] tā áhl-u-bazárı gelér[22] bıo, persāšān[23] "I maʻareká[24] čēš-án?" Saráfi wātaš "Æı hazarāt, ı piája hæft kísa māl-o-amønàš bardán[25], istæ naməδóšo."[26] Persāšān ja χorasānı "Paj čēš naməδájšo mal-u-ı

[1] § 66 [2] Cf *jotarımı, jotrımı*, § 123 [3] § 134
[4] § 55 [5] § 62, Pluperfect [6] § 134
[7] *b-wāča*, § 65 [8] p *sar be-mohr* [9] § 53 *b-āwəra, bārā*
[10] Ar-p *al-garaz* [11] *hæft*, but *kawt* above, p 468, l 22, *vide* Awr p 11, l 11
[12] *dōm* = *dam* [13] *nıaj-š-ēna* [14] *baχal*, p *bagal*
[15] § 99 [16] p *loχt*
[17] § 59, Subj 2nd person with the ending *-o*, probably = *ow*, § 128, cf § 131 at the end
[18] = *bā ā*. [19] § 79
[20] *jaktarın* = *jotarımı*, p *jak* for awr *jo* [21] § 60 and p 88, note 2
[22] *geler* = *jamʻ* (Benedictsen's remark) It is probably the Turkish participle *gelır* "coming".
[23] p *porsīdan*, gūrānī *pırsān*, Soane, p 66, Kānd., M-H Gûr., p 188
[24] Ar-p. *moʻāraka* [25] § 73.
[26] *na-məδo-š-o*, ending *-o*, *vide* § 131 at the end

pıáje ? ' Xorasānı wāt " Mal-e-wēm-an Amøn amān-a, mo'amela bakarú Čanı sarāfi mo'amela namakaru , sowδá ba zor namåwo " Sarāf luā šikāt o [1] hākımıs karδ Ḥākımı kıasaš [2] χorasānı. Xorasānišān āworδ Ḥākımı persāš " Ba čı mal-u-ı pıāja namaδájno ? " Wātaš " Māl-e-wém-an " Ḥākımı persāš ja sarāfi " Mal-o-kı-an ı hæft kísa ? ' Sarāfi wāt " Mal-e-amøn-an " Xorasānı wāt " Xajr, mal-u-amon-an " Ahl-u-šurā [3] qarāršān dā " Har kası sarāf ja χorasānišān har kåma zānaš har kısēna čen [4] ašrafíš-anā čana, [5] mál-u-āδı-an ' Persāšān ja sarāfi " Ḥālešān har kısēna čen [4] ašrafiš-ana čána ? ` Sarāfi ǰuab dā, wātaš " Námazanu ! ' Persāšān ja χoıasānı Xorasānı wāt ' Har kıséna ān našá [6]-anā čána ` Waχt šomārašān karδ. bı zıāj u kam qse [7] χorasānı bıē [8] Čåwδmaj saδ dāna lırašān [9] ja sarāfi asā [10] Ja ǰaza-ı-náχtıēna [11] ba'azešān dā [12] ow sarāfi

Čåwδmaj χorasānı wātaš ba Dala " Amøn čanı pıajaw-anān ? " Wātaš " Áfarım, [13] barakala ! lajéq-nı amon šū-pēna-δ b karú " Xorasānı das-u-Daláš gort, bārdaš ow, luaj ow janåw Dala Mullájēwaš taláb karδ, máharåw [14] wēš barí paj χorasānı A šæwa luāna baχálaš, ba wásałaš [15] šāδ bē

Čåwδmaj Dala lamaš poræ bıē ja χorasānı No mæŋ o no ro šı, [16] čoar kənāčē ba ǰarēwæ dıe A čoar kənāčē dāı, [17] ba das-u-dājāna Do ǰara Dala lamaš poræ bıe No mæŋ o no ro šı, jara knāč ítaraš dıe Tā gåwre bıē haft lotıaš āworde, har kənāčē wēš dā ba lotıēwašān. Ḥaft zamā, haft knāčē, wēš-u-Dala čanı šuš, šaŋzdá nefarı, nān u bargšān garak-an .

[1] Ar -p *šelājāt* , *o* ıs = *ow* (prepositıon)

[2] § 80

[3] *šūrā*, assembly (Benedictsen's remark), perhaps ar -p *šūrā* " counsel ", " consultatıon "

[4] p *čand*

[5] Prepositıon used as an adverb

[6] *ān nāša* = p *ān qadar* (Benedictsen's remark).

[7] Cf § 34

[8] The Khorasanıan, havıng weıghed the purses one by one, knows approxımately how much money there ıs ın each

[9] *lıra*, ıtal lıra

[10] § 90

[11] *naχt* ıs probably a corrupt form of ar -p *naqd*.

[12] Cf Awr p 86, l 20 , p 108, ll 8 and 9

[13] *áfarım*, *áfarem* or *áfārun* ? readıng uncertaın ; p. *āfārīn*.

[14] *mahar*, ar -p *mahr*

[15] *wasał*, ar -p. *vasl*.

[16] § 93

[17] *dā*, § 46

In the city of Baghdad there was a person whose name was Khója Mohammad He was very rich and very mighty He had a wife who was very handsome This woman was pregnant (lit this woman, her womb was full), at last Khója Mohammad resolved to go on a pilgrimage to the house of God By the predestination of God Khója Mohammad prepared his provisions [and] with the pilgrims he went on to the holy Mecca For three years he dwelt in Mecca, until he had performed the [ceremonies of] pilgrimage three times. Then Khója Mohammad returned to Baghdad and arrived at his house He saw that his wife was still pregnant, had not been delivered He (lit. his head) was struck with astonishment Then he said to his wife "Come, let us go to Abú Ja'far Hellálí the geomancer (rammāl)" He seized the hand of his wife, they went on to Abú Ja'far Hellálí *They gave to Abú Ja'far an account of the pregnancy* (lit. the womb) of that woman Abú Ja'far examined his *raml* and said "This is (lit continues to be) wonderful' He continued "A child will be born from the womb of this woman, but it will be a curious child, and its steps will not be happy for its mother and father" Then they get up, came [back] to their own house

After three months that woman gave [birth to] a girl-child The mother and the father, after three months, died both of them People gave them into the hands of a nurse For three years the nurse suckled them (lit gave them milk), they gave (lit put on) her the name Dala She is known as "Dala of Baghdad" Then she remained in the house of her father She read the Qur'án, but she was a sweet, gracious, and nice girl All created beings who were in Baghdad were in love with Dala Dala did not make anyone her husband, until once a day a man from Khorásán came to Baghdad On the way to the bath the Khorásánian saw Dala, fell in love with her. He went (lit fell) after her, until she came to the house of her family The Khorásánian said. "O Dala, come, make me your husband." Dala said "If you have skill, there is no fault in that I make you my husband" The Khorásánian said· "Rise! let us go to the bazaar" They joined hands (lit took the hand of each other) and went to the bazaar

For some time they were walking in the bazaar They saw a money-changer [who] was sitting in his shop, he had laid down much gold and silver before his face The Khorásánian said to Dala "Sit down there, whilst I go off to the money-changer, then you shall know what I [am able to] do" Dala sat down The Khorásánian went off, sat down with the money-changer. The money-changer

bade him welcome, said "This is your own shop, say what you want" The Khorásánian said "Have you Roman gold-pieces?" He said "Yes, I have." The Khorásánian said "Bring [me] a sealed purse" The money-changer went off, brought him a full purse, it was sealed The Khorásánian said. "Go [and] bring another purse [full of] money of Nísháp úr" The money-changer went off, brought another sealed purse The Khorásánian said "Go [and] bring another purse [full of] Iranian money" The money-changer went off, brought it [The Khorásánian] said "Go [and] bring a purse [full of] English money" The money-changer went off, brought it The Khorásánian said "Go [and] bring a purse [full of] Russian money" The money-changer brought it In short, he brought seven sealed purses [full of] gold, laid them before the face of the Khorásánian After that the Khorásánian weighed the purses one by one, put them in his pocket one by one. The money-changer said: "What are you doing?" The Khorásánian said "I am going away" The money-changer said "Lay down my seven purses and go away" The Khorásánian said: "They are my property" The money-changer said. "How are they your property?" The Khorásánian said. "Do you think you can rob me? What is the matter with this gold?" The money-changer repeated "Lay down my property and go away." The Khorásánian said "It is my trust (i e I have entrusted the purses to you), that I may do business with it; in such a manner I do not do business No profit comes from falsehood"

Finally the Khorásánian and the money-changer fell to blows, fought much with each other, until the people of the bazaar came up, asked "What conflict is this?" The money-changer said "Oh you who are present, this man has seized upon seven purses which are my property; now he will not give them back" They asked the Khorásánian: "Why do you not give back the money of that man?" The Khorásánian said: "It is my own money. It is my trust [with which] I shall do business I do not do business with that money-changer, no profit comes from falsehood" The money-changer went on, made complaint before the Governor. The Governor summoned the Khorásánian They brought the Khorásánian. The Governor asked: "Why do you not give back the money of this man?" He said "It is my money" The Governor asked the money-changer. "Whose property are these seven purses?" The money-changer said "They are my property" The Khorásánian said: "No, they are my property." The people of the assembly proposed

the [following] decision "Anyone [of them], the money-changer or the Khorásánian, whosoever knows how many gold coins there are in each purse (lit in each purse how many gold coins there are therein), to him they belong" They asked the money-changer "Now, in each of these purses how many gold coins are there?" The money-changer gave answer, said "I don't know" They asked the Khorásánian The Khorásánian said "In each purse there is so and so much [therein]." As they counted their content (lit them). there was what the Khorásánian said, a little more or less After that they took a hundred lire from the money-changer [as a fine] In return of the cash (?) they dealt some strokes to the money-changer

Then the Khorásánian said to Dala "What kind of man am I?" She said "Bravo! May God bless you! You are worthy [that] I make you my husband" The Khorásánian seized the hand of Dala, took her with him; they went on to the house of Dala She sent for a Molla, entered into marriage with the Khorásánian That night she embraced him (lit went into his arms), was happy in the union with him

After that Dala was pregnant by the Khorásánian Nine months and nine days passed, she bore four girl-children at the same time She gave those four girls in the hands of a nurse Another time Dala was pregnant Nine months and nine days passed, she bore three more girl-children. As they grew great, she brought seven buffoons, gave each of her daughters [in marriage] to [one of] the buffoons. Seven sons-in-law, seven daughters, Dala herself with her husband, sixteen persons [in all], needed bread and victuals . . .

SENTENCES

(*Bacmeistersche Sprachproben*)

1	*Xoδá mæmero*	God dies not
2	Piá kæm žíwo	Man lives [but a] short [time].
3.	Āδá zaruā wēš woš garak-ana	The mother loves her children.
4	J̌a mamā́w ā́δana šōt fəràn	In the breasts of the mother there is much milk.
5	Šuš wošaš garak-ana	Her husband loves her.
6	I žaná lamaš pora bē	This woman was pregnant.
7.	Šeš ruwa čaowā́ɫe[1] āδa kurra bi paiδá.	Six days ago the mother bore a son
8	Āδ hallai nā́woš-à	She is still ill.

[1] § 134.

9. Kənáča-u-āδı låw āδına nıšora garawaı garáwo.[1] Her daughter sıts weepıng at her sıde

10. Zā́ro garakaš nıæ mžo [2] The chıld wıll not suck

11. Knāčá hállaı mətawo bəlo rāre. The gırl-chıld can not yet walk.

12. Sālewæ u duē mæŋe čaowå̀h āδ āmā́ dənjá [3] She ıs born one year and two months ago

13. I čoær zaruə́ gardı salamana These four boys (chıldren) are well, all of them

14 Jóšā ramáj ramó,[4] duamınšā hur fərṓ, jaramınšā guranıa čəró, čoaramınšā χoaje χo [4] One of them runs, the other leaps, the thırd sıngs, the fourth laughs.

15 I pıā kūr-a Thıs man ıs blınd

16. Žanıš kær-ana Hıs wıfe ıs deaf.

17 Āδa mæžnawo waχt-e ēmæ qse karmá. She does not hear, when we are speakıng.

18 Baraw to pəšmā́ı pəšmó [4] Your brother sneezes.

19. Wāła-u-to wutána Your sıster sleeps.

20. Tātow-šəmæ χabáraš bıwæ Your father ıs awake

21. Āδ kæm waro. He eats [but] lıttle.

22 Luta delaw ıuēna. The nose ıs ın the mıddle of the face.

23 Ēmæ dua pāj-mā hæna; hær dæsawæ pænǰ aŋusæ-mā hæna We have two feet, on each hand we have fıve fıngers

24 Zolf sar-u-sarej såwz bo. The haır grows (lıt turns green) on the head.

25. Zawān daδā́nā maj dæm-na. The tongue [and] the teeth are ın the mouth

26. Dæs-u-rās-ēma mæhkamtær-a ǰa dæs-u-čæpı. Our rıght hand ıs stronger than the left hand

27 Mū dærāz u bārīk-a The haır ıs long and thın.

28. Wūnı sūr-ana. The blood ıs red

29 Āswuχā́na sæχt-ana pēsåw tawāna The bones are [as] hard as stone.

30 Māsawı čæmaš hæne, gušaš nıæne The fish has eyes, ıt has not ears

31 I palawára jawāš pərō Thıs bırd flıes slowly

32. Āδ gnare sar-u-zamınına. He sıts down on the earth.

33 Ā palawara par-e-sıāwa ǰa bāłaš-anāne. That bırd has black feathers ın ıts wıng[s].

[1] § 99. [2] § 87. [3] p. *be donjā āmad* [4] § 99

34 Draχt geɬāj-e-sâwz ɬaqāw gâwrĕš hǽna.
The tree has green leaves [and] bıg branches.

35 I palawara dænuk-ı-tež, ḳalıčke kōtāš han.
Thıs bırd has a peaky beak [and] a short taıl

36 Āδ ǰa halānına hēɬēw čærmēš hæna.
It has whıte eggs ın ıts nest.

37 Awır sōčnō, ēmæ wínmē dukaɬ, beɬesæ wa zoχāl
The fire burns, we see the smoke, the flame, and the coal.

38 Āwı ǰá ruχānana ton wıáró
The water of the rıver flows quıckly

39. Mæŋa gâwratær-ına ǰa hasārā wa wurdıtær-ena ǰa rō-ǰāwe.
The moon ıs greater than the stars and smaller than the sun

40. Hezí warān āmā.
Yesterday there was a raınfall.

41. Arō sobhanamən čæməm pena kæft hazār-e-zærína
Thıs mornıng my eyes fell on a raınbow.

42. Šaw tārīk-ana, rō rōšnâ
At nıght-time ıt is dark, at day-tıme ıt ıs lıght

43 Ēmæ qse karmá ba hawrāmī
We speak Awromānī.

44. Tawda šmæ qse kárda ba hawrāmī ?
Do (can) you speak Awromānī ?

Additions to the Grammar

(*Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa*, pp 17–75)

§ 43 Verb substantıve Present sıng. 1 *anān*

§ 45 "To go" Preterıte ıı, sıng 3 *luāna*

§ 46 "To give." Present sıng 2 neg *naməδaj*, *naməδajno*; 3 neg *naməδo* Pret ı, sıng 3 *dāi*, plur 3 *-šān dā.*

§ 47 "To come," also "to become," "to turn." Pres. sıng. 3. *mâwo*, neg *namâwo*. Pret. sıng 3 *āma*, plur. 3 *amēwa.*

§ 48. "To see" Pret ı, plur 3 *-šān dī.*

§ 50 "To be able" Pres sıng 3 neg. *məɬawo.*

§ 53 "To brıng" Imperatıve sıng *bowra*, Pret. ıı, sıng 3 *āworde.*

§ 59. "To do." Imperatıve sıng *b'kar...* Pres. sıng. 1 *makaru*, neg. *n'makaıı*, 2 *makaı ı* Subj sıng. 1, *bakaru*, *b'kāıu*, 2 *bakarino.*

§ 61 "To dıe." Pret. ı, plur. 3 *mardē.*

§ 62 "To place" Imperat. sıng *baníéro.* Pret. sing. 3 *niāšārā*, *niajšēna.* Pluperf. sıng 3 *niā bēra.*

§ 63 "To sıt down" Imperat. sıng. *banišára.*

§ 64. Pres sing 3 *hur fəró* "he leaps"
§ 65. "To say" Imperat sing *buāča*
§ 66. "To rise" Imperat. sing. *huräza* Pret. plur. 3 *hurázaj*.
§ 68 "To pass," "to flow" Pres. sing 3 *wāro*.
§ 69. "To be born" Pret sing 3 *zajna* Fut. (?) *zaruewæn*
§ 70. "To know" Pres sing 1 neg *namazanu*.
§ 73. "To carry off" Pres sing 3 *barí*. Pret. sing. 3 *bardan*.
§ 75. Pres sing 3 (*guranıa*) *čəro* "he sings"
§ 79. "To make war," "to quarrel" Pret. plur. 3 *gəziaj*
§ 80 "To ask for" Pret 1, sing. 3 *kıasaš*.
§ 96. "To read" Pret sing. 3 *wēnē*
§ 98 "To live." Pres sing. 3 *žíwo*.

Other verbs —

"To ask" Pret. sing 3 *persāš*, plur. 3 *persāšān*.
"To hear" Pres sing 3 neg. *mæžnawo*
§ 99. *luaj məlú*, "I am going"
§ 123. Other forms of the Reciprocal Pronoun *joàšān, jăktărınšān*
§ 127. Indefinite Pronouns. *jo-jo* "one by one"
§ 128 Prepositions *o* "to", = *ow*.
§ 134. Adverbs *čen, čən* "how much", "how many". *ān naša*, "so (and so) much".

Additions to the Vocabulary

(pp. 120–8)

bābā "father".
baχal "armpit", "arm" (p. *baġal*)
beɬesæ "flame"
χodrat "power" (ar -p *qodrát*)
ɬàqa "branch" (kand. *laq*, M.-H Gûr., p. 264).
mōr "seal" (p *mohr*).
naχt "cash" (?) (p *naqd*).
qaras "in short" (ar -p. *algaraz*)
rånıkı "trousers" (coloured).
rōǰāwe "sunshine", "sun" (p. *rūz* + *āb*).
rut "naked", "void" (kand. *rût*, M -H. Gûr, p 278, p. *loχt*)
šıkāt "complaint" (ar.-p *šekāǰat*)
šurā "assembly".
taqδıā "predestination" (ar -p *taqdīr*)
tež "sharp" (kand. *tîzh*, M.-H Gûr., p 287, p *tīz*)
zamā "son-in-law" (kand *zâmâ*, M.-H. Gûr, p. 293; p. *dāmād*)
zıāj "much", "more" (ar.-p. *zīād*).

Les nasales en fin de mot en sanskrit (et latin)

Par A Cuny

I Origine des nasales finales

M. A. MEILLET (*MSL. Paris*, t ix, pp 365–372) enseignait,—depuis il est revenu souvent sur la question et s'est toujours prononcé dans le même sens — que, à l'accusatif singulier des thèmes en *-o-* du genre animé (masculin, féminin) et au nominatif–accusatif singulier des thèmes en *-o-* du genre inanimé (neutre), la nasale finale était en indo-européen, non pas *-m* comme on l'écrit généralement, mais bien *-n* (de même pour les thèmes consonantiques masc.–fém arm *otn* "pied", comme *tasn* "dix" et les thèmes en *-i-* et en *-u-*) C'est que cette nasale se présente effectivement avec l'articulation dentale en celtique (gaul *nemeton*, etc .), en germanique (got. *þan-a*, *lvan*, etc . .), en lituanien, en slave (*sŭn-* devant voyelle à côté de *sŭ-* devant consonne, et autres exx.), en grec (*τόν*, etc .), en arménien (cf. *otn*, *tasn* contre skr. *pâdam*, lat *decem*, etc.), toutes langues auxquelles s ajoute maintenant le hittite (*naḫlan* acc., etc) Au contraire, elle n'affecte l'articulation labiale qu'en indo-iranien et en italique De plus, M A Meillet faisait observer que chaque langue indo-européenne prise à part ne présente jamais qu'un des deux traitements, le traitement labial *-m* ou le traitement dental *-n* Cette seconde remarque n'est contredite qu'en apparence par les substantifs neutres en *-en*, *-men* du latin (ici l'analogie a fait disparaître les effets de l'évolution phonétique régulière, qui seraient **-em*, **-mom*, les gén –dat. sing *-inis*, *-inī*, *-minis*, *-minī* et tous les cas du pluriel, c -à -d *-ina*, *-mina*, *-inum*, *-minum*, etc , dans lesquels *-n-* était intérieur, ayant fait rétablir *-n* au lieu du *-m* attendu, et attesté par l'ombrien) et par les finales sanskrites du type de *tasmin*, locat masc -neutre et *vājin*, vocat masculin, etc qui sont, évidemment, d'origine récente, cf p ex avest *čahmi*, *kahmi* (Aussi le *samdhi* n'est il pas le même *tasminn-eva* mais *tam-eva*.[1])

Est-ce à dire que l'indo-européen ne connaissait absolument que *-n* final et que, dans tous les cas de mots finissant sur une nasale, cet *-n* ait été mécaniquement transformé en *-m* en indo-iranien (et de même en italique commun ou du moins en prélatin, cf arch *dōnom*,

[1] Le sanskrit connaît des *n* finaux d'origine récente (*prāṅ*, etc , neutre *prāk*). L'indo-européen n'avait certainement que *-n* ou *-m* en fin de mot À plus forte raison n'avait-il en cette position ni *n*, ni *ñ*

en préosco-ombrien, cf. o. **Núvlanúm** " Nolanorum ", etc. . . .) ? Non, car il est certain que l'indo-européen disposait, non seulement de thèmes, mais de formes nominales ou verbales finissant les unes sur *-n*, les autres sur *-m* Ce qui reste vrai, c'est que chaque idiome, pris en particulier, ne connaît plus que *-m* ou *-n* final. Il faut au reste distinguer ici entre suffixes et désinences Là où il s'agit de thèmes appartenant au genre inanimé (neutre), le morphème suffixé finissant sur une nasale *-n* ou *-m* (soit *-n̥*, *-m̥* au degré zéro) se trouvait être en finale absolue, et la chose se produisait également dans quelques noms de nombre et dans quelques indéclinables, v. ci-dessous

1 *Désinences* (il faut en outre distinguer ici entre désinences nominales et désinences verbales)

A *Nom* —Parmi les différentes désinences nominales la première à considérer est celle de l'accusatif singulier des thèmes masculins et féminins en *-ā-*, *-ə̄-*, *-ŏ-*, *-ĭ-*, *-ŭ*, etc (cf aussi les thèmes m -f consonantiques) et la nasale du nominatif-accusatif singulier des thèmes neutres en *-o-* (finale sans doute inorganique) Il est bien certain que c'est M A Meillet qui a raison et que c'est sous la forme **ton*, **tān*, **ag₁ron*, **owin*, **bhāg₁hun*, etc , **dōnon*, etc . , qu'il convient de restituer les prototypes des formes sanskrites *tám*, *tắm*, *ágram*, *ávim*, *bāhúm*, etc , *dắnam* n , etc , cf gr *τόν*, *τήν* (dor *τᾶν*), lat *(is)tum*, *(is)tam*, *ἀγρόν*, *agrum*, ép *οἶν*, att *οἶν*, lat *ouem*, *πῆχυν*, cf *senātum*, *manum*, etc , etc

Ensuite, il faut faire état de la désinence de génitif pluriel indo-européen *-ōn*, gr *-ων*, *-ῶν*, lat. *-um*, etc. . . , soit un indo-iranien très antique **-ān* et, avec répétition de l'indice de cas (mais on a encore véd *devắm* et un ou deux autres exemples) la désinence ordinaire *-ānām* des thèmes en *-o-* et en *-ā-*, telle qu'elle a été expliquée par M A Meillet (article cité) C'est donc au cours de l'époque indo-iranienne qu'a eu lieu la transformation phonétique de *-ān* final en *-ām*, et le cas est le même que celui de l'accus sg dont les formes telles que *undắm* (accompagné d'un auxiliaire et suppléant le parfait de *unátti* [Atharvaveda]) n'est sans doute qu'une attestation particulière accus **undā-n* , si cette forme existait déjà en indo-européen, elle a entraîné, en latin, la création d un paradigme *unda*, *undae*, etc . . sur le modèle de *aqua*, *aquae*, etc.

Mais il y a aussi, dans les pronoms à genres et dans les pronoms personnels, une sorte de désinence indo-iranienne *-am* (on la retrouve également en latin dans *id-em*, de même qu'en ombrien), on a skr démonstr. nom masc *ay-ám*, fém. *ay-ám*, n. *id-ám* (cf. lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*),

pronom 1ère pers. *ahám*, v p *adam*, avest *azəm* " ego ", 2e pers. *t(u)v-ám* " tu ", plur 1ère p. *vay-ám* " nous ", *yūy-ám* " vous ", indo-iran. **yūž-am* de **yūs* + *am*, c -à-d **yūs-ə*₍*en*, v ci-dessous — l'explication est celle de M A Meillet qui, dans skr *yūyám*, voit une assimilation (au lieu du **yūrám* attendu), etc . . . On a même le réfléchi *svay-ám*, mais la forme est indéclinable Bien que *-am* se rencontre dans un neutre (*idám*, lat. *id-em*) et dans des formes de pluriel, on peut y voir un indice de nominatif (*mahī* et *tvī*, etc., montrent qu'il est analogique dans skr. *máhyam* et *túbhyam*, on a aussi *túbhya*) C'est l'équivalent sémantique à la fois du *-s* du nomin. masc –fém. sing , du *-es* du nominatif plur de même genre et du *-n* du nominatif (acc) neutre des thèmes en *-o-* La comparaison de cet élément avec le *'an-* du sémit comm dans **'an-'a* " ego " (ar. class etc , *'ana*), **'an-ta*, fém **'an-tī* " tu " (ar. class. etc , *'anta*, fém. *'anti*), **'an-tum* " uōs " (ar class etc., *'antum*) et autres formes pronominales dans lesquelles le morphème *'an-* occupe la première place au lieu d'apparaître à la seconde (fait assez fréquent pour tous les morphèmes en sémitique) prouve que, dans la restitution sous forme indo-européenne de cet élément il faut se décider pour *-ə*₍*en* On notera que *-n* des neutres en *-o-* pourrait très bien représenter le degré zéro de cet élément, mais la chose supposerait l'amuissement de *ə*₍.

Le cas est donc le même que le précédent l'indo-iranien et l'italique ont transformé phonétiquement *-ə*₍*en* en *-am* (resp^{t} *-em*) Les autres langues ne semblent pas avoir gardé de traces de cet *-ə*₍*en* [il fonctionne comme pluriel aussi bien que comme singulier en indo-européen et en sémitique Sur ce dernier domaine il est même admis dans le duel ar. cl. *'antumā*, mais le fait se retrouve encore en indo-iranien · véd. *āvám*, accus *āvā́m* " nous deux ". L identification proposée est donc des plus plausibles]

B *Verbe.*—Ici il faut d'abord retenir les désinences de duel aux 2e et 3e personnes secondaires de l'actif skr *-tam*, *-tām* (on en a l'équivalent en vieux-perse et en avestique, cf aussi gr *-τον*, *-τᾱν* (Pindare), att *-τηv*. Le vieux-slave *-ta* (de même le lituanien) ne présente pas de nasale finale, non plus que l'ombrien *-tu-ta* (si l'on adopte les vues de M Nacinovich, *Carmen Arvale*, qui y voit d'anciennes désinences de duel, cf lat. *-tis* pluriel, mais skr. *-thah* duel) et ne décide naturellement rien au sujet de la qualité de la nasale finale. Mais il y a toute chance pour qu ici nous ayons affaire à d'anciens **-to-n*, **-tā-n* indo-européens, étant donné le hittite *-ten* (devenu pluriel dans l'usage, p ex. *vyatten* " vous faites ", cf aussi le sémit **-tun* (hébr. *-tĕn*, etc. . .)

et peut-être même le hittite hiéroglyphique *-tana* dans *rastana* d'après B. Hrozný, *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques*, 1e Lieferung, p. 93 (mais M. P. Meriggi[1] n'est pas de l'avis de M. Hrozný). À plus forte raison songera-t-on à **-tān* pour la 3e sing de l'impératif médio-passif (skr *kriya-tām*) qui n'a même peut-être pas une antiquité indo-iranienne, et à **-dhwon* pour la désinence secondaire de deuxième personne plur au moyen désinence indo-iranienne que l'on retrouve presque identiquement en hittite et qui peut-être était duelle autrefois, cf gr. *-σθον* Comme ici *-n* était inorganique cf 2e primaire plur. moyen skr. *-dhre*, il n y a pas de raison pour y voir autre chose que *-n* à l'origine, cf les neutres en *-o-*.

Il en est en revanche tout autrement de la désinence secondaire de première personne singulier actif En effet soit au présent (lat. *sum*, o. *sám*, indo-europ **s-om*, existant à côté de **es-mi* suivant les vues de M. J. Bonfante, admises maintenant en partie par M A Meillet dans son *Introduction*, 7e éd), soit à l imparfait. qu il s agisse d'un thématique skr *ábharam*, gr *ἔφερον*, etc . . , ou d'un athématique (skr *áçrunavam*, gr *ἐδείκνῦν*, etc . , soit dans les divers aoristes, thématiques, p ex *ávocam* (analogique pour **ávoham*, cf avest *vaocaṭ*) ou athématiques (*árautsam*, *ádarçam*, etc . — pour *áçruṇavam*, *árautsam*, etc . cf dans les noms *pād-am* comme *áçva-m*, mais gr *πόδα* et *ἵππον* —, il paraît certain que la finale primitive était *-m*, *-m*, soit donc *-o-m* dans le type thématique, que l'on pense, comme l'auteur de ces lignes, ou que l'on nie, ainsi qu'on le fait généralement, qu'il y ait un rapport étymologique entre cet *-m* (*-m̥* ultt le **mĕ* qui est à la base des formes du pronom singulier de 1ère (mais ne skr gén.-dat atone *me*, gr. *μοι*, lat *mī*, skr. dat. tonique *mahyam*, lat *mihī*, skr accus tonique *mām*, v. sl. *mę*, lat *mē*, gr *με* etc. . .

2 *Morphèmes nominaux suffixes* (cas de la désinence *zéro*)

Si les mots qui comportent des suffixes à nasale *-n*, *-m* appartiennent à un des genres animés, p ex **g,hyem-* ' hiver ' (fém), **g,²hem-*, **g,hem-* " terre " (fém), **sem-* " année, été " (skr *sám-ā*, etc , fém), ils ne viennent pas ici en considération, car la nasale qui termine le thème ne se trouve jamais placée en finale absolue On peut signaler seulement que, pour le premier de ces mots, **g,hyem-*, M. M. Ernout et Meillet (v leur *Dictionnaire*, p 431) admettent l'existence d'un second thème (à nasale dentale), soit **g,hyen-* et que dans

[1] *Archiv fur Orientforschung*, t x, 3e cahier, Berlin, 1935, p 121.

Emerita (Madrid, n° de décembre 1935), il est montré que le bénéfice de cette observation doit être également étendu aux noms de la " terre " et de l' " année ", soit donc des formes parallèles **g̑ʰe/on-* (gr χθόνα, etc), **sen-* (lat *senium*, *senecta*, etc) Car le fait a de l'importance pour le nom de nombre " un " (en grec εἷς, μία, ἕν) D'après l'explication courante, il s'agirait d'anciens **sem-s*, **sm-ɥ̯*, **sem*. Mais, plus probablement, on avait d'abord **sen-s* masculin et surtout **sen* neutre (nominatif-accusatif) Si on l'admet, on sera dispensé de recourir au détour proposé par M A Meillet (art cité, p 372) " Le passage de *-m* à *-n* doit être tenu pour antérieur à l'existence séparée des dialectes historiquement connus " En effet, dans cette hypothèse, **sem* (nomin -accus neutre sing) aurait passé à **sen* dans la langue commune, pour redevenir **sem* en italique et **sam* en indo-iranien (cf skr préverbe *sam-* avec ", littéral' " en un", lat *sem-el*, arch *semul*, class *simul*, etc) Au reste, **sen* originaire était déjà admis par R Gauthiot (*Fin de mot*, 1913) et par M J Mansion, *Muséon*, 1913, p 250) Suivant donc qu'on partira — pour rendre compte du skr *sam* — de indo-europ **sem* ou **sen*, qui sans doute existaient côte à côte, on constatera une conservation ou une transformation phonétique de l état indo-européen Mais, pour les dérivés · skr *samá-*, etc , lat *similis*, etc , il faut sûrement partir de **sem* comme base

Dans le cas des substantifs de genre neutre (ceci serait vrai du reste du nom -acc neutre d adjectifs du type correspondant au nom masc. sing *sómarājā* p ex) skr *nâma*, *çárma*, **çróma* (on n'a que *çrómatam*, cf v h all *hliumunt* " renommée), etc , gr ὄνομα, λεῖμμα, etc . .. lat *inguen* (serait en grec **ἄβα*, cf le masculin régulier ἀδήν < **ng̑ʰēn*) lat *unguen* (cf *unguentum*, skr *áñjaḥ*, v h. all. *ancho* masc , etc) il est absolument sûr que l'on doit partir de thèmes finissant par la nasale dentale soit donc **nōm-n̥*, **°n̥ᶜm-n*, **lerk̑-mn*, **n̥gʷn* **ong₂n* (**ong̑ʰn̥ton*), etc etc On a naturellement ici *-a* comme finale en sanskrit [Il est à noter que si l analogie avait amené la création de **-an* (cf. le cas de *pádam*, etc . . , *árautsam*, etc .), cet **-an* serait phonétiquement devenu **-am*] De la sorte *nâma* et autres neutres analogues se comportent exactement comme *náva* ' 9 (**néwn̥*) et comme *saptá* ' 7 (**septḿ*) et *dáśa* ' 10 " (**dék̑ṃ*) En latin, seuls **nōmem*, **inguem*, **unguem* etc , auraient été réguliers, mais on a vu que l'analogie avait fait disparaître ces finales, l'ombrien gardant toutefois des traces du traitement phonétique régulier ; malheureusement dans cette langue, comme dans le cas des accusatifs sg. masc.

et fém. et dans le cas des nom –acc. neutres en *-o-*, le *-m* final est très souvent omis dans la graphie, mais on a **numem** "nōmen" bien attesté sur les tables en écriture étrusque

Noms de nombre et mots isolés

Ces mots étant indéclinables, il ne pouvait être question d'influences analogiques provenant de la flexion. Ainsi **septḿ̥i*, **dék̂m̥* et **néwn̥* sont donc indifféremment *saptá*, *dáśa*, *náva* en sanskrit, *septem*, *decem*, *nouem* en latin (ceci malgré lat. *nōn-us*, got. *niun*, lituan. *devñ̃tas* "neuvième", opposer lituan *dẽšimtas* "dixième"), tout comme gr. *ἑπτά*, *δέκα*, *(ἐν)νέα*, arm *ewthn*, *tasn* À noter que la plupart des faits résumés jusqu'ici sont bien connus, mais il fallait les remettre en mémoire pour bien montrer que, dans la question du traitement des finales, il ne faut tenir compte ni des formes nominales du genre de *pā́dam*, etc , ni des formes verbales du genre de *árautsam*, mais envisager uniquement les finales (indo-européennes) *-ĭn*, *-ŭn*, *-ŏn*, *-ăn*, *-n̥*, *-ēn*, c'est-à-dire indo-iraniennes *-ī́m*, *-ū́m*, *-am*, *-ām*, etc. (le sanskrit comme le latin n'a conservé que les thèmes en *-ŏ-*, tandis que le grec a encore les deux, en *-ō-* *κάλω-ς* "câble" en attique et en *-o-* *κάλος* "câble" en ionien, etc . . , de même *-n̥* (gr *-ᾰ́ν*) ne paraît pas avoir de répondant en sanskrit, opposer *vr̥kím* à *λύσαᾰ́ν*)

Pour les mots isolés, on peut rappeler **kon*,[1] skr. *kám*, v sl *kŭ* (et *kŭn* devant voyelle, cf p ex russe *kń-jemú* "à lui"), lat. *cum* (*con-* et *co-* en composition), **kʷon* (lat *quom*, *cum*, got *han*), **ton* (got. *þan*), lat *tum* comme *num* (cf *tun-c* et *nun-c*) soit **tu-n* et **nu-n* (gr *νῦν*, cf skr. *tu*, *nu*), **kʷān* (lat *quam*, d'où *quan-de*, *quan-dō*, armén. *khan*). Le cas est le même que pour toutes les catégories précédentes (sauf celle de **[é]bherom*, skr *ábharam*, gr. *ἔφερον* et autres formes analogues) On a *-n* → *-m* en indo-iranien comme en italique.

II Articulation indo-iranienne des nasales en fin de mot

Le traitement indo-iranien et le traitement italique (connu surtout par le latin), bien qu'il y ait entre eux de grandes ressemblances, ne sont pourtant pas de tout point identiques. C'est quand il s'agit de la phonétique de la phrase (*samdhi* = phonétique syntactique) qu'apparaissent les différences Une citation quelconque suffit à le rappeler, soit par exemple le *śloka* emprunté par A. Bergaigne (*Manuel*, p 2) aux *Indische Spruche* de Weber

[1] D'où gr *κοινός* < **koin-yús* Car *βαίνω* représente **gʷm̥-yō*, ainsi que le montre le lat *uenio*, *uēnī*, osque **kúm-bened**

tenādhītaṃ śrutam tena tena sarvam-anusṭhitam |
yenāśāṃ pṛsthataḥ kṛtvā nairāśyam-avalambitam ||

à côté de ce vers de l'Odyssée (α, 1)

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλά

et de ce vers de Virgile (*Eglogues*, x, 13) —

ill^{um} etiam laur^{i} ill^{um} etiam flēuēre myricae.

Dans le texte sanskrit *sarvam* devant *anusṭhitam* et *nairāśyam* devant *avalambitam* sont traités de la même façon exactement que *πολύτροπον* dans le texte grec devant *ὅς* (mot à initiale purement vocalique, si l'on tient compte de la psilose éolienne ou ionienne masquée par la graphie attique avec esprit rude, *h* = ') Dans le texte latin au contraire, la finale ^{um} devant *etiam* est traitée exactement de la même façon que la finale ^{i} de *laur^{i}* devant *ill^{um}*, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est " escamotée " dans la prononciation (fausse élision, suivant l'enseignement de Louis Havet, mais réelle disparition)

Pour le vieux-perse et l'avestique la graphie ne nous révèle pas qu'une finale *-am* (par exemple) soit traitée différemment selon qu'une voyelle ou une consonne ouvre le mot suivant dans la phrase Ainsi *adam dārayavauš* est noté de la même façon que s'il était suivi d'un mot à initiale vocalique, p ex *avam asmanam*, Meillet-Benveniste, *Gr* , p 11, comme *adam Bardiya a(h)mmy*, ibid , p 135 (de même pour avest *azəm*)

Outre l'option pour la nuance labiale *-m* devant voyelle en sanskrit (et partout en latin), ce qu il y a de commun entre le traitement sanskrit de *-am* (par exemple) et le traitement latin de *-um* (par exemple) en cas d'initiale consonantique du mot suivant—le choix de la nuance labiale, *-am*, est uniquement le fait des transcripteurs européens, mais ils paraissent avoir été guidés par un sens exact de la langue—le trait commun de ces traitements, c'est l'affaiblissement (il se manifeste, on le sait, dans toutes les tranches finales de mot, v Gauthiot, *Fin de mot*) Cet affaiblissement a entraîné les conséquences que voici en sanskrit comme en latin le complexe phonétique formé par voyelle + nasale finale s est réduit à une simple voyelle nasalisée du genre des voyelles françaises *-an*, *-in*, *-on* ou des voyelles polonaises *ę*, *ǫ*, mieux encore de *-an*, *-in*, *-on* français articulés par des sujets parlants originaires du Sud-Est de la France, p ex , *pɛ̃^{m}* au lieu de *pɛ̃* (écrit *pain*) Toutefois l'affaiblissement était bien plus considérable en latin. Les grammairiens indigènes signalent le fait et très souvent *-m* final n'est pas noté sur les anciennes inscriptions (même fait en

ombrien, p. ex ivengaru = lat *iuuencarum*, etc. . . .). Malgré des juxtaposés tels que *quamobrem*, *quemadmodum*, pour lesquels les Anciens ne nous disent pas si l'on escamotait *-am*, *-em* ou si l'on articulait *qua-mo-bre(m)*, *que-ma-dmo-du(m)*, la poésie classique prouve qu une voyelle quelconque suivie de *-m* final s'élidait (ou mieux s escamotait), même en cas de monosyllabes ici on évitait généralement l élision, *rem* par exemple étant réduit à une seule consonne *r-*, et cela comme si le mot finissait directement sur une voyelle En un mot, l'affaiblissement des finales latines *-um*, *-im*, *-em*, *-am*, etc , était aussi considérable que celui des finales arabes $-u^n$, $-i^n$, $-a^n$ même en ar classique (cf. vieux-babylonien *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, sabéen *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, sémit comm $-*u^n/m$, $*-i^n/m$, $*-a^n/m$). Ici l'affaiblissement était si sensible que, même quand il s'agit de textes anciens, les arabisants traitent aujourd'hui ces finales comme n'existant pas, qui pis est, comme n'ayant jamais existé, ce qui est aussi contraire à la réalité historique que si l'on enseignait qu'en latin *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc., n'ont jamais été prononcés, parce qu'en français ils sont représentés par *zéro* ou par *e* muet et qu'ils ne le sont que par de simples voyelles *-o*, *-e*, *-a* en espagnol, italien, etc

Vu cet affaiblissement, la véritable notation pour le latin serait *ũ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ã*, *ẽ*, soit de simples voyelles nasalisées Ceci veut dire que le stade intermédiaire ($-ũ^m$) entre *-um*, etc , et *ũ*, etc était déjà définitivement dépassé (au moins à l'époque classique 1er siècle avant notre ère) Au contraire, le sanskrit (védique, etc) en était encore exactement au point moyen de l'évolution En effet, on voit très bien, si on l admet, pourquoi, devant initiale vocalique de mot suivant, on a en sanskrit *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc C'est qu'il s'agit ici d'anciens $-ũ^m$, $-ĩ^m$, $-ã^m$, etc (cf les transcriptions *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc , devant consonne alors que peut-être il ne s'agit plus déjà que de *-ũ*, *-ĩ*, *-ã*, etc tout ceci malgré la prononciation de *-m* en *-n* reconnue maintenant, mais pour le tokharien seulement) Dans ces finales, $-ũ^m$, $-ĩ^m$, $-ã^m$, le ^{m} a été renforcé par l'attaque vocalique (douce) du mot qui suivait. Cet $^{-m}$ une fois consolidé (au contraire devant initiale consonantique il s était sans doute évanoui [1]) a dénasalisé les *ũ*, *ĩ*, *ã*, etc , qui le précédaient immédiatement [phénomène de *différenciation*, v A Meillet, *M S L*, t xii, pp 14–34], d où, en définitive, dans la phrase, *-um*, *-im* *-am*, etc , devant voyelle En grec, l'évolution a dû être la même, à part ce détail que la langue avait, au rebours de l'indo-iranien, opté pour l'articulation dentale de toute nasale en

[1] Ne laissant subsister que la nasalisation

fin de mot et que, comme le vieux-perse et l'avestique, le grec ne fait aucune différence entre le cas d'initiale vocalique et celui d'initiale consonantique du mot suivant, employant partout la *scriptio plena* (et sans doute aussi la prononciation inaltérée de la nasale en fin de mot comme à l'intérieur)

En grec on a donc eu, comme en sanskrit, devant voyelle, un stade *-õⁿ*, *-ãⁿ*, *-ũⁿ*, etc , puis *-on* (*-ον*), *-an* (*-αν*), *-un* (*-υν*), etc dénasalisés par le même procédé de différenciation que ci-dessus, cf p. ex *πολύτροπον* devant *ὅς*, soit *[h]os* Toutefois — on l'a déjà rappelé — ce traitement, après consolidation de *-ⁿ* en *-ν*, a été étendu en grec à tous les cas De même, l'aspect sourd de la " sistante " *s* (terminologie de F de Saussure), soit *-s*, aspect qui n'était légitime que devant occlusive sourde, a été généralisé (il n'y a des traces de l'aspect sonore ancien, *-z*, (sous forme de *-ρ*) qu'ici dans quelques inscriptions dialectales laconien, érétrien, éléen, tandis que le sanskrit, on le sait, distingue toujours entre les cas d'initiale sonore et initiale sourde du mot suivant, p ex *-ah* (*-as*) et *-o*, de même que dans le cas de *-m*, il distingue toujours entre initiale vocalique et initiale consonantique Devant initiale consonantique, l'accord du sanskrit et du latin est *presque* parfait *etam* (*vīram*) p ex comme *illum* (*uirum*) p ex , avec une voyelle nasalisée plus ou moins affaiblie, le latin toutefois étant beaucoup plus évolué Devant voyelle, la finale nasalisée a continué de s'affaiblir en latin et a fini par ne plus compter tandis que, par la voie indiquée ci-dessus, elle a été en fin de compte, rétablie en sanskrit.

Ce qui est donc indo-iranien dans le traitement indien des nasales finales, c'est l option pour *-m* seul (au lieu de *-m* et *-n* primitivement existants) Ce qui appartient en propre au sanskrit, c'est l'emploi de *-am* devant initiale vocalique (mais aussi en fin de phrase) et de *-aṃ* devant initiale consonantique, alors que l'iranien ne semble faire ici aucune distinction. Cette distinction est-elle ancienne ou non ?

K. Brugmann, dans son *Grundriss*, enseignait que les traits essentiels du *saṃdhi* (védique et classique) remontaient à l'indo-iranien et même à l'indoeuropéen Il avait sans doute raison, ainsi qu'on le voit par la chute indoeuropéenne de *-m*, *-n*, *-r* en fin de mot après voyelle longue : védique *kṣā-ḥ* " terre ", c.-à.-d prévéd **kṣā* (avec *-s* surajouté), issu d'un nomin. indo-europ. **gʰzhō* (pour la voyelle, cf. *χθών*), avec chute de l'*-m* de **gʰzhᵉ₁m-* après allongement de la voyelle thématique ; de même avest. *zyā* " hiver ", ancien **jhyā* (avec *-s* du nominatif surajouté) issu d'un nominat. indo-europ. **gʰyō* (pour

la voyelle, cf *χιών*) avec chute de l'-*m* de **g₁hyᵉ/ₒm-* après allongement de la voyelle thématique), puis tout le type de skr *ádhvā* " chemin ", thème *ádhvan-*, v -lat *hemō*, lat *homō*, *sermō*, etc , anciens nominatifs en *-ō* avec chute indo-européenne de *-n* après allongement de la voyelle thématique, cf encore *pṭā*, de indo-europ. **pə̥tē*, avec chute de *-r* final après allongement de la voyelle du thème au nomin singulier Si donc *-m*, *-n*, *-r* tombaient en fin de mot après voyelle longue (**g₁zhō* < **g₁zhōᵐ*, etc), c'est la preuve que *-m*, *-n*, *-r* étaient faibles même après voyelle brève Au reste, l'indo-européen, dans les cas cités plus haut, paraît avoir généralisé la forme à nasale (ou à liquide) complètement réduite L'état indo-européen des nasales en fin de mot devait donc être à peu près ce qui suit (par convention la voyelle *o* représentera ici une voyelle quelconque) .

1) devant initiale consonantique *-ōⁿ* et *-ōᵐ*

2) devant initiale vocalique *-ōn* et *-ōm* [1]

À l'époque indo-iranienne on eut

1) *-ãᵐ* (avec identification des deux finales, devant consonne)

2) *-ãm* (avec identification des deux finales, devant voyelle)

[En iranien le traitement 2) paraît avoir été généralisé comme en grec]

De même à l époque italique (commune) on eut

1) *-õᵐ* (d où lat arch *-om* et *-o*, class *-um* devant consonne)

2) *-õm* (et lat class *-um*, noté de même, mais très faible ainsi que le prouve l élision en poésie)

En résumé, ainsi qu'il arrive souvent, le sanskrit, à l'intérieur de l'indo-iranien, et le latin, à l intérieur du groupe italique, ont évolué par des voies très analogues et se montrent très conservateurs, là surtout où ils sont d'accord L innovation, qui a introduit *-m* au lieu de *-n* s'est produite, la chose va de soi, indépendamment en indo-iranien et en italique [2] Quant à l affaiblissement du complexe voyelle + nasale finale, le latin qui l a maintenu et peut-être exagéré, paraît avoir été plus conservateur que le sanskrit, qui l'est à son tour plus que l'iranien (et que le grec).

[1] Dans beaucoup de parlers *n* et *m* consonnes, comme elles le sont ici, nasalisent la voyelle précédente Ainsi dans tout le français de l'Est (au centre aussi Pithiviers), on prononce p ex *il mẽn(e)* au lieu de *il mèn(e)*, etc , etc

[2] C est le seul point sur laquelle la tradition a été altérée en latin et le fait n'est pas très ancien ainsi que l'indique lat *quon-iam* a côté de *quom*, *cum* Le sanskrit a sans doute cédé aussi sur celui des voyelles nasalisées finales devant voyelle — J'aurais dû citer plus tôt *La nasalité en indo-aryen* de M J Bloch, article paru dans le volume du *Cinquantenaire de l'École des Htes Études* (1918)

Der Typus *tudá-* im Altindischen

Von Albert Debrunner

DIE folgende Untersuchung ist aus der Arbeit an Band II, 2, von J. Wackernagels *Altindischer Grammatik* hervorgewachsen, der die nominale Ableitung behandelt. Das Material ist gewonnen aus dem Kontrarindex in Grassmanns *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, aus Whitneys „Index verborum zum AV" (*JAOS* 8,12), aus Whitneys „Roots" (Anhang II zu seiner *Grammatik*), aus den einschlagigen Regeln des Pāṇini (nebst Mahābhāṣya, Kāśikā und Siddhānta-Kaumudī) und aus Wackernagels wertvollen Sammlungen zu diesem Kapitel. Jeder, der selber auf dem Gebiet der ai. Grammatik arbeitet, weiss, dass ein so gewonnenes Material Lücken aufweist, sie waren nicht wesentlich kleiner geworden, wenn ich alle Stichwörter der Petersburger Wörterbücher durchgesehen hätte. Das Gesamtbild dürfte trotz der Lücken in den Grundzügen richtig sein. Für die Verarbeitung und Darstellung trage ich die Verantwortung allein.

Ich gebe zuerst eine alphabetische Liste aller irgendwie in Betracht kommenden Wörter, Sicheres, Zweifelhaftes und Falsches nebeneinander. Dabei sind die Wörter, die sicher oder sehr wahrscheinlich nicht zum Typus *tudá-* gehören, in Kleinsatz gedruckt, diese Wörter sind in der nachherigen Behandlung nicht berücksichtigt.

Mit *Ai. Gr.* wird im Folgenden auf die erschienenen Bände von Wackernagels Werk verwiesen, nach diesem sind auch die Umschrift und die Abkürzungen gestaltet.

Alphabetische Liste

ep. *iṅga-* „beweglich" v. *iṅg-* „sich regen" (Pras. ep. kl. *iṅga-*)

v. *iná-* „stark, tüchtig" *in-* in ŚB *úpenita-* „eingedrückt" (SV. 1, 2, 2, 4, 2 = 1. 176*a iniṣṭasi* für RV 10, 134, 7*a minīmasi* ?), vgl. aw. *a(i)nita-* aus **an-inita-* „nicht gekränkt", *in-ti-* „Kränkung", aber sonst v. *inóti, invati* „treibt" und dazu *-invá-* (Wackernagel, *Ai. Gr.*, II, 1,181)

v. *gav-iṣá-* „Kühe begehrend" (= v. *gav-iṣ-*), v. *préṣa-* „Drang" (= v. *prés-*) v. *iṣ-* „wünschen" (Pras. *iṣa-* erst ep.)

-īkṣa- V. 8 zu P. 3, 2, 1, dazu Pat. *sukha-pratīkṣa-* „Glück erwartend", andere Vorderglieder mit *pratīkṣa-* ep. kl. nicht zu v. *īkṣ-* (Pras. *ikṣa-*) „sehen", AV. *prati īkṣ-* „erwarten", sondern

Bahuvrīhi-Hintergliedform von U ep *pratīkṣā-* „Erwartung"; ŚB. *tkṣa-* ist nur etymologische Spekulation.

-īnkhá- v *prenkhá-* „schwankend, Schaukel" · v *pra īnkh-* (Pras AA *ínkha-*) „schütteln, schaukeln" (vgl v. *-īnkhayá-* aus dem Prasensstamm *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 180)

ep *īna-* „Wind" v *īr-* (Pras *íra-*) „in Bewegung setzen". Vgl aw. *īra-*, n. „Anlauf, Tatkraft"

ŚB *īśá-* „Herrscher" (= VS *íś-*), U. als Hinterglied · v. *īś-* „herrschen" (Pras v einmal *īśate* neben gewohnlichem *īste*)

kl *īha-* „Verlangen" B *īh-* (Pras. *íha-*) „verlangen"

B S *-uksa-* „besprengend" (= v *-úks-*) · v *uks-* (Pras. *uksá-*) „besprengen". Anders *bṛhád-ukṣa-*, s *Ai. Gr.*, II, 1, 116, und Keith zu TS 1, 4, 26*b*

S *-ujjha-* „aufgebend" ep kl *ujjh-* (Pras. *ujjhá-*) „aufgeben"

S *uñchá-* (Oxytonese nach P 6, 1, 160) „Nachlese" S kl *uñch-* (Pras. *úñcha-* und *uñchá-*) „auflesen"

-uda- in P Vop *avoda-* v *ud-* „benetzen" (P 6, 4, 29 aus v. *und-* mit Nasalschwund), doch eher Bahuvrīhi mit *-ud-a-* (*Ai. Gr*, II, 1, 92).

-ubjá- v *urubjá-* „weit geoffnet" aus **ud-ubjá-* (*Ai Gr*, II, 1, 12), S *ny-ubja-* „nach unten gekehrt" v *ubj-* (Pras *ubjá-*) „niederdrucken"

usá- „leuchtend" BR ist Irrtum (*uséna* RV 2, 2, 8*b*, statt *aruséna*), Lex *usa-* „Tagesanbruch", Suśr. *usā-* „Brennen" v *vas- us-* „leuchten", uber *usā-* „Morgenrote" s *Ai. Gr.*, III, 283

úsa- „begierig" RV 10, 95, 4*a* (?), „Liebhaber" Lex v *vaś- uś-* „begehren"? (nach Grassmann Wb *s* fur *ś* nach *Ai Gr*, I, 226)

(1) *-ūhá-* in AV *sam-ūhá- upohá-* „Anhaufung" v. *ūh-* (Pras *úha-*) „schieben"

(2) ep *ūha-* „Uberlegung", M kl *dur-ūha-* „schwer zu begreifen" v *ūh-* (Pras v. *óhate*, ep kl. *ūhate úhatu*) „uberlegen".

ṭkṣa- „Verderber" (?) RV 8, 24, 27*a* AV *rakṣ-* „verderben" (?).

-rdha- sam-ṛdha- „zusammengefugt" (zu *ṛdh-* „gelingen, fordern") wird aus *samṛdhe 'va* RV 7, 103, 5*c* erschlossen, richtig ist aber Annahme von Instr *samṛdhā* (*sam-ṛdh-* „gutes Gelingen" RV 6, 2, 10*c*), s Oldenberg z St

Lex *kirá-* (auch *kiri-* und *kiṭi-*) „Wildschwein" nach P 3, 1, 135 aus v. *kṝ-* „ausstreuen" Sehr fraglich

ep *kuca-* „weibliche Brust" S *kuc-* (Pras *kucá-*) „sich zusammenziehen"?

v *kutsa-* Eigenname ep kl *kutsáya-* „schmahen"?

B S. *kupá-* „Wagebalken". v *kup-* „in Aufregung geraten".

ep kl *kūja-* „Gemurmel" AV *kūj-* (Pras *kūja-*) „knurren"

S. *kúrda-* „Sprung" ep kl. *kūrd-* (Pras *kúrda-*) „aufspringen".

v *kṛśá-* „mager" (= jungaw *kəɪəsa-*, vgl tschech *krs* „Zwergbaum" u dgl bei Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl Worterb.*, 1, 420) v *kṛś-* „abmagern"

-kra- RV 1, 120, 2*c ákrau* ganz dunkel, gewohnlich als *á-kr-a-* „untatig" (v. *kṛ-* „machen") erklart

v *krīdá-* „spielend", VS *pra-krīdá-* „Spiel", S „Spielplatz" · v. *krīd-* (Pras *krída-*) „spielen".

ksɪpa- „werfend" Siddh -K Nr 2897, *vɪ-ksɪpa-* Kāś zu P 3, 1, 135 v *ksɪp-* (Pras *ksɪpá-*) „werfen"

-khɪdá- in *ā-khɪdá-*, an sich reissend" MS 2, 9, 8 (127, 3) = Kāth 17. 15 (258, 11), *pra-khɪdá-* „verzehrend" MS ebenda, dafur Kāth *vɪ-khɪdá-* „zerreissend" (Mantra s) v *khɪd-* (Pras *khɪdá-*) Alter ist v *-khādá-* aus der Vollstufe v *khād-*

-gɪrá- -gɪlá- sam-gɪrá- AV 6, 135, 3*b* (vgl 3*a sáṃ gɪrāmɪ* !) (verdorben, 18, 4, 60*b*, *samgɪráh* fur *samgíram* des RV), *a-sam-sūkta-gɪlá-* Unzerkleinertes verschlingend", 11, 2, 30*b*, *-gɪla-* V. 7 zu P 6, 3, 70, *gɪla-* „Krokodil" Siddh -K Nr 2919 v *gṝ-* (Pras AV *gɪrá-gɪlá-*). Vgl auch v *-gír-* „verschlingend" und unten *-gra-*

Lex *guñja-* „Gesumme kl *guñj-* (Pras *gúñja-*) „summen"

AV *gulphá-* (v ŚB *kulpha-*) „Fussknochel" S *vɪgulphaya-* „daranreihen" ?

guha- ep kl als Name, *kāka-guha-* „Krahen verbergend" Pat zu V 2 zu P 3, 2, 5 v *guh-* (Pras *guhá-* und *gúha-*) „verbergen" Doch ist *kāka-guha-* eher Bahuvrīhi „den Krahen als Versteck (v *gúh-*) dienend" Kl *-gūha-* Whitney, „Roots"

gṛbhá- RV 7, 21, 2*c*, wohl „ergreifend" (vgl v *gṛbh-* „Zugriff"), dafur 10, 119, 13*a gṛhá-* (s *Aɪ Gr*, 1, 251) in der Bedeutung „Diener" (oder auch hier = „Haus" ?) v *gṛ(b)h-* „ergreifen"

**gṛdhá-* v. *gṛhá-* m „Haus" = aw. *gərəδa-* „Hohle (als Wohnung daevischer Wesen)" idg **gherdh-* „umhegen" Mit *gṛhá-* ist vielleicht gleichzusetzen Samh *gehá-*, n „Haus" (daraus v *gehyà-* „Hausrat"), uber das auffallige *e* = *ṛ* s *Aɪ Gr*, 1, 39

-gma- su-gmá- zu v *gam-* Benfey, *Vollst Gramm*, 135, § 368, 1 B 1 woher ?

-grá- „verschlingend" in *tuvɪ-grá-* „gewaltig verschlingend" RV 1, 140, 9*b*, v *gṝ-* „verschlingen" Vgl *tuvɪ-gr-í-* 2, 21, 2*c*, oder ist dies = „laut schreiend" (Geldner, Übersetzung), also aus v *gṝ-* „singen" ?

-ghusá- „tonend" in *aram-ghusá-* „laut tonend" (?) AV 10, 4, 4*a* v *ghus-* „tonen".

-ghná- kommt in doppelter Weise vor ·

1) Als substantivisches Neutrum im Sinn eines Nomen actionis

(vgl. *Ai. Gr.* II, 1, 108 ff.) 1, d h als Ableitung mit *a* aus Komposita auf *-hán-* „totend" *su-ghnáya* „zu leichtem Erschlagen" RV. 8, 59 (70), 11*d*, *go-ghná-* und *pūrusa-ghná-* „das Toten von Rindern, Menschen" 1, 114, 10*a*, *parnaya-ghná-* 10, 48, 8*d*, *áhi-ghna-* 6, 18, 14*a*, **śva-ghná-* „die Kunst, den schlechten Wurf (den ‚Hund') zu toten" in v *śvaghnín-* „diese Kunst verstehend" (E. Sittig KZ 52, 209). Vgl. aw *vərəθra-γna-* „das Niederschlagen der Gegenwehr" (Benveniste-Renou, *Vṛtra* [Paris, 1934], 117), aber *vṛtraghné* RV. 5, 86, 3*d* ist nicht Lok. von *-ghná-* (Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* 1, 191, A. 4), sondern Dativ von *-han-* (Oldenberg z. St.), ebenso AB. 8, 23 (BR.)

2) Als Nomen agentis *á-pūrusa-ghna-* RV. 1, 133, 6 f., *hasta-ghná-* „Handschutz (gegen das Aufschlagen der Bogensehne)", eigentlich „Handschlager"? 6, 75, 14*c*, **aśva-ghná-* als Name vorausgesetzt durch den Namen *āśvaghná-* 10, 61, 21*d*, *pāni-ghná-* „Handeklatscher" VS. 30, 20 (TB. 3, 4, 1, 15 in ähnlicher Umgebung *pāni-sam-ghātá-*, P. 3, 2, 55 und Lex. lehren *pāni-ghá-*), Kauś. *raksoghna-* „Raksas totend", S. ep. kl. *ni-ghna-* „Zerbrecher, Hemmnis", M. *bhrūna-ghna-* „Toter der Leibesfrucht", Bhag. *kula-ghna-* „das Geschlecht vernichtend" (Fem. *-ghnī-* Rām., *-ghnā-* Mbh.), ep. *tamoghna-* „Sonne" („Finsternisvertreiber"). P. 3, 2, 52–4, 3, 3, 83, 3, 4, 73 lehrt die meist sonst nicht belegten Komposita mit *jāyā-* „die Gattin totend" (Gegensatzbildung zu S. *pati-ghnī-* „den Gatten totende Frau", v *á-pati-ghnī-*, wo natürlich *-ghnī-* das Fem. zu *-hán-* ist), mit andern Wörtern, wenn der Täter kein Mensch ist, mit *hastin-* „Elefant" und *kapāta-* „Turflügel" im Sinn von „zu schlagen vermögend", mit *stamba-* „Grasbüschel" im Sinn eines Werkzeugs, ferner *upa-ghna-* im Sinn von „Lehne, Angrenzung"

kl. *jīra-* „Kümmel" (auch *jarana-*, *jīrna-* u. a.) v *jṝ-* „zerreiben"? (BR., Renou, *Gramm. sanscr.*, 214)

v *jīvá-* „lebendig" = aw. *jiva-* (lies **jīva-*), ap. *jīva-*, lat. *vīvos*, lit. *gývas*, abg. *živъ*, usw. v *jīv-* „leben" (Pras. v. *jíva-*, aw. *ji(ī)va-*, ap. *jīva-*, lat. *vīvō*, abg. *živǫ*).

-jusa- ŚB. *alám-jusa-* „für sich ausreichend" v *jus-* (Pras. *juṣá-*) „geniessen", vgl. auch v *-jús-* „Gefallen findend".

kl. *jṛmbha-* „das Gähnen", R. „ein Tier" v *jṛmbh-* (Pras. *jṛ́mbha-*) „gähnen"

-jya- in AV. *brahma-jyá-* „Brahmanen unterdrückend" nicht von v. *ji-* „überwältigen", sondern von der Form *jyā-* derselben Wurzel, also wie v. *-da-* von *dā-* usw.

-tira- TA. *pra-tirá-* „fordernd" v *tṝ-* „hinübergelangen,

-bringen" (Pras v. *pra turá-* „fordern") *uttúráh* AV 19, 32, 1*b*, „aufhebend"? (Komm *úttarah*!): v *ud tṝ-* „erhohen".

-tudá- AV 3, 25, 1*a ut-tudá-* „Aufstachler" (Augenblicksondergott: aus *út tudatu* ebenda, J Zubatý, KZ 40, 516), P 3, 2, 35 *arum-tuda-* „Wunden schlagend" (ep. kl) und *vádhum-tuda-* „den Mond verfinsternd" (kl, Name Rāhu's), V. 1 zu P 3, 2, 28 *tilam-tuda-* „Sesamkorner stampfend" v *tud-* (Pras *tudá-*) „schlagen" (*-tud-* „schlagend" erst S ep)

v *turá-* vielleicht in zwei Worter zu trennen *tu-rá-* „stark" zu v *távyas-* „starker" usw (vgl *Ai Gr*, I, 22) und *tur-á-* „schnell" von B *tvar-* „eilen" (nicht von v. *tṝ-* „hinubergelangen"), doch vgl v *túya-* „stark", Adv „schnell" und H Petersson, *Zwei sprachl Aufsatze* (Lund, 1917), 62 ff Wie verhalten sich dazu v. *dtura-* „krank" und v *anāturá-* „wohlbehalten"?

v *turvá-* Name v *túrv-* (Pras *túrva-*) „uberwaltigen"?

kl *tula-* „die Wage im Tierkreis" ep. kl. *tul-* „aufheben"

-tṛpá- RV 4, 5, 14*b a-tṛpá-* „nicht befriedigend" v. *tṛp-* (Pras. *tṛpá-*) „befriedigend" (vgl v *-tṝp-* „sich ergotzend")

tṛsa- Divyāv fur kl *tṛṣā-* „Durst" (Renou, *Gramm sanscr.*, 229): v. *tṛs-* „durstig sein".

-tka- AV 2, 3, 1*c ava-tk-á-* „herabsturzend" v *tak-* „sturzen, fliessen" (J Wackernagel, KZ 61, 190)

daśa- JB 2, 183, nach Caland „Bremse", also „Beisser" · v. *damś-* (Pras *dáśa-*)

U *dīpa-* „Leuchte" AV. *dīp-* „leuchten"

-dughá- VS *bhāga-dughá-* „Anteilgewahrer, Verteiler", mit anderm Akzent *dúghā-* „Milchkuh" RV 8, 50 (= Vāl 2), 3*d*, 10, 67, 6*a*, *-dúgha-* (P. 3, 2, 70, Sonderregel) „(Milch) spendend, stromen lassend" v. hinter *śukra-* und *sabar-*, sonst nur Fem *-dúghā-* v. hinter *madhu-* und *su-*, Samh hinter *kāma-* und *gharma-*, ep hinter *drona-*, Kāś zu P 3, 2, 70 hinter *artha-* v *duh-* „Milch geben, melken" Doch vgl *-dúh-* als Nomen agentis v hinter *go-*, *sabar-*, *ghṛta-*, SV. hinter *payo-*, TB S hinter *gharma-*, ep kl hinter *kāma-*, also ist *-dúgha-* zum grossten Teil nur Erweiterung von *-duh-* (vgl. *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 222)

durá- „Erschliesser" RV 1, 53, 2*a*, *b* v *dṝ-* „bersten, zersprengen"?

-duha- Mbh *dur-duha-*, Spr *su-duha-* „schwer, leicht zu melken": v *duh-* „melken"

ep *-dūsa-* „verunreinigend" v *dus-* „verderben"

-dṛśa- „aussehend" (P 3, 2, 60. und V 1) seit TS 7, 3, 17, 1 (Mantra's) hinter *ī-*, *kī-*, *tā-*, *sa-* neben dem altern v. *-dṛś-*, vgl auch Lanman, *JAOS*, 10, 489 f, fur Herleitung von *-dṛśa-* aus *-dṛś-*

spricht auch das seit dem RV belegte und von P vorgeschriebene Fem *-dṛśī-* Im Anschluss an diese Komposita ist auch v. *su-dárśa-*, U *dur-daɪśa-* (vgl Pāli *su-dassa-*) „leicht, schwer zu sehen" zu ep *(su-)duɪ-dṛśa-* (Pāli *(su-)dud-dasa-*) umgestaltet worden Mit kompositionellem *a* v TS (a a O) *ví-sa-dṛśa-*, TS (ebenda) *sú-sa-dṛśa-* (= v *sú-sa-dṛś-*) AV *mádhu-sam-dṛśa-* (v *sam-dṛś-*), vgl *Ai. Gr*, II, 1, 108 ff

ep *dyuta-* (Whitney, „Roots") v. *dyut-* „leuchten".

-dra- puram-dram will Benfey, *Gott Abh* 25 (1879), IV, 2, S 8, fur *puɪam-darám* in dem uberzahligen Vers RV 8, 50 (61), 8*c*, schreiben (v *dṝ-* „zersprengen") mit Berufung auf *-dhɪa-* neben *-dhara-* (s unten), andre suchen anders zu heilen (s Oldenberg z St)

kl *duɪsa-* „Feind" v *duɪs-* (Pras S kl *dvɪsá-*) „hassen", vgl auch v *dvís-*, f „Feindschaft, Feind"

-dhra- ep kl *mahī-dhra-* (Ganar 8, 460, Vām 5, 2, 36, Siddh-K) neben ep kl *mahī-dhaɪa-* „Berg" („Erdentrager") v *dhṛ-* „tragen" Vgl auch Lex *ku-dhɪa-* „Berg" (mit dem *ku-* von *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 83 ?) V *ādhɪá-* „durftig, arm" ep kl *ā dhṛ-* „bewahren" ?

v *dhruɪá-* „fest" = aw *dɪɪa-*, ap *duruɪa-* „gesund" nach H Osthoff, *Etym Parerga*, I, 119, von *dru-* „Baum" mit Anschluss an die Wurzel *dhṛ-* „festhalten", also Mischung aus denominativer und deverbativer Bildung

-nuda- in ep kl *apanuda-* „vertreibend" (P 3, 2, 5 hinter *śoka-*) v *nud-* (Pras *nudá-*) „wegstossen", doch vgl auch U ep BhP *-nud-* „wegstossend"

v *piśá-* „Damhirsch" v *piś-* „schmücken" ?

-pīda- ep *tila-pīda-* „Olpresser, Olmuller", ep *tṛna-pīda-* „das Zerdrucken wie Gras" v *pīd-* „drucken"

B *puta-* „Falte, Tasche" kl *put-* (Pras *putá-*) „zerreiben u a"

B *púya-* „Jauche, Eiter" B *pūy-* (Pras *púya-*) „stinken"

kl *-pūra-* „(sich) fullend", ep *dus-pūra-* (Pāli *dup-pūra-*), BhP *dur-ā-pūɪa-*, Spr *su-pūɪa-* „schwer, leicht zu erfullen", kl *pūra-* „Flut" AV *pūráya-* „fullen"

ŚB *pṛthá-* „flache Hand, Handlange", TB *pṛtha-mātrá-* „Handbreite", ep *pṛthā-* Eigenname v *prath-* „ausbreiten". AV 13, 2, 26*b* *viśvátas-pṛthaḥ* „mit Handen auf allen Seiten" fur RV 10, 81, 3*b*, *viśvátas-pāt* „mit Fussen a a S"

v *-prá-* „erfullend" nicht zu Wurzel *pṝ-*, sondern zur Wurzelform v *prā-*, vgl auch v *-prá-* „erfullend"

v *prɪyá-* „lieb" = aw *frya-* (hies **fɪɪya-*), germ. **frɪya-* in ahd *Frɪja*, aisl. *Frigg* usw v *prī-* „erfreuen" (P 3, 1, 135, *-iy-* nach *Ai. Gr*, I, 198), vgl auch v. *-prī-* „sich erfreuend, liebend"

ep. kl. *budha-* (Kāś zu P 3, 1, 135) „klug", als Eigenname B.

ep kl, AV. *su-búdha-* „wachsam", *a-budhá-* ŚB 14, 7, 2, 14 (= *a-budh-* BAU. 4, 4, 11), kl, *dur-budha-* ep *usaṛ-budha-* Lex spätkl (= v *usar-búdh-* „früh wach") v *budh-* „wachen"

-bṛha- Kauś 75, 10, *vi-bṛha-* „das Losreissen' v *vi bṛh-* (Präs AV. *bṛha-*) „wegreissen' Unklar Lalit *abṛha-* oder *aṛṇha-* „eine buddh Götterklasse"

-bda- RV 7, 104, 17*d* *upa-bdá-* (= häufigerem v *upa-bd-í-*) „Getrampel" nebst *dūrá-upabda-* „weithin schallend" 7, 21, 2*d* v *pad-* „fallen" (Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl Wortelb*, II, 24, wo aw und griech Verwandte verzeichnet sind) oder von v *pad-* „Fuss" (*Ai Gr*, I, 76) ?

-bruvá- AV. 15, 13, 6*c* *vrātya-bruvá-* „sich (fälschlich) Vrātya nennend", ep. *brāhmana-bruva-* usw v *brū-* (v *bruvánti* !) „sprechen", vgl *Ai Gr*, II 1,183 (*-uv-* I, 198)

bhida- Pat zu V 2 zu P 3. 1, 135, ep (*su-*)*dur-bhida-* „(sehr) schwer zu sprengen v *bhid-* „spalten", aber auch v *-bhíd-* „zerbrechend"

ep kl. *bhuja-* „Arm", V 2 zu P 3, 2, 5 *mūla-ur-bhuja-* „Wurzeln niederbiegend" v *bhuj-* (Präs *bhujá-*) „biegen'

bhṛmá- „Verirrung" (?) RV 7, 1, 22*c*, 8, 50 (61), 12*c* (Oldenberg „sich rasch tummelnd" ?) ep kl *bhram-* „umherstreifen"

-bhrá- v *an-aṛa-bhrá-rādhas-* „dessen Geschenke nicht zu entreissen sind", kl *ura-bhra-* „Widder" (nach BR „Wolle [**ura-* = *ūrnā-*] tragend'), daraus M ep kl *aurabhra-* „vom Widder, Schaf stammend", *pra-ba-bhrá-* „Schleuderer" Kāth. 10, 9 (135, 12 13), MS 2, 2, 10 (23, 12 13) immer im Zusammenhang mit *vájra-* „Donnerkeil" (vgl dazu RV 1, 61, 12*a*, *b*, 2, 30, 3*b*, 5, 32, 7*c*, und *babhrír vájram* „den D tragend" 6, 23, 4*b*) v. *bhṛ-* „tragen", *pra bhṛ-* „schleudern"

-bhva- v *ábhva-* (AV *abhvà-*) „ungeheuer, Unwesen", v *víbhva-* „ausgezeichnet" (neben v *vibhú-*, *víbhū-*, *víbhvan-*, *vibhván-*) Erweiterung aus v *-bhú-* „seiend" ?

-mṣá- v *a-ni-mṣá-* (und *á-ni-mṣat-*) „wachsam" v *ní mṣatr* „schliesst die Augen" Vgl auch die adverbiellen v *á-ni-mṣ-am* und *-ā*, die ein Nom act *-mṣ-* voraussetzen, also ist *-mṣa-* Erweiterung des athematischen Nominalstamms im Kompositum (s *Ai Gr*, III, 323)

S. *-mīla-* (Whitney, „Roots") v. *mīl-* (Präs B. *míla-*) „die Augen schliessen".

-muca- V. 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5, Ganar, 8, 460 *nakha-muca-* „die Finger

loslassend " : v. *muc-* (Pras *mucá-*) , loslassen " Aber AV. *ámucī* Name einer Damonin gehort zu v. *-múc-* ,, loslassend, befreiend "

-mudá- AV. *hasā-mudá-* ,, frohlich lachend ", nach Kāś zu P 3, 2, 5 (vgl *Ai. Gr* , II, 1, 83) auch in AV. *kú-muda-* ,, weisse Wasserlilie " v *mud-* ,, frohlich sein ", aber auch v *múd-* ,, Lust "

mur-mura- ist zweifelhaft , s *Ai Gr* , I, 23

mṛksá- ,, Striegel " RV. 8, 55 (66), 3*a* v *mṛks-* (Pras *mṛksá-*) ,, striegeln "

-mṛja- *tunda-pari-mṛja-* ,, sich den Bauch streichend " P 3, 2, 5 (V l nur im Sinn von ,, trag "), Lex v. *pari mṛj-* (Pras *mṛja-* AV S. kl) ,, rings abreiben "

Lex *mṛja-* ,, eine Art Trommel " · Dhātup *mṛj-* ,, tonen ".

Kāth. *mṛda-* ,, gnadig " v *mṛd-* (Pras *mṛdá-*) ,, gnadig sein '

S *-mṛda-* (Whitney ,, Roots ") v. *mṛd-* ,, zerdrucken ".

-mṛdhá- *vi-mṛdhá-* ,, den Verachter abwehrend " RV 10, 152, 2*b*, AV TS. ist Erweiterung von *vi-mṛdh-* VS usw. (*Ai. Gr* , II, 1, 109). vgl v *mṛdh-* ,, Verachter ".

-mṛśá- VS. 16, 36 *pra-mṛśá-* ,, antastend ", BhP *vi-mṛśa-* ,, Prufung " (= ep kl *vi-marśa-*) v. *mṛś-* (Pras *mṛśá-*) ,, beruhren '

-mśa- *pari-mśá-* ,, Anteil " (?) RV 1, 187, 8*b* v *nas-* ,, erreichen " (vgl v *áṃśa-* ,, Anteil ") ? Vgl Oldenberg z St

v *yugá-* ,, Joch " = np *ǰuγ*, lat. *jugum*, gr *ζυγόν*, got *juk*, abg *igo*, heth. *yukan* v *yuj-* ,, anschirren "

-yuja- *a-yujá-* ,, ohne Genossen " RV. 8, 51 (62), 2*a*, ĀśvGS (nebst *ayujāksara-* PārGS) mit kompositionellem *a* zu v. *yúj-* *-yúj-* ,, verbunden, Genosse "

-yudha- v *á-yudha-* n ,, Waffe " ebenso zu v *yúdh-* ,, Kampf ", *-yúdh-* ,, kampfend "

v. *yūpa-* ,, Opferpfosten " v. *yup-* ,, glatten " ?

-risá- AV *naghā-risá-* Beiwort von Pflanzen v. *ris-* ,, Schaden leiden " ? vgl auch v *rís-* ,, Schaden, Schadiger "

rucá- ,, licht " VS. 31, 20 (*rucāya* wohl nur spielerische Variation von *ruc-ám* 31, 21), MS 4, 9, 5 (125, 11) (*rucó 'si* ebenso neben allerlei Formen der Wurzel *ruc-*) · v. *ruc-* ,, leuchten " (auch Pras Ptz *ruc-āná-*). ep. Lex *rucā-* ,, Gefallen " ist Erweiterung von v *rúc-*, f ,, Glanz, Wohlstand ".

ruja- ,, brechend " AV 16, 3, 2 (?), v hinter *valam-* und *ā-*, Ragh P. 3, 2, 31 hinter *kūlam-ud-* . v *ruj-* (Pras *rujá-*) ,, brechen ".

kl. *-ruda-* (Whitney, ,, Roots "). v. *rud-* (Pras. S. *rudá-*) ,, jammern ", vgl auch AV *-rúd-* ,, jammernd "

-rudha- v *á-go-rudha-* ,, die Kuhe nicht fur sich behaltend "

(s W Neisser, *Zum Worterbuch des Ṛgv* II, 1930, 9). v *rudh-* „ zuruckhalten ".

-rudha- „ wachsend " (v. *ı udh-* „ wachsen ") nur ın *vırudhānām* AV 6, 21, 2*b* Reimbildung zu *bhesajānām* ın *a*, sonst v. *vīrúdh-* „ Gewachs, Kraut "

-ruha-. ep kl *-ā-ruha-* „ besteigend ", *dur-ā-ruha-* „ schwer zu besteigen ", kl (Pat zu V 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5) *sarasī-ruha-* „ ım Wasser wachsend " · v *ruh-* (Pras ep kl *ruha-*) „ wachsen ", aber vgl auch v *rúh-* „ Wuchs, Trieb ", seit RV *-rúh-* „ wachsend ".

lıkha- „ ritzend " Siddh.-K. 2897, *vı-lıkha-* Kāś. zu P 3, 1, 135 AV *lıkh-* (Pras *lıkhá-*) „ ritzen "

-lıga- AV. 5, 13, 7*a* *ālıgī-* und *vílıgī-* als Schlangennamen, wohl Fem zu *-lıga-* ep kl *(ā-)lıng-* „ umschlingen "

-lıpa- Kāś zu P 3, 1, 138 *pra-lıpa-* v. *lıp-* „ bestreichen ".

-lıśa- v *kú-lıśa-* „ Beil " („ schlecht abrupfend " ? s *Ai Gr.*, II, 1, 83) v *rıś-* (Pras *rıśá-*) „ zerreissen "

-lıha- „ leckend " P 3, 2, 32 *vahaṃ-lıha-* „ die Schulter leckend " und *abhram-lıha-* (ep. kl) „ die Wolken erreichend ", Lex. *go-lıha-* „ eine Pflanze " v *lıh-* (B Pras. *lıha-*) „ lecken ", vgl. auch kl. *lıh-* „ leckend "

-luñcá- VS *ku-luñcá-* „ Ausraufer ", kl *a-luñcá-* „ nicht rupfend " (?) ep kl *luñc-* (Pras *lúñca-*) „ raufen "

kl *-vıda-* „ wissend ", ep *(su-)dur-vıda-* „ (sehr) schwer zu wissen " v. *vıd-* (Pras AV *vidá-*) „ wissen ", vgl v *-vıd-* „ wissend " Unverstandlich AV. 19, 22, 18 *vıdaganá-*, unklar RV 5, 45, 1*a* *vıdā́*, Pp. *vıdā́h*; der Eigenname *vıda-* (S kl) ist *bıda-* zu schreiben.

Lex *vıdha-* „ Bohrer ", V 4 zu P 3, 3, 58, und Pat dazu *ā-vıdha-* „ Bohrer " v *vyadh-* (Pras *vídhya-*) „ durchbohren ", aber auch v *(hṛdayā-) vídh-* „ (das Herz) verwundend ".

-vıśu- R. *dur-vıśa-* schwer zu betreten " v. *vıś-* (Pras *vıśá-*) „ betreten "

vısa- RV 8, 19, 11*c*, 10, 109, 5*a* *vísah* nicht von **vísa-* „ Diener ", sondern von *vıs-*, f „ Werk " (s. Oldenberg zu 8, 19, 11*c*). Mbh *dur-vısa-* als Beiname Śiva's, eigentlich „ mit dem man schwer fertig wird " (?) v. *vıs-* „ geschaftig sein "

-vīśa- v *pād-bīśa-*, VS *pād-vīśa-* „ Fussfessel ". zu lat *vıncīre* ? (s *Ai Gr.*, I, 183, wo *padvımśa-* nach Fr Edgerton, *JAOS*, 51, 170, zu streichen ist, Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl Wörterb.*, I, 234)

v *ıṛdhá-* (auch als Hinterglied) „ erfreuend. Forderer " · v *vṛdh-* „ vermehren, erfreuen ", vgl auch v *vṛ́dh-* „ Forderung ", *-ıṛdh-* „ sich freuend ". AV 2, 13, 5*c*, *su-vṛ́dhā* Instr von *su-vṛ́dh-*

ep kl *vṛsa-* (Akzent nach P. 6, 1, 203) „ Stier " u a nicht aus der Wurzel v *vṛs-* „ regnen, benetzen ", sondern aus der Hintergliedform *-vṛs-á-* (AV) von v *vṛ́san-* „ Stier "

v *vrá-* m „Schar" (BR, angeblich von v *vṛ-* „umschliessen") ist durch *vrā-*, f. „lockendes Weib" zu ersetzen (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s v, Pischel, *Ved. Stud.*, II, 121, 313 ff)

ep. kl *vrīda-* (haufiger *vrīdā-*) „Scham". ep kl. *vrīḍ-* (Pras. *vrīḍa-*) „sich schamen"

-śasá- ŚB 10, 5, 2, 5, *uktha-sasám* (Akk Sg m) enthalt nicht Tiefstufe von *śaṃs-*, sondern ist irgendwie eine Umgestaltung des v *uktha-śáṃs-* (junger *-śáṃs-*) „den Spruch hersagend", das aus der ursprunglich nasallosen Wurzel *śas-* (s *Ai Gr*, III, 250) gebildet ist

v. *śivá-* = v *śéva-* „lieb, vertraut" (idg **k̂ei-uo-*, germ. **heiwa-* und **hiwa-*, Walde-Pokorny a a O, I, 359)

kl *-śisa-* (Whitney „Roots") v *śis-* „ubrig lassen"

-śīla- als Nom ag mit Vordergliedbetonung lehrt V 7 zu P 3, 2, 1, dazu Pat *māmsa-śīla-* „an Fleischnahrung gewohnt" Nicht von Dhatup *śīlati* noch vom Denominativ S kl *śīlaya-* (so das Vārtt), sondern Bahuvrīhi mit VS *śīla-* „Gewohnheit" (*Ai Gr*, II, 1, 218 f)

śucá- RV 10, 26, 6*b*, „leuchtend" (? nach Oldenberg z St unklar) v *śuc-* „leuchten", vgl jungaw. *suca-*, *sūca-* „sehend, licht".

ep kl *śubha-* „hubsch" v *śubh-* „schmucken", vgl auch v *śubh-* „Schonheit"

-śuva- (v *śū-* „schwellen") angeblich in *ahī-śúvah* RV 10, 144, 3*c* (Damonenbezeichnung), dies ist aber vielmehr Akk Pl von v *ahī-śú-* „von Schlangen schwellend", s *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 222, und Oldenberg z St

v *sūśá-* „Kraft, mutig" nicht aus der Wurzel v *śvas- śus-* „blasen", sondern *s*-Erweiterung der Wurzel v *śū-* „schwellen"

-śṛmbhá- v *ni-śṛmbhá-* „sicher auftretend" ep kl *śrambh-* „vertrauen"

-śratha- P 6, 4, 29, lehrt fur die unbelegten *pra-śratha-* und *hima-śratha-* Schwund eines Binnennasals, vgl ep kl *slatha-* „locker" Doch kennt die vorklassische Sprache ausser dem inhxalen *ánu śṛnthati* TS 6, 1, 9, 7 nur nasalloses *srath-*

-sajá- v *cakri-am-ā-sajá-* „das Rad hemmend" v *sañj-* (Pras *á sajāmi*) „anhaften, anheften", s *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 183.

Unklar *siva-* Pat zu V 2 zu P 3, 1, 135

v *sūda-*, m „Sussigkeit" v *svād- sūd-* „suss, angenehm sein" Aber TS 1, 3 3, 1 (Mantra) *havya-sūda-* „die Opferspeise bereitend" (die Parallelltexte MS Kāth PB lesen *-sūdana-*) ist Thematisierung von v *havya-sūd-*

ep *stubha-* Name eines Agni v *stubh-* „preisen", vgl. auch v *stúbh-*, f „jauchzender Ruf"

-spira- (v *spṛ-* „losmachen") in RV 5, 43, 14*b rāspirá-*? Doch ist dieses wie das anscheinend gleichbedeutende *rāspiná-*, 1, 122, 4*d*, unerklart, vgl *Ai Gr*, I, 23, III, 215, Oldenberg zu 1, 122, 4

-spṛśa- Hariv. *du(h)-spṛśa-* „unangenehm anzufassen". v. *spṛś-* (Pras *spṛśá-*) „anfassen", vgl aber auch v. *-spṛś-* „beruhrend".

sphiya- Benfey, *Vollst Gr*, 135, § 368, 1 A 4 aus Gana karna, wo Bohtlingk in seiner Ausgabe des Pāṇini *sphiy-* liest *apa-sphigá-* lehrt P 6, 2, 187 Wurzel ?

ep. kl *sphuta-* „aufgebluht, offenbar" B *sphut-* (Pras. *sphutá-*) „bersten".

-sphurá- AV 1, 2, 3*b* *anu-sphurá-* „schwirrend" (vom Pfeil), RV. 6, 48, 11*c* *án-apa-sphura-* „nicht wegschnellend' v *sphṛ-* (Pras. *sphurá-*) „wegstossen', aber auch RV 8, 58 (69), 10*b* *c apa-sphúr- án-apa-sphur-* „(nicht) wegschnellend"

kl. *sphūrja-* eine Pflanze ein Rāksasa AV *sphūrj-* (Pras *sphúrja-*) „brummen".

ŚB *syáda-* „das Fahren", P 6, 4, 28 „Geschwindigkeit" (mit Schwund des Nasals), dazu Kāś *go-syada- aśva-syada-* v *syand-* (mit Aor *á-sr-syadat*) „forteilen" Vgl auch AV *saṃsyadá-* „fliessend" zu v *sáṃsyadat*, ferner v *sasyád-*, f. „eilender Strom", *havana-syád-* „auf den Ruf herbeieilend"

v *sruvá-* „Opferkelle" wohl zu v *sru-* „fliessen", vgl v *srúc-* „Opferloffel".

AV. *svajá-*, Viper" *svañj-* „umschlingen' (AV *pári-svañjalya-*, Pras v *svája-*)

B *hira-* „Band", Samh *hirá-* „Ader" v *hṛ-* „nehmen"? (s *Ai Gr*, 1, 23)

hīdá- RV 8, 12, 19*a* *hīdá(h)* enthalt kein **hīda-* „Zupfer, Mahner" (BR) zu v *hīd-* „zurnen, zupfen", sondern ist Abl von *hīd-* „Zorn" (Oldenberg z St)

hurá- RV 4, 3, 13*a* *hurah* nach Grassmann (*Wörterb*, s v) „Racher" von Wurzel v *hṛ-* „beugen, storen', doch eher nach BR und Oldenberg z St Adverb „auf krummem Weg" (vgl *Ai Gr*, 1, 23)

-hva-, rufend" Pat zu V 1 u 2 zu P 3, 2, 3, gehort zur Wurzelform B *hvā-*, nicht zu v *hū-*

**-zda-* v *nīḍá-* „Ruheplatz, Lager" aus idg. **ni-zd-o-* (*Ai. Gr*, 1, 76), vgl lat *nīdus*, ahd *nest* usw v *sad-* „sich setzen".

[Nachtrag Über die alten Herleitungen wie v. *ksīrá-*, n „Milch" aus v *ksar-* „fliessen" u dgl (so noch Charpentier, *Monde oriental* 18, 1924, 35, und Renou, *Gramm sanscr* 214) s *Ai Gr*, 1, 25, 27 und oben *jīra-*]

Wer das vorstehende Material durchgeht, sieht sofort, dass ein einheitlicher Bildungstypus nicht vorliegt und dass sich diese Worter weder an Haufigkeit noch an Regelmassigkeit mit den Verbalnomina auf *a* mit Guna der Wurzel (z B *-kará-*, *-vartá-*, *véda-*) messen konnen. Doch heben sich drei Gruppen heraus

1) Am deutlichsten ist die Beziehung zu *Prasensbildungen mit Tiefstufenvokal und Suffixbetonung*, d h. zu Prasentien der 6 Klasse So v *-iśá-*, *-ubjá-*, *-ṛṇjá- -miṣá-*, *-mṛkṣá-*, *-ruṇá-*, *-liśa-*, *-sphurá-*, Samh *-khidá-*, *-girá-*, *-tudá-*, *-mṛdá-*, *-mṛśá-*, B *-S īśá-*, *-uksa-*,

-ujjha-, uñchá-, -jusa-, -tirá-, putá-, -bṛha-, -viśa-, ep. *guha-, -nuda-, -bhuja-, -ruha- -vida-, -sphuta-, -spṛśa-*, kl *kṣipa-, dviṣa-, -muca-, -mṛja-, -ruda-, likha-, -liha-* Solche Beziehungen von Nomina agentis auf *a* zu thematischen Prasensstammen sind langst bekannt die Nomina agentis stehen in ihrer Bedeutung den Partizipien sehr nahe, ausserdem fielen im Ai wegen des Zusammenfalls von idg *e* und *o* die Nomina agentis vom Typus *-vartá-, codá-*, usw., mit den zugehorigen Prasensstammen der 1 Klasse vollig zusammen Vgl *Ai Gr*, II 1, 178 ff Seltener sind Beziehungen zur 2 Klasse *-dugha-, -duha-, -bruva-* (*-bhra-* ?), *-mṛja-, -liha-* Sie erinnern an die Nomina agentis auf *a* aus (athematischen) Intensivprasentia v. *vevijá-* „auffahrend" zu v *vé-vij-āna-*, v *ku-namnamá-* „sich ungern beugend" zu v *nám-nam-īti*, usw

2) Auffallend sind auf den ersten Blick die Beziehungen zu Prasentia der ersten Klasse mit prosodisch langer Wurzelsilbe, d h mit *i, u, ṛ* vor mehrfacher Konsonanz oder mit *ī, ū* (*ṝ*) vor einfachem Konsonant (oder vor Konsonantengruppe) Das Staunen weicht aber, wenn man beachtet, dass diese Wurzeln entweder uberhaupt keinen oder fast keinen Guna kennen, auch in sonstigen Guna erfordernden Verbalformen und Ableitungen Die von solchen Wurzeln abgeleiteten steigerungslosen Nomina auf *a* sind also den gunierten gleichwertig Daher sind auch in dieser Gruppe die Nomina actionis und die Simplicia verhaltnismassig viel haufiger als in Gruppe 1) und 3), da ja die gunierten Bildungen ebensowohl Nomina actionis wie Nomina agentis bilden (z B v *savá-*., Antrieb", aber *ap-savá-* „Wasser spendend") und die Nomina actionis viel haufiger Simplicia sind als die Nomina agentis Nach dem Vorbild der Gruppe 1) sind die meisten endbetont trotz der Barytonese des Prasensstamms Die Beispiele dieser Gruppe sind v *-īnkhá-, -krīḍá-, jīvá-, turvá-*, Samh *-ūhá-* (1), *-luñcá-*, B -S *īśá-, uñchá-, kūrda-, dīpa-, pūya-, -mīla-*, ep *inga-, īra-, -ūha-* (2), *kūja-, -pīda-, vrīḍa-*, kl. *-īksa-, īha-, guñja-, gūha-, jṛmbha-, tula-* (Kausativ ep kl *tulaya-* neben *tolaya-* !), *sphūrja-* Auch in der 6 Prasensklasse kommen Wurzeln von diesem Bau vor, daher v. *-ubjá-*, Samh. *mṛda-* (das *ṛ* dieser Wurzel wird im RV lang gemessen !), B -S. *-uksa-, -ujjha-, uñcha-*, ep *guha-*, ebenso bisweilen vor einem prasensbildenden *-aya-*, daher v *kútsa-*, AV *gulphá-*, ep. *-pūra-* Endlich darf man auch v *-sajá-* und Samh. *svajá-* hierher rechnen, weil das *a* im zugehorigen Prasensstamm betont ist, obwohl es auf idg *ŋ* zuruckgeht

3) Klar sind auch die Beziehungen zu den athematischen Wurzelnomina, in manchen Fallen ist der *a*-Stamm geradezu als

Erweiterung des athematischen zu betrachten Hierher gehören v. *-iśá-*, *-ghná-*, *-tṛpá-*, *-dúgha-* (*-dughá-*), *-bhva-*, *-miśá-*, *-mṛdhá-*, *-yujá-*, *-yudha-*, *vṛdhá-*, *-sphurá-*, Samh *-juṣa-*, *-tudá-*, *-dṛśa-*, *-búdha-*, *-muca-*, *-mudá-*, *rucá-*, *-sáda-*, B *īśá-*, *-ukṣa-*, *syáda-*; ep *-nuda-*, *-bhida-*, *-ruha-*, *-vida-*, *-spṛśa-*, kl *dviṣa-*, *-muca-*, *-nuda-*, *-liha-*, *-vidha-* Die Erweiterung mit *a* tritt bekanntlich besonders gern am Hinterglied eines Kompositums auf (vgl *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 222), aber auch am einfachen Wort (vgl ebenda III, 319 ff) Das Schwanken des Akzents erklärt sich daraus, dass diese Bildungen entweder die Tonstelle des athematischen Stamms beibehalten oder — was weit häufiger ist — sich an die Fälle von 1) anschliessen eine ganze Reihe dieser Bildungen musste ja auch unter 1) erwähnt werden, weil eben manche Wurzeln ebensowohl ein tiefstufiges athematisches Wurzelnomen wie ein Präsens der 6 Klasse bilden

Bemerkenswert sind als Störenfriede die potentialen Zusammensetzungen mit *su-* und *duḥ-* Diese Bildungen haben normalerweise Guna, gehen aber gelegentlich trotz der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit in den Typus *tuda-* über. Diese neuen Bildungen tauchen erst im Epos auf (sind aber da besonders beliebt), und mehrere einzelne Bildungen sind offenkundig jünger als die Gunabildungen aus derselben Wurzel ep. *(su-)dur-vida-*, aber *su-véda-* „leicht zu erlangen" schon v, *dur-véda-* „schwer zu finden" schon ŚB., *-dṛśa-* und *-darśa-* s. in der alphabetischen Liste, *duḥ-spṛśa-* nur Harīv, aber sonst ep kl. *duḥ-sparśa-* Die übrigen Beispiele s unter *-ūha-*, *-duha-*, *-pūra-*, *-budha-*, *-bhida-*, *-ruha-*, *-vida-*, *-viśa-*

Aus dem Bestand der drei Listen ist es verständlich, dass Pāṇini 3, 1, 135 als allgemeine Regel die Bildung mit Suffix *(k)a*, d h. *a* ohne Steigerung der Wurzel, aus Wurzeln mit kurzem oder langem antekonsonantischem *i*, *u*, *ṛ* lehrt Aus dem Präsensstamm leitet er nur die Bildungen mit Akkusativform des Vorderglieds ab (Suffix *(kh)a(ś)*) · 3, 2, 31 *kūlam-ud-ruja-*, 32 *vaham-liha-*, *abhram-liha-*, 35 *vidhuṃ-tuda*, *arum-tuda-*, hier war eben der Hinweis auf partizipähnliche Funktion des Hinterglieds durch die Kasusform des Vorderglieds gegeben.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass P das Suffix *(k)a* auch für die Bildungen aus Wurzeln auf *ā* ansetzt (3, 1, 135 136, 3, 2, 3 4 6 7 77). In der Tat enthält v *-dá-* „gebend" die schwächste Stufe *-d-* der Wurzel *dā-* vor betontem Suffix *á* wie *-tudá-* die von *tud-*, *tod-*; auch verhält sich *-d-a-* als Erweiterung zu *-dā-*, *-d-* „gebend" ebenso wie *-yuj-á-* zu *-yúj-*

Beziehung eines Suffixes auf einen Präsensstamm ist ebenso

sekundar wie die Erweiterung eines athematischen Stammes, es ist daher kein Wunder, dass von den Beispielen unter 1) und 3) ausser *-ghná-* und *jīvá-* keines eine ausserindische Entsprechung hat Und zwar gilt bei *-ghna-* die (aw) Parallele nur dem Abstraktum mit nominalem Vorderglied, also einem Typus, in dem die Erweiterung mit dem Themavokal aus der Grundsprache stammt es handelt sich streng genommen nicht um Komposita mit *-ghna-*, sondern um Bildung eines substantivischen (abstrakten) Neutrums aus dem zusammengesetzten Nomen agentis auf *-han-* (vgl H Osthoff, Sprachwiss Abh herausg von L v Patrubány, II 119 f , Brugmann IF 17, 358 f und Grundriss,[2] II, 1, 156 ff) Und *jīvá- — jívatu* setzt ein idg Wortpaar fort, dessen lautliche Gestaltung und gegenseitiges Verhaltnis im Idg ganz einzigartig dastehen Zu einem idg Typus gehören auch die Bildungen mit volligem Schwund des Vokals (idg *e/o*) zwischen Konsonanten *(-lia-)*, *(-gma-)*, *-grá-*, *-tká-*, *(-dra-)*, *-dhra-*, *(-bda-)*, *-bhia-*, *-mśa-*, **-zda-*, vgl oben unter *-zda-* und ferner griech *νεο-γνός* „neugeboren" *δί-φρος* „Wagenkorb" („mit zwei Tragern, d h Seitenlehnen") lat *pro-brum* „Vorwurf" Die Worter, die sonst ausserindische Verwandte haben, sind ohne Beziehungen zu Prasensstammen **gḷdhá-*, *priyá-*, *yugá-*, *śivá-*, sind auch nicht Nomina agentis und nicht (wie fast alle in der Liste 1) aufgefuhrten Worter) auf Hintergliedstellung beschrankt, sondern *einfache* Worter Ein athematisches Wurzelnomen hat nur *priyá-* neben sich, aber v *-prī-* ist aktivisch, *priyá-* passivisch, es sind also zwei von einander unabhangige Bildungen Die hochst sonderbare Bildung idg **i̯ugóm* erklart H Jacobsohn (*DLZ*, 1912, 2786) ganz plausibel aus einem kollektiven Plural **i̯ugá* „Joch und Zubehor", der zu einem Maskulinum **i̯éugo-* (= v *yóga-*) „Anschirrung, Geschirrstuck" gehorte (*yugá-* als Mask nur bei Lexikographen, griech *ζυγός* heisst „Wagebalken, Joch") Ausserindische Bildungen von der Art wie *-tuda-* sind selten abg *po-čitŭ*, Aufzahlung' u dgl s F de Saussure, *Mém* 228 Anm = *Recueil des publ scient*, 214 f Anm 1, Brugmann, *Grundr*,[2] II, 1, 155, Stolz-Leumann, *Lat.-Gr* [5], 202 Lat *-dicus* (*causi-* usw) und *-ficus* (*mūni-* usw) sind junger als *-dex* (*jū-* usw) und *-fex* (*arti-* usw), s Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym* 256, 307 f

Der Bedeutung nach sind diejenigen die Beziehungen zum Prasensstamm oder zu den athematischen Wurzelnomina haben, in der Regel Nomina agentis, was nach dem oben Gesagten verstandlich ist, warum die zu Prasentia der *ersten* Klasse gehorigen eine Ausnahme machen, ist oben S. 498 gesagt.

The Prakrit underlying Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit

By Franklin Edgerton

A SANSKRITIST who reads for the first time a Buddhistic Sanskrit text such as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka is struck at once by peculiarities of vocabulary and style which differentiate it from normal Sanskrit. If he limits himself to the prose parts, ignoring the verses, he will rarely encounter forms or expressions which are definitely ungrammatical, or at least more ungrammatical than, say, the Sanskrit of the epics, which also violates the strict rules of Pāṇini. Yet every paragraph will contain words and turns of expression which, while formally unobjectionable (if, perhaps, non-Pāṇinean), would never be used by any non-Buddhist writer. If our Sanskritist is also familiar with Pali, he will soon notice that many of these words and turns of expression are identical, *mutatis mutandis*, with Pali words and turns of expression. For example, in *SP*, 76, 10 (I refer to page and line of the Kern-Nanjio edition of the Saddharmapundarīka) and often, *ātmabhāva* occurs in the sense of "body". The word is a quite normal and innocent-appearing Sanskrit formation, and occurs, e.g., in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 1, 2, meaning "existence (or reality) of the self (soul)", in the meaning "body", however, it occurs only in Buddhistic Sanskrit, but there quite commonly. Now it cannot be accidental that its phonetic equivalent in Pali, *attabhāva*, has precisely this meaning. Again, all readers of Pali are very familiar with the common expression *yena tena* [illegible], "where (someone or something was), there (someone else went)". In themselves, *yena* and *tena* are perfectly normal Sanskrit (as well as Pali) forms, but this use of them, I believe, is not known except in Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit, though frequent there. These are characteristic examples which could be multiplied many times, as all students of the field are well aware.

Such students also know, of course, that this is by no means the whole story. In the *verses* of such works as the Saddharmapundarīka or the Lalitavistara (and in the prose of, e.g., the Mahāvastu, which in this respect is unusual, much more rarely in the prose of most other works, at least as presented in our editions), there also occur many *forms* which are unknown to Sanskrit grammar, of any period,

and would be felt as barbarous and impossible in any genuine or "normal" (non-Buddhist) Sanskrit work They are, in brief, middle-Indic, in a broad sense, Prakritic This fact, together with those mentioned above, led some scholars of a generation or more ago (such as Childers) to the not unnatural supposition that these Buddhistic Sanskrit works were translations, or re-workings, of Pali originals

More careful study of Pali itself, and of other relevant materials, has shown that this hypothesis does not fit the facts The striking linguistic resemblances between Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit do not indicate any direct relation between the two dialects, or between the literary works composed in them But the relation, though indirect, is nevertheless certain Both contained originally texts which were based on canonical texts composed in an earlier dialect, Prakritic in character, in which there must have existed at one time a considerable body of (perhaps only oral) Buddhist literature Neither the Pali nor the Sanskrit Buddhist canon is "original", nor is either based on the other, both contain, or once contained, essentially (in their older parts) translations or recasts of compositions in that older Prakrit As time went on, both languages were then used in original compositions (most of our actually extant Buddhistic Sanskrit texts are, in fact, original, rather than translations or re-workings), but in such a way that the traditional link with what we may call the proto-canonical Prakrit was not wholly broken At least in vocabulary, and (particularly on the Sanskrit side) for a long time also in morphology and even phonology, Buddhist writers, both northern and southern, used idioms which were clearly under the influence of a linguistic tradition stemming from that protocanonical Prakrit

The fact that Pali is itself a middle-Indic dialect, and so resembles the protocanonical Prakrit in phonology and morphology much more closely than Sanskrit, makes it harder to trace such influences in it Yet, as Professor Sylvain Lévi has shown,[1] Pali is not free from them,

[1] See his brilliant and important article of 1912, *JA*, Ser 10, vol 20, pp 495–512 I hope that Professor Lévi would accept my formulation of the matter as above, which I think differs little in principle from his, though he uses the term "pre-canonical" rather than 'protocanonical', meaning, I take it, antecedent to the historically known Buddhist canons Since I think (and I presume the great French savant would agree) that a "canon" in some sense doubtless existed in that language, I prefer "protocanonical", with Professor de la Vallée-Poussin (*Indo-europeens et Indo-iraniens*, p 202) The most important bibliographical references on the subject will be found in these two places and in J Mansion, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanscrite* (1931) pp 105–9, where will also be found interesting speculations as to the manner of development of the curious "Buddhistic Sanskrit" dialect

for instance, it now and then presents forms with loss of intervocalic mutes, or sonantizing of intervocalic surds, contrary to the laws of the Pali language Lévi has also shown that similar traces of this protocanonical Prakrit can be detected in occasional words and phrases occurring in the Asokan and other early inscriptions

It is, however, in Buddhistic Sanskrit that we find the clearest and most extensive evidence Quite naturally! For when Buddhist monks began to adapt the language they used to the "respectable" language of the Brahmans, any imperfections in the adaptation would necessarily show up much more glaringly, than when they simply turned it into another Prakrit (such as Pali, in essence, was), because the linguistic gap between the two media was far wider. A relatively early stage in this adaptation is represented by the verses of, say, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Here every line shows evidence of Prakrit influence, and that too not only in vocabulary, but also in phonology, and especially in morphology As time went on, the tendency was to approximate more and more the forms of standard Sanskrit, until finally almost the only remaining trace of Prakrit consists in the peculiar Buddhist vocabulary (It should be emphasized, however, that this vocabulary is itself evidence of appurtenance to a separate linguistic tradition, quite distinct from 'standard" Sanskrit For it is not merely a question of technical terms relating to religion, but very largely of terms of every-day life They can be explained only as marks of a *distinct language*) There seem to be reasons for assuming, in general, that the more Prakritic a text looks, the earlier it is To be sure this cannot be taken as a hard and fast rule What is certain is, that nearly all Buddhistic works in Sanskrit (at any rate, until a late period) belong to a continuous and broadly unitary linguistic tradition; their language is a thing separate from the tradition of Brahmanical Sanskrit, and goes back ultimately to a (semi-) Sanskritized form of the protocanonical Prakrit The number of Buddhist writers who stood outside this tradition, that is who wrote in what is virtually standard Brahmanical Sanskrit, seems to have been very small We may guess that it was limited to converts who had received orthodox Brahmanical training in their youth, before adherence to Buddhism. Aśvaghosa is an example of this exceptional type His Sanskrit can probably not be distinguished from that of Brahmanical writers in phonology or morphology, and only to a slight extent, if at all, does he make use of the peculiar Buddhist vocabulary Now it is "taken as certain that he was of Brahman family, and had enjoyed

a thorough Brahmanical education before he went over to Buddhism" (Winternitz, *Hist Ind Lit*, vol. II, 1933, p 257)

It seems to me no exaggeration to speak of this hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists as a *language*, in its own right Not a vernacular, of course, a literary language, an artificial language, if you like I grant, also, that it appears in various markedly different phases, distinguished chiefly by great differences in degree of Sanskritization (approach to normal Sanskrit in phonology and morphology) But these phases are aspects of a unitary tradition, connected with each other by direct lines To trace these lines in detail would be to construct a relative chronology of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature It must be admitted that this is at present impossible Perhaps it will never be possible Nevertheless the underlying unity of linguistic tradition seems undeniable

It is signalized, first, by the peculiar and persistent vocabulary referred to above Boehtlingk included some of it in his great Sanskrit dictionary (how many words, or special meanings of words, are there recorded only from Buddhist works!) but perhaps the larger part is not included in any Sanskrit dictionary And, in strict linguistic logic it should not be there, that is unless we stretch the meaning of "Sanskrit The fact that Pali contains so large a proportion of these words seems to prove that most of them must belong to the special vocabulary of the protocanonical Buddhist Prakrit (It may be noted in passing that they are, in general, not "common Prakrit", relatively few, I believe, will be found in Prakrit guise in Sheth's *Prakrit Dictionary*, for instance) They characterize all periods of Buddhist (hybrid) Sanskrit We need a special dictionary of this language

It is signalized, secondly, by peculiarities of syntax and style. I recall the *yena tena* construction (above), or the use of third person singular verbs with subjects of any person or number, which goes beyond the limits recorded by Pischel (*Gram d Pkt Spr*, §§ 515–17) for any Prakrit, even for Ardhamāgadhī, which goes farther than the other Prakrits[1] Some of these (such as *yena tena*) are likewise

[1] This use of *āsī* or *āsi* (Skt *āsīt* or *āsīs*) is common Prakrit In the Saddharmapundarīka we find not only *āsīt* or equivalent (as well as *asti*) so used, but also, e g, *abhūt* with subject *aham* or *tvam* (*SP*, 22, 11 and 64, 11 both prose), and in fact any third person singular verb may be so used (e g, *aham akarod*, 258, 7) In such a late text as the Lañkāvatāra Sūtra I note (8, 6) *atra tāh parsadah sarvā ekalaksmin hi drsyate* (3 sg with pl subjects) In Pali, *atthi* (Skt. *asti*) is used with plural subject (Geiger, *Pali*, § 141), but that seems to be as far as Pali goes in this direction

found in Pali, even when this confirmation is lacking, it may reasonably be assumed that most of them were inherited from the protocanonical Prakrit [1]

I find a third indication of the linguistic independence of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists in its metrical principles. This subject requires more extended treatment than I can give to it here, I am dealing with it more fully in a paper which I expect to publish shortly in a volume of studies in honour of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri of Madras The metre of such a text as the Saddharmapundarīka is constructed on principles which in some important respects are quite different from any found in Vedic or Sanskrit metres, of any period I may add that these principles have never been understood, or at least correctly formulated in print, and that they were badly misunderstood by Kern and Nanjio in their edition, with results which seriously vitiate the form of the text as printed there In part, at least, the same principles reappear in the metres of other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, such as the Lalitavistara To mention only one important feature the substitution of two short syllables for a long is permitted *ad libitum* (with certain definite restrictions in the case of some metres) This reminds us of the well-known *āryā* group of metres, but in Sanskrit the principle is practically limited to that group, which stands quite apart from other metrical types, and even there it is not applied in the same way Very scant traces of a similar tendency were detected by Hopkins (*Great Epic*, 301) in the epic *tristubh*, but they may perhaps be interpreted differently, and in any case they never amounted to such a clearly defined metrical licence Here again I believe that the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists must be assumed to have inherited a feature of the protocanonical Prakrit, for no other origin is easily conceivable. Moreover the *āryā* type, revealing somewhat similar principles in the one matter just mentioned, is commonly regarded as of Prakrit origin

The fourth, and most striking, distinctive feature of this hybrid

[1] Similarly, *etad abhūt* (or *abhavat* or the like) = Pali *etad ahosi*, 'this thought occurred to ' (with genitive) An interesting construction, for which I do not know a parallel in Pali, but which is rather frequent in hybrid Sanskrit, is *mā* (*havva*) with the optative in the sense of "isn't there danger that ?" *SP*, 76, 5 (prose) *tat kim manyase śāriputra mā hava tasya purusasya mṛsāvādah syād* "so what think you, Śāriputra ? isn't there danger that lying would pertain to that man (i e that he would be guilty of lying) ?" A useful "Outline Syntax of Buddhistic Sanskrit" has been published by Sukumar Sen in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, vol 17 (1928) It is, however, far from complete, e g, it fails to record the *mā* + optative construction just mentioned

Sanskrit is, of course, the large number of forms which violate Sanskrit grammar, as to phonology or morphology or both It is from these, if at all, that we must hope to discover the grammatical structure and original location of the protocanonical Prakrit whence they were taken over

For this purpose we need first of all a comprehensive grammatical study of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit This is needed, incidentally, for other purposes, too, for the philological interpretation of the texts, and even for the correct editing of them Most of the existing editions and translations are quite defective, because they were made without adequate knowledge of the grammar of the language, not to speak of its metrical principles and other features In fact, almost nothing systematic has been done in this field The only monograph I know, aside from Sen's (above, p 505, n 1), is Weller's dissertation, *Uber die Prosa des Lalita Vistara* (1915), which limits itself to the grammatically less important part (the prose) of a single text Otherwise we have only the stray observations of individual editors and translators, which are not only scattered and unsystematic, but often positively misleading.

The importance and interest of the subject seem to justify, then, the undertaking of a Grammar and a Dictionary of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists, and this is the task which I have ventured to set myself, perhaps audaciously, but I hope without minimizing its great extent and its substantial difficulties It will require minute textual study of at least the older and more important literary works and the relevant inscriptions, and should involve frequent reference to such Tibetan and Chinese versions as are available Having been engaged on it much less than a year, I can speak as yet only on the basis of very tentative and incomplete results, in fact, chiefly on the evidence of the Saddharmapundarīka, backed by only casual reading in other texts.

Unfortunately, as has been intimated, we cannot use the printed text of SP uncritically (and this is only too commonly the case with editions of Buddhist Sanskrit texts) In part the editors may fairly be blamed for this; quite often they quote the correct reading in their critical notes, but introduce a false reading in the text, misled by erroneous ideas regarding the language or the metrical structure [1]

[1] The "romanized and revised" edition of *SP* by Wogihara and Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934 ff, of which I have seen the first two parts, corrects some of these errors, but leaves the majority untouched It by no means supersedes the Kern-Nanjio

But in part it was not their fault Professor Luders has shown (in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, etc , 161) that the Kashgar recension of SP contains noticeably more Prakrit forms than the Nepalese version on which the printed text is chiefly based, though with some reference to the group of Kashgar MSS called collectively " O ' by the editors (Luders' observation was anticipated by Kern, Preface to ed , vi) Particularly in the prose, the Kashgar fragments show such Prakritisms often enough to suggest that originally the prose of SP may have been, like that of the Mahāvastu, no less Prakritic than the verses It looks as if an attempt had been made to " correct " it in later times The verses may have escaped much of this process because the metre made it more difficult But they did not escape it entirely, as Luders shows (cf also just below) A complete edition of the Kashgar recension, if it were possible, would doubtless come closer to the original form Yet even it surely suffered some of the same " correction ", since sometimes its readings are less Prakritic than the Nepalese

I wish further to emphasize the fact that in the verses of SP , initial consonant combinations, which in Prakrit would be simplified, were *always* pronounced as single consonants (cf Kern, Preface to ed., xi, which understates the facts) For, not only do they fail to make long a preceding syllable ending in a short vowel , but even originally long final vowels, which in this text are regularly shortened *metri causa* (but only *metri causa*, never otherwise !), are shortened before such combinations, when a short syllable is required, e g , *SP.*, 90, 3 *vdutvă trānam* (third syllable short , *-tvă* for *-tvā* occurs only *metri causa* , here it implies *t-* for initial *tr-*) This metrical shortening proves that the composer pronounced a short syllable, despite the writing of two initial consonants Such pronunciation of conjunct consonants, as if single, is never indicated internally , that is, it occurs always, and only, where standard Prakrit phonology would require or at least permit it (The beginning of the second element of a compound is usually treated as initial, though there is some fluctuation , this accords perfectly with Prakrit usage) Conversely, also, metrical *lengthening* of a final short vowel occurs before such combinations , this necessarily implies the same Prakritic pronunciation,

edition I cannot refrain from expressing regret, in passing, that the editors saw fit to compose their footnotes in Chino-Japanese, a needless hardship for western users of the book, and peculiarly inconsistent in a work which prints the Sanskrit text in roman transliteration

since if two consonants were pronounced there would be no reason to lengthen the vowel. So, *SP*, 27, 15, where all MSS read *vinesyatī* or °*te*, the former is doubtless to be read, and has metrical lengthening for °*tĭ* before the word *prāṇa-*, which was, therefore, pronounced *pāna-* Such lengthening is very common *metri causa*, but never occurs otherwise.[1] Again, in *SP*, 162, 6, we find a *pāda*. *vayam ca lokaś ca anugrhītah* (or °*tāh*). The eighth syllable must be long, according to the writing, the metre is faulty Hence the Tokyo edition emends to *anū*°. But all MSS. read *anu*°, and this must be kept The word was pronounced *anugg*°, as in Pali (*anuggahita-*) and Prakrit (*aṇuggaha-*, °*hīa-*) Likewise *parigrhītāh*, *SP*, 89, 8, all MSS ; Tokyo edition emends to *parī*°, because a long syllable is required, but we must understand *parigg*° There are not a few other metrical indications that originally the language was at least pronounced (whether written or not) more Prakritically than it is written in any of our MSS

It is reasonable to assume with Luders that where the MSS. differ, those showing Prakritic forms are more primary than those with correct Sanskrit forms ; and that the original SP. was "written in a language that had far more Prakritisms than either of the two versions" (Kashgar and Nepalese) I cannot, however, agree with Professor Luders when he goes on to say that he is "inclined to believe that the original was written in a pure Prakrit dialect which was afterwards gradually put into Sanskrit." This hypothesis makes it difficult to explain the many correct Sanskrit forms, often quite foreign to all known Prakrits, which occur side by side with Prakrit or semi-Prakrit forms, in all manuscripts and frequently guaranteed by the metre To mention only a single instance, no Prakrit dialect has any trace of the Sanskrit perfect, except the isolated *āhu* (and *āhamsu*), and the like is true of Pali except in artificial *Kunstsprache* (see Pischel § 518, Geiger, § 171) But in SP. (including the verses) perfects, while not very common, are quite familiar, and are used no more incorrectly than other verb forms I cannot doubt that they belong to the original language of our work, which was not a pure Prakrit but a hybrid dialect, based on a Prakrit, but partially

[1] Both editions emend to *vinesyatī*, misunderstanding the matter here treated Very rarely do we find a final short vowel before an initial consonant group in a metrically long syllable Such cases are not a whit commoner in the MSS. than before single initial consonants In all of them some special explanation must be sought, or emendation resorted to

Sanskritized from the start The extent of this original Sanskritization is very hard to determine, certainly it did not go as far as our editions suggest

What, now, was the Prakrit, underlying Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit? According to Sylvain Lévi (cf. p. 502, n 1 above), p 511, "one of the languages of the land of Magadha" Luders (l c, 162) is more definite; on the basis of vocatives plural in *-āho* from *a*-stems, which he says are found "only in Māgadhī", he thinks we may "assert that the original text of the Saddharmapundarīka was written, if not in pure Māgadhī, in a mixed Sanskrit which was based on that dialect"

I cannot agree with so definite a statement as this The voc pl. ending *-āho* cannot be called exclusively a peculiarity of Māgadhī (see No 5, below). Our language lacks any trace of some of the most striking characteristics of Māgadhī, such as the substitution of *l* for *r*, and of *ś* for *s*; the nom in *e* of *a*-stems was also not characteristic of it (see No 11, below) Lévi's more cautious formula, "one of the languages of Magadha," may be right, or at least not far wrong. There is some evidence which suggests an eastern origin, at any rate. But even this can hardly be proved on linguistic evidence at present. Certainly no identification with any known specific Prakrit is possible. On the contrary, there is evidence which forbids any such identification. It seems that the language underlying hybrid Sanskrit was different from any Prakrit known to the later grammarians, at least It is, however, possible to find a considerable number of individual points of agreement with specific Prakrits And it turns out that nearly all of them point to either (1) Ardhamāgadhī, or (2) Apabhraṁśa. I have found very few Prakritic features which do not occur in one or the other of these, and a number which belong to one or both of them almost or quite exclusively It is worth emphasizing that the language was different from Pali in many important ways, while specific agreements with Pali are very few, minor, and dubious The same is quite as true of Māgadhī, with which I do not know of a single exclusive agreement Indeed, I have failed to find, so far, any unmistakable evidence of specific agreement with any known Prakrit except AMg and Ap Yet our language also differs from each of these on important points

I shall now list briefly the linguistic features of this language which seem to me to suggest specific agreement with particular Prakrits, ignoring those which are common to all or most Prakrits The following collection, then, contains all the evidence now known

to me which could be used in localizing the protocanonical Prakrit of the Buddhists. It must be remembered that it is chiefly gathered from a single work, the SP (to which I refer by page and line of the Kern-Nanjio edition), it therefore makes no claim to completeness or finality The prime reference-work for most Prakrits is, of course, Pischel's grammar, specific references to it are generally omitted as unnecessary For Apabhraṅśa, however, it needs to be supplemented by the later works of Jacobi (*Bhavisatta Kaha*, abbreviated *Bhav*, and *Sanatkumāracaritam*, abbreviated *San*), and Alsdorf (*Kumārapālapratibodha*, abbreviated *Kum*)

1 The nom and acc sg masc and nt of *a*-stems ends very commonly in either *a* or *u* (The regular Sanskrit forms are also common, this may, indeed, generally be taken for granted of all the forms I shall mention) Of these, *a* is common in Ap and occasional in verses in AMg and Mg, *u* is recorded by Pischel only for Ap and Dhakkī[1] (a little-known dialect classed as midway between Mg and Ap, and by some grammarians considered a form of Ap, though it agrees with Mg in some important respects such as the change of *r* to *l*). Certainly *a* is a phonetic development from *as* (*aḥ*) or *am* (*aṁ*), with phonetic loss of final consonant Similarly *u* in the nom represents a shortening of *o*, the common Prakrit ending. Pischel regards *u* as phonetically derivable also from *am*, *aṁ* It is true, at any rate, that *u* occurs also for other final *aṁ* (as well as other *as*, *o*), likewise *a* for other final *as* and *aṁ* E g *ahu* = *aho* (interjection) 62, 4 and 16, *bhūya*, 96, 2, and *bhūyu*, 95, 1, = *bhūyas*, *ahu* and *hu* = *aham*, 62, 15 and 195, 5, and often (probably also *ha* = *aham*, 195, 4, and 88, 10), *mahya* = *mahyam*, 86, 8, etc These forms are largely regulated by metrical requirements; they are the shorts to *o*, *aṁ* Yet *u* also occurs in a metrically indifferent position *utpannu* 177, 9, initial in an *anustubh*. Were it not for such forms as *ahu* = *aham* (and Ap *mahu*, *maṇṇhu* = *mahyam*, etc, Pischel § 351), one might be tempted to question *u* from *aṁ* as a phonetic change, and regard the acc forms in *u* as transferred from the nom, and the nt from the masc For our language seems to have been similar to Ap in this, that it tended to make no formal distinction between masc

[1] The *u*-forms occur also, very often, in the language of the "Prakrit Dhammapada" of the Dutreuil de Rhins MS, edited first by Senart and later by Barua and Mitra A systematic linguistic study of this dialect has yet to be made, it has evident affinities with our dialect, and must certainly be taken into careful consideration in future work on this subject. To identify it with our dialect would be premature, to say the least

and nt forms (see No. 6, below), nor between nom. and acc. forms. Namely —

2. In general, most Prakrit nom and acc. forms are used interchangeably, as in Ap Since final nasals and anusvāra are often dropped, especially *metri causa*, and final visarga likewise (see the preceding paragraph), some of these ambiguous forms may be regarded as proper to either case (i.e derived by phonetic process from both Sanskrit forms) However, there are cases where metre, at any rate, cannot be directly concerned Thus at the end of a *pāda*, or in an otherwise metrically indifferent position *sasti* 303, 11, *agrabodhi* 310, 12, both nom Or after a long vowel (as in Ap , Alsdorf, *Kum* , 58), *trsitām dhāranī tarpet*, 126, 14 (for *dhāranīm*) AMg and even Ś. (Pischel § 379) have noms. in *im*, *um*, regarded by Pischel as the phonetic equivalents of *ī*, *ū* , in our text they are rare,[1] but cf *lokadhātum* nom. 31, 9, and *bodhim* nom , probably to be read with MSS for ed. *bodhi* in 63, 8 For metrical reasons, the acc sg. of even fem *ā*-stems may be reduced not only to *am* (*pūjam īdrśīm*, 15, 3, *imam eva cintām*, 61, 11 *et passim*), but even to *a* (*ima buddhabodhim*, 95, 8 ; *carya* = *caryām*, 120, 7, 149, 8, *et passim*), which also occurs as nom of *ā*-stems Since *nt*-stems, as in Pali and Prakrit generally, often add the thematic vowel *a* and are declined like *a*-stems, it follows that their nom and acc forms often coincide, ending in *a* or *u* like genuine *a*-stems. In the plural much the same state is found. Not only *ā* (without regard to the nature of the following sound), but also, and very commonly, *a* (as in Ap) occurs as nom pl of *a*-stems , the latter, to be sure, apparently only *metri causa* Both occur also as acc pl., especially *a* (*nirgata* . *dārakān*, 88, 1), but also *ā* (*buddhā ca bodhim ca prakāśayām*, 47, 12, for *buddhān*) Nay, even the regular Sanskrit nom ending *āh* is used as acc *magnāh*, 54, 8, agreeing with *sattvān* , *-pūrṇāh* acc , 9, 3 The same is found in later texts, e g , Lañkāvatāra Sūtra, 6, 5, *apsaravargāś ca* (*pratigrhna*), where the puzzled editor suggests emendation As to *i*- and *u*-stems, we find an astounding variety and confusion in the nom.-acc. pl. forms , those actually found resemble AMg more than any other Prakrit, and contrast strikingly with the simple state of things in Ap which uses *i*, *u* for both. The regular Sanskrit nom in *ayas*, *avas* may be used as acc. (*buddhān*) *bahavo*, 207, 10, *rātrayo* acc. even at the end of a *tristubh-jagatī pāda* where *rātrī*(*h*) would have done quite as well

[1] There are clear cases in the Lalitavistara, e g 49, 16 (Lefmann), *na cāsti trptim* (all MSS).

metrically, 91, 3, and even in prose *dundubhayaś* as acc 69, 11. Besides, we find *ī* (and metrically *i*), *inas*, *īs* (even as nom. masc. !), *yas* as acc (fem), and in the fem *īyas*, *īyo* (before a surd, 86, 1), *īyā* (before *ca*, 237, 3) and *iyas* as nom or acc. indifferently. As in Ap., we thus find the language far advanced on the road to a declension containing only two forms in each number, a nom –acc. and an oblique case, though the forms differ from those actually found in Ap. (The oblique cases, especially of the fem , are much confused in Prakrit generally.) It is as if, in this respect, we were dealing with an immediate precursor of a modern vernacular. The same confusion occurs in pronominal forms *yūyam* as acc., 198, 1

3 Very common are neuter nom –acc pl of *a*-stems in *ā* (sporadic in various dialects, but especially AMg) and *a* (usually *metri causa* ? regular in Ap) *balā*, 62, 2 , *dvātriṃśatīlaksana mahya bhrastā* (v l. °*ta*) 62, 1 Though these have been interpreted as inheritances from Vedic, it is quite as likely that they are merely taken over from the masc , where they are very common (as we just saw) for Sanskrit *ās*, *ān* , cf No 6, below

4. Besides the general Prakrit ending *ū*, we find *u* in the nom –acc. pl of *u*-stems This is not limited to syllables where the metre requires a short *bahu me dharma bhāsitāh*, 255, 7, in *anuṣṭubh* metre. This short *u* is not recorded by Pischel , it seems to be characteristic of Ap (Alsdorf, *Kum* , 59)

5 Voc pl of *a*-stems in *āho* Quoted by Luders (l c., see above) as exclusively Mg But Ap. also has *aho, ahu* The forms actually recorded by Jacobi and Alsdorf seem to show only short *a* in the penult, but this is probably a mere accident They are not numerous in any case , and it is an established principle of Ap that stem-vowels in penultimate syllables may be either short or long (Jacobi, *Bhav.*, 28*, *San* , 1, 9, 12 , Alsdorf, *Kum* , 55) Even the original *ā* of feminine stems is shortened frequently (usually, according to Jacobi, *Bhav.*, l c) The voc pl certainly contained *ā*(*ho*) originally, and it seems to me that our SP. form may much more plausibly be regarded as a link with Ap than with Mg , since there is no other special agreement with Mg The ending is not common, yet is sufficiently well authenticated , e g in *kulaputrāho*, 253, 1, and 255, 11 All MSS apparently have *amareśvarāho* in Lalitavistara (Lefmann), 47, 5 It is not recorded in AMg

6. The pronoun *so*, properly masc., is also used as nt nom. and acc · *so* (= *tad*) *eva vicintayantah* " pondering this same thing " 62, 7.

So Ap , and (in the forms *se, śe*) AMg and Mg (Pischel § 423) Ja. and Alsdorf do not quote Ap *so, su* as nt , but *San* , 501, 3, has s. *bhavanu* acc nt , and both Jacobi and Alsdorf recognize *ehu, ihu* (= *eṣa*) as nt This is probably to be regarded as part of the breakdown of the Sanskrit system of grammatical gender which characterizes Ap. and AMg. While some change of gender occurs in the other Prakrits and even in Sanskrit, it is these two dialects, and especially Ap., which carry it farthest , indeed to a point where, as Jacobi says (*Bhav.*, 31* f.), it is hardly possible to distinguish any longer between masc. and nt in Ap , and even the feminine is involved in the confusion. The verses of SP approach this state Very many nouns vary in gender, or at least show forms (in their own declension or that of modifiers) that were originally characteristic of different genders, and that, too, in close juxtaposition with one another So in 87, 7 ff the noun *yāna* is modified by both masc. and nt adjectives and pronouns, in the same context Masc *catvāra(ḥ)* and nt *catvāri* both go with the fem noun *parsāḥ*, 9, 1, 294, 11 (but *parsa catasra[ḥ]*, fem., 25, 1) , fem *anuttarām* with the nt noun *jñāna(m)* 10, 5 (perhaps influenced by thought of the fem synonym *bodhi* ?) ; nt *yāvanti* with the masc form *sattvāḥ*, 9, 5, etc The feeling for the distinctive generic force of the Sanskrit noun endings, and especially for the difference between masculine and neuter, was evidently very feeble.

7 Final *e, o* very commonly become *i, u* when the metre requires a short. (In such cases *e* is occasionally, but rarely, retained in the writing , I have noted only a few cases of *tĕ*, 85, 12 and 13 ; 131, 4 ; 152, 11 ; curiously *mi* seems to be regularly written for *me* in such cases) This reminds us especially of Ap , but it occurs also in verses in AMg. and other dialects (Pischel § 85) Since *me* is not an Ap. form, and *mi* = *me* is very common in SP , we may possibly regard this as a link to AMg rather than Ap In the loc. sg. of *a*-stems, *i* for *e* is specially frequent (so also Ap)

8 Ap. is peculiar among Prakrits in confusing the instr and loc. pl (Jacobi, *San* , 11) We may see the influence of such a dialect in 85, 1, *vilokayanti gavāksa* (v l °*kse*) *ullokanakehi* " they look out at window(s) and loop-holes " The parallel *gavākṣe* indicates that *ullokanakehi* is felt as loc

9. In 67, 11 occurs the nom sg form *tuham* = *tvam* Pischel records it only for Dhakkī ; it is elsewhere attributed to Eastern Apabhraṅśa, which perhaps means about the same thing (Jacobi, *San* , xxv ; cf Alsdorf, *Kum* , 59). Another nom. *tuva* occurs, 93, 9 , it

.ds of course for *tuvam*, with metrical loss of anusvāra. The form *uvam* is Vedic (by Sievers' Law, cf Edgerton, *Language*, 10, 235 ff) and occurs also in Pali (under conditions no longer regulated by Sievers' Law) It seems, according to Pischel, not to be recorded in Prakrit literature Since, however, it is quoted by the Prakrit grammarians, no special significance should probably be attributed to this seeming agreement between our dialect and Pali

10. The same holds good, I think, of the only other formal agreement with Pali which I have noted Pali has oblique case forms of *ā*-stems in *ā*, besides *āya*, *ayā* As Geiger (§ 81, 1) says, this is evidently a contraction of the other forms, or of the Prakritic *āa* (or *āe*) At least one such form occurs in SP *diśā*, loc , 191, 5 Since contraction of vowels after loss of an intervening consonant is fairly common in Prakrit generally, I am not inclined to attribute much significance to this agreement with Pali, though the form seems not to be recorded in Prakrit [1]

11 Very rare is the AMg Mg nom sg masc *a*-stem ending *e*, for normal Prakrit *o* (note that even Ḍhakkī has *o*) Clearly *o* (whence *u*, Nos 1 and 7 above) was the regular ending in the Prakrit underlying our dialect I have not found *e* in any substantive [2] Perhaps the only clear case of it is *uttare*, 313, 8, which can only be nom. sg masc no v l is recorded Less certain is *ke-cit*, 115, 2, where the Kashgar reading is *kimcit*, furthermore, it is not impossible that *kecit* is meant as a plural (the noun is *bhogu* according to the reading adopted in the edition, and it is doubtful whether *u* can pass as a nom pl ending of an *a*-stem , but there is a v l *bhāga*, which might easily be nom pl)

12 We have referred above to the extensive use of 3 sg verb forms with 3 pl , and also 1 and 2 sg subjects This seems to be characteristic of AMg (Pischel §§ 516–18), which goes much farther than any other known Prakrit (for a possible trace in Ap see Alsdorf, *Kum* , 65) AMg also uses 3 pl forms in the same way (l c). In SP , at least once, a 2 sg. form *ubhūh* is used with 3 pl subject (176, 12 ; well attested in both recensions , only one Nepalese MS. *abhūt*).

[1] I reserve for another occasion a fuller discussion of the oblique cases of fem. nouns, merely observing that the usual endings (when not regular Sanskrit) in SP. are, for all oblique cases, *āya*, *īya*, *ūya* The first of these agrees precisely with Pali, but Prakrit (*āe*, *āa*) is not far removed In other Buddhist works we find *āye* (*ābhāye*, instr , Lalitavistara, 122, 20, Lefmann), *īye* (*kṣāntīye*, ibid , 162, 3), etc

[2] But note Lalitavistara (Lefmann), 74, 4, *bodhisattva brahmakalpasamnibhe* (nom sg. , no v.l. recorded). This is the only case thus far noted in LV.

I have not noticed a 3 pl with sg subject, but in 108, 17 (prose) I believe we must read *abhūvan*, with most Nepalese MSS for ed *abhūma* (subject *vayam*, Kashgar MSS *āsīt*) All sorts of 3 sg forms are used indiscriminately with subjects of all persons and numbers, they include optatives, perfects, etc

13 AMg has verb forms in *e* which look like optatives but are used as past indicatives (Pischel § 466, end), and in general, as Pischel there shows, AMg reveals a strange confusion between optative and aorist forms Our text seems to have the same phenomenon. In 190, 7, *spṛśe* can only be past indic in meaning (in describing a past Buddha's attainment of enlightenment, *spṛśe sa bodhim*), usually such a form is optative (=*spṛśet*) but that is quite impossible here. Conversely, forms in *ī* occur, which look like aorists (Skt -*īt*), but seem to be interpretable only as optatives e g, 291, 12, *sarvesu maitrībala so hi darśayī* "he shall show the power of kindness to all beings" Metre cannot be concerned here, since it occurs at the end of a *pāda*. (Similarly 295, 2, 4, 7, 8) The explanation is obscure, probably it is connected with formal, phonetic confusion between *ī* for *e(t)* in the opt and *ī* for *ī(t)* in the aor In any case we have here another, and a rather striking, agreement with AMg

14 Fairly common is the 2 sg imperative ending *āhi* It seems, according to Pischel (§ 468), to be specially characteristic of AMg and (in the form *ahi*) Ap, though it occurs occasionally in other Prakrits. It is also known to Pali

15. Quite frequent are presents of the type *kurva-ti*, from the root *kṛ* They are found only in AMg and (evidently under the influence of this canonical language of the Jains) in Jaina Māhārāstrī and Jaina Śaurasenī; not in Ap Since Pali also has *kubbati*, but evidently as a borrowed form, not native to the dialect (it is used chiefly in gāthās), we may conclude that it was peculiar to the protocanonical Prakrit and to AMg (of course in the form *kuvva-i*)

16 Another striking agreement with AMg appears in the gerunds in -*yāna* = AMg -*yāna(m)*, peculiar to that dialect (Pischel § 592), e.g. *śruṇiyāna*, 61, 9, etc., about a dozen instances have been found in SP

17. On the other hand, gerund-forms in *i* (and *ī*) point rather to Ap., where alone *i* is recognized as a gerund-ending Pischel § 594 explains it as for Prakritic -*ia* with loss of final *a* (query rather directly from -*ya* by "samprasārana"?) Jacobi does not recognize it as occurring in his Ap. texts, but there is at least one case in *San*, *suṇi*, 445, 5 ("having heard that the sun, the friend of the world, had

gone to rest"), and three forms occur in *Kum* (Alsdorf, 63). In SP. the ambiguity of the ending makes the interpretation often doubtful, for the same ending occurs in the opt and aor indic (above, No 13), and sometimes even a noun form is conceivable (nom.-acc. sg. or pl. of *i*- or *in*-stem). But there are cases where it seems to me that any other interpretation than as gerund is implausible: *abhyokiri*, 325, 4; *upasamkiamī*, 11, 11; *kārāpayi*, 152, 5 (to be rendered "and after causing stūpas to be made for them when they have entered nirvāna, he will honour them", etc.); *upasamkramī*, 191, 1 (note that this clause stands between two precisely parallel clauses, in both of which the verb form is an unmistakable gerund, *vidita* and *abhyokiriyāna*); *na uttarī prārthayi nāpi cintayī*, 213, 10, "(for we were satisfied with mere nirvāna,) not asking for, nor even thinking of, anything further". Perhaps also *abhyokiri*, 228, 15 (which, however, might be considered 3 sg. opt. with Burnouf and Kern).

18 "Short vowels, internal as well as final, are very commonly lengthened for purely metrical reasons, especially in AMg. and Ap." (Pischel, § 73). And further: "In Ap. verses, long and short vowels interchange according to the needs of meter and rhyme" (ib. § 100). In our dialect it is no exaggeration to say that any vowel may be lengthened or shortened to fit the metre. It is mostly final vowels which are treated so cavalierly, they are lengthened and shortened without the slightest compunction, and so commonly that examples need not be quoted. But also internal vowels: *adhyesami*, 1 sg., for °*āmi*, 38, 2; *khudrāka* for *ksudrakāh*, 127, 3; *anābhibhūh* for *ana*°, 128, 4. I regard this as another link with AMg. and more especially with Ap., no other Prakrit goes so far as these two. It should be added that the regular Prakrit "law of morae" applies here too. (The best statement I know is in Geiger, *Pali*, § 5f: double, i.e. long, consonant, and also short nasalized vowel, may interchange with long vowel at any time, without regard to etymological origin.) Hence, instead of metrical lengthening of a final short vowel, it may be nasalized, or the initial consonant of the next word may be doubled. So *sādhum* (=*sādhu*) *ti ghosam*, 55, 12 (in the very next line occurs the equivalent *sādhū*), *daśa-ddiśāsu*, 32, 14 and often, also *daśasu-ddiśāsu*, 55, 11, etc. For further details see my article soon to appear in the volume in honour of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri.

I think this evidence is sufficient to indicate that the protocanonical Prakrit, on which Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit was based, was a dialect closely related to both Ardhamāgadhī and Apabhraṁśa, but not identical with either.

Alphabets and Phonology in India and Burma

By J R Firth

FOR 300 years after Vasco da Gama touched Calicut generations of traders, merchants, missionaries, soldiers, and other emissaries from at least five different nations of Europe took their turn in India, pursuing their interests at a respectful distance, making no obtrusive efforts to scrape acquaintance with Sanskrit culture [1] Such advances were socially difficult, and would not have been welcomed Moreover, our early associations were with Dravidian India, and very few cultured Brahmins sought membership of Christian Churches [2]

As late as 1771 Amaduzzi, the head of the Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, writing of the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum Universitatis Kasi*, remarks "Cui etiam Historiae, Fabula, Scientiae, ceteraque μυσήεια commendantur ne ceteris de plebe, ac peregrinis quinetiam arcana huiusmodi patere possint. Quare Idioma hoc ab ipsis संस्कृत Samscrit appellatur" .. "Eadem Lingua Samscritica, seu litterali Brammhanica pro sacris, et arcanis rebus singulae hae gentes religiose, constanterque utuntur"

The Capuchin missionaries,[3] upon whose work the *Alphabetum* is chiefly based, report · "Brammhanes tamen, ut iam innuimus, maximo studio, tum zelo servandi Religionis arcana, tum metu punitionis subeundae, non solum alienigenis, sed terrigenis etiam, qui de eorum tribubus non sunt geniti, abscondere solent huius Alphabeti institutiones." The knowledge of the "Bedpurana ' is the secret of the few "ceteris autem perpetuis in tenebris delitescat" And so it was with the excellent Capuchin friar, Beligatti, as with so many generations of Europeans in India Besides, had not the worthy

[1] The Italian students of Sanskrit, Sassetti (1581–8) and de Nobili (d 1656) were the exceptions proving the rule

[2] The Tamil teacher and interpreter employed by Ziegenbalg in 1706–7 was, we are told, expelled from Tranquebar and subsequently kept in irons in a Tanjore prison, accused "d'avoir trahi la Religion, et d'en avoir révélé les Mystères le plus secrets aux deux Missionaires de Tranquebar!" La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, tome II, p 391

[3] Especially Cassiano Beligatti di Macerata, also joint author of the *Alphabetum Tangutanum sive Tibetanum* (1773) Worked in the Tibet-Nepal Mission In Lhasa 1741–2, then twelve years in Nepal and occasionally in Patna Died in Macerata 1785

Magister Balgobinda of Patna told him that he himself found difficulties with Sanskrit every day and there was no end to learning it? And so, like many both before and after him to this day, he says: "At cum nobis concessum non fuerit talia penetrasse secreta, ut alius ad ulteriora perscrutanda planam viam panderemus"

Alphabets with all their implicit phonetics, phonology, and grammar, have a background of at least 2,000 years of history in India, and to this day they remain the totems of the peoples, marks of brotherhood, and against the stranger graven shibboleths Alphabets divide and rule We English, following the opinion of Lord Macaulay, pressed our A B C and the rest of our literary arcana on our Indian fellow subjects The interesting thing is, however, that the passwords of the English "governing voice" continue to serve in phonetic safety the close fellowship of the ruling caste

Contact with the vernacular languages was different Even in the earliest days, of course, Europeans on arrival in India had, as we say, "to learn the language," and superficial knowledge of certain vernacular languages necessarily started with the first systematic relations between Europe and India More scholarly acquaintance was especially necessary for the great missions, and so we find that a study of the vernacular languages long antedates what we are pleased to call the discovery of Sanskrit, following Sir William Jones's epoch-making address in 1786

In spite of the early neglect and ignorance of Sanskrit, in spite of Lord Macaulay's appalling judgment, European scholars and especially Englishmen have during the last 150 years served Indian scholarship well, and none better than Sir George Grierson Just as Macaulay's minute, in establishing the use of English in India, inaugurated the biggest Imperial language and culture undertaking the world has ever seen, so this monumental linguistic survey of a vast sub-continent is the biggest thing of its kind in history Both in devoted labour of direction and in the piety of its collaborators it holds perhaps the highest place in the long history of such work in India

This is a fitting occasion to recall the work of the earliest students of Indian languages, Portuguese, Italians, Dutch, Danes, Germans, Frenchmen—especially of the missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, and also the pioneer publications of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome and the Tranquebar Mission.[1] In

[1] Most of these earlier works are mentioned in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. See vol iv, pp 302, 350, vol v, p 18, vol ix, pp 6, 7, etc

1771 it was probably justly claimed that · "Ceterum nullus forte locus Brammhanicis, et aliis quinetiam exoticarum linguarum Codicibus magis abundat, quam Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide "

If we suspend for a moment all theological notions of linguistic unity, the noises of the human race are indeed a chattering Babel, a confusion of tongues Such abounding diversity is at once a challenge to those minds which seek ordered simplicity in the world, and at the same time a collector's paradise There will always be those who seek an underlying unity, and both theology and historical philology have immensely strengthened this way of regarding the languages of the world But, in spite of the "philological revolution", the traditions of plain description and the enthusiasm of the field collector have continued unbroken, from Gesner's *Mithridates* in 1555 to the collections of the International Phonetic Association and the recent Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft fur Phonologie In 1592 Hieronymus Megiser of Stuttgart printed *Specimens of Forty Languages*, increased to fifty · in the second edition of 1603 But it was not until the eighteenth century that the systematic collection of material was undertaken in earnest Leibniz stimulated his many correspondents and interested Peter the Great And it was, in fact, in a letter [1] of Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, one of the founders of the Imperial Academy at St Petersburg, that the first words intended for Hindustani were published in Europe In another (1729) we learn of records of the Sanskrit alphabet

The first really comprehensive compilation was the *Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister*, by Johann Friedrich Fritz und Benjamin Schulze, published in Leipzig in 1748 It presented 200 translations of the Lord's Prayer and 100 alphabets, including the Bengali, and the Modi alphabet for Marathi, Gujarati, and Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese It was the first collection of *Alphabeta* in which Indian vernacular words were printed in their own character in movable type From the phonetic point of view it falls far short of the later *Alphabeta* of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide No notice is taken, for instance, of cerebral or retroflex consonants But it held the field till 1771, when the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* was published, marking a new epoch in Indian studies

The linguistic employment of the parable of the Prodigal Son and the fable of the North Wind and the Sun, follow directly in the tradition of the *Sprachmeister*.

[1] 1st June, 1726.

At this point perhaps we should notice the very early work of individual students of Indian languages, and mention the career of Maturin Veyssière La Croze

The first real account of *Hindostani* was not published till 1743, though the work was done much earlier by J J Ketelaar, a Dutch envoy to Bahadur Shah, who was in Lahore in 1711 and moved to Delhi with the Emperor Later he became Dutch director of trade at Surat [1] There are also several early Dutch accounts of Tamil, but the first systematic grammar, published in 1716, was the work of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a German member of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, " admiré des Indiens pour la connaissance et l'usage de leur Langue " [2]

La Croze gives an amusing account of how Ziegenbalg and Plutschau learnt " Damul " " Comme la langue Portugaise est depuis plus de deux siècles fort commune dans les Indes, ils jugèrent à propos de l'apprendre la première " With the aid of Portuguese they applied themselves to the study of Tamil, but found the books " écrits en cette Langue sur des feuilles de Palmier C'était là tout le secours sur lequel ils pouvaient compter, y comprenant la vive voix des gens du pays, qui n'ont ni grammaire ni dictionnaire, ni aucun art qui facilite l'intelligence de leur Langue " They made little progress so they engaged a Tamil schoolmaster, who brought his school of small children with him and the two missionaries began " à écrire comme eux avec les doigts sur le sable les lettres Malabares, et à les joindre selon que le Maître d'Ecole les dictoit " Unfortunately the master knew no Portuguese, so they were left in the dark as to the meanings of most of the words they learned to write and pronounce. But eventually they found a Tamil who spoke Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, and German ! " Cet homme leur fut d'un grand secours, aussi bien qu'un petit abbrégé de la Langue Malabare qui leur tomba entre

[1] The *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* mentions a " MSS Lexicon, Linguae Indostanicæ in Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide, quod Auctorem habet Franciscum M Turonensem ex Capuccinorum Familia, qui ipsum in Suratensi Missione, quae eidem erat concredita, concinnavit, ac dein dono dedit Sacrae huic nostrae Congregationi a d III Nonas Quinctiles anni CIↃIↃCCIV (1704) " This MSS is said to contain 489 pages in pt I and 423 in pt II, giving Latin words in alphabetical order in the first column, " altera Indostanicas Nagaricis apicibus exaratas " On the opposite page the Latin words are said to be written and explained in French in the first column and in the second, the " voces Indostanas " are, " quantum potis est," also written and explained in French

[2] b 1683, d 1719 For further details of his life and work see La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, a La Haye aux depens de la Compagnie, 3rd edition, 1758, vol II, pp 384 ff.

les mains, et qui étoit de la composition d'un Missionaire Portugais . Ils se formèrent en peu de temps à la prononciation qui est extrêmement difficile" I suspect that in other parts of India and Burma also the works of earlier missionaries even manuscript notes "fell into the hands" of those who eventually wrote the first real grammars and dictionaries, and established traditions

In 1716, after completing his grammar on the voyage to Europe, Ziegenbalg preached before the King of Denmark at the siege of Stralsund, and afterwards one of his Indian converts had the honour of being presented to His Majesty He was received by the King and the Prince of Wales during his visit to England, where he had received the liberal support of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the S P G since 1709.[1] The S P C K. had given him a printing press, which had been set up in Tranquebar in 1711.

His phonetic observations follow the Tamil syllabary, and though sound enough in their way, are not especially interesting. The *D* in *Grammatica Damulica* is good German and not really bad Tamil. He noticed the palatal nasal which he transcribed *yn* and the prepalatal affricate for which he used five roman letters, *ytsch*. He counted eighteen consonants, five long vowels and five short, and two diphthongs [2] Like many others who followed, even after the publication of the *Alphabetum Malabaricum* in 1772, he wrongly described Tamil as the Malabar language [3] We even find Pope [4] saying Malayalam "seems to be but a corrupt Tamil" The Jesuit Beschi arrived in India about 1700 and produced a new Tamil Grammar (1728–1739), which seems to have been used by most of his successors He had the reputation of being a good Telugu and Sanskrit scholar as well He died about 1746.

One of the most interesting personalities in the history of Oriental scholarship during the early years of the eighteenth century is Maturin Veyssière La Croze. He was born at Nantes in 1661 and was educated by Benedictines, taking a great interest in the writings of the early Fathers In 1682 he went to Paris and soon became known on account of his independence of character and unorthodox views. In 1696 he had to leave France, and went to Berlin, following the

[1] Of this support La Croze, who was an admirer of England, remarks "Rien n'est plus édifiant que la charité de la Nation Angloise, qui se signala en cette occasion", loc cit , 2nd ed , vol II, p 416

[2] Cf my "Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation" in *Arden's Grammar*, p vi.

[3] See *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum*, 1772, p xxi

[4] *A Handbook of the Tamil Language*, 5th edition, 1895, p 2

example of many exiled French Protestants, who had been welcomed there by "The Great Elector" (1640–1688) In 1697 he became Librarian and Antiquary to Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards in 1701 the first King of Prussia In 1725 he was given the chair of philosophy in the French College in Berlin, and he died there in 1739. He wrote histories of Christianity in India, and in Ethiopia, and from Berlin carried on a voluminous correspondence with most of the linguists of his time, including Leibniz, Bayer and Ziegenbalg, mentioned above, and among many others with John Chamberlain and David Wilkins in England. After his death this correspondence was published in Leipzig in 1742 as *Thesauri Epistolici La Crozian.* This collection may be regarded as the focus and index of most of the Oriental linguistic work of the early eighteenth century Though he was no friend of the Roman Church his letters are constantly quoted in the publications of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio in the last thirty years of the century from the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771 to the revised edition of the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* of 1787

In view of the discovery of the Tell el Duweir Vase in 1933 and the still more recent researches of Mr Starkey at Lachish in Palestine, which have furnished the missing link in the evolution of the Semitic and other alphabets from Ancient Egyptian, it is interesting to quote the La Croze letters In his letters to La Croze, Ziegenbalg expressed the opinion that all the alphabets used on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, in Ceylon, and other parts of India were derived from the Sanskrit alphabet used by the Brahmans La Croze himself in letters to Bayer and John Chamberlain suggested a common origin of the Phœnician, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, and Brahman alphabets, and also hazarded a guess that they all derived from Egyptian hieratics and hieroglyphics.[1]

Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi, who presided over the Press of the Sacra Congregatio, in his preface to the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771, was well acquainted with these views, and expressing some doubt continues · "Nisi etiam dicere velimus Indostanum Alphabetum profluxisse ab alio antiquiore Brammhanico

[1] See tom i, letter xiii, p 16, tom iii, letter ix, pp 22, 23; letter xlii, p 85, and letter ccccxix, pp 381 et seq "J'ai entre les mains les Alphabets Tartares de Tangut, et des Manchous, ceux de Bengale, de Ceylan, de Malabar, de Siam, etc, en partie manuscrits, et en partie imprimés, et je n'ai point eu de peine à me convaincre, que tous ces alphabets n'ont eu autrefois qu'une seule et même origine" La Croze, loc cit, tome ii, p 246. See also p. 353.

non admodum absimili, siquidem, teste Cassiano [1] nostro, extant nunc in Indostanicis Regionibus *antiqui Codices apicibus quibusdam exarati, quos et ipsi peritiores Brammhanes se ignorare ingenue fatentur*, dum interim apud ipsos traditio est, neque eorum maiores, a quibus eos acceperant, huiusmodi litterarum, et nexuum praesertim, qui frequentes sunt, potestatem calluisse." [2]

The various *Alphabeta* of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide are abiding testimony to the work of the Capuchin Friars and other regular clergy working in India and Burma. Some of them contain phonetic and phonological observations quite similar to more recent ones which have brought faint thrills of discovery to observers even in our own time

The *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771 presents notes on three alphabets, and below are a few which are of general interest, showing that these early observations had some phonetic and even phonological value—largely because the alphabet, though interpreted to Europeans in Latin or Italian terms, was presented also from the Indian point of view.

There is, for example, a clear separation of the unaspirated from the aspirated consonants, which though transcribed as at present by means of digraphs, **ph**, **bh**, etc, are classed as simple and not two sounds. Aspiration would be at once apparent as the observer notes "Quod apud Latinos non in usu habetur" The mention of "in interiore gutture" is especially suggestive of some glottal correlation; thus "Alios vero obscure in interiori gutture formant, et voce tenui ac quasi dimidiata proferunt Alios quadam vi, et aliqua aspiratione exhalant"

Two other prominent phonological characteristics are noted, the cerebral or retroflex consonants and the use of nasalization "Alios insuper medio palato, scilicet ad palatum ipsum linguam inflectentes emittunt Alios tandem narium ministerio pronunciant"

The dental **t** and **d** are, of course, at once recognized —

"a nostro **t** non differt"

"**d**, est nostrum **d** Latinum."

Of the retroflex **ʈ**, "Aliter quam per *t*, haec a nobis Latinis explicari nequit, nec describi potest; quamvis longe sit diversa, eiusque pronunciationem assequi necessarium sit. *Profertur lingua paullulum*

[1] Cassiano Beligatti, mainly responsible for the *Alphabetum*

[2] *Alph. Brammh*, pp. xii, xiii.

inversa, et palatum leniter percutiente, quo blese pronunciatur." "Leniter percutiente" of 1771 shows much more feeling than "the tip must be pressed firmly against the highest part of the roof to form the obstruction and kept in this position for the greater part stop" [*sic*] of 1915 [1]

Remembering Beligatti's source of information and probable acquaintance with the dialects of Bihar as well as Nepali, the following note on retroflex *d* is interesting It is given as "*da* vel *ra* ', with the remark "duplicem huius litterae pronunciationem habes ; nunc enim, ut *d* blesum, nunc ut *r* itidem blesum, sed palatum similiter leniter percutiendo pronunciatur. Initio quidem dictionis semper ut *d* blesum pronunciabis, sed in medio, et in fine certa non habetur regula, modo *da*, modo *ra* dices."

On the affricate च (c), transcribed *cia*, the note is discriminating Unlike many less scrupulous writers of later centuries, he rejects the Italian *cia* "Neque haec ulli ex nostris litteris rite potest assimilari" Of the voiced correlate of this, transcribed *gia*, the note runs "Nostro *gi* et *z* simul arridet haec littera"

What is said of ब (*Ba*) is also interesting · "Latinum *b*, de quo adnotes velim quod sicut in nostra Europa apud varias nationes *b* in *u*, and *v* consonans in *b* immutatur, et unum pro alio usurpatur, ita apud Indos invenies dicentes *vap-h* pro *bap-h*, (*vapor*) et *vavo* pro *bavo*" It is pointed out, however, that "*bha* non convertitur in *v*".

Of *m* there is the curious note "quod debet aperto ore pronunciari et obtuso effertur ore"

He distinguishes long and short vowels of the three types *a*, *i*, and *u*, and on the basis of the alphabet, groups what he transcribes as *e*, *ei*, and *o*, *au*, as similar pairs

Of "Bisarkà" he says "nullum proprium habet sonum, sed tantum indicio est litteram, cui iunctum est Bisarkà, proferre debere fortiter, *ac si traheretur e pectore*, sono tamen *minime in longum protracto*"

In 1772 the Press published its *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum*, largely the work of "Clemens Peanius Alexandrinus", a Discalced Carmelite of the Verapoly Mission in Cochin His title was intended to distinguish the literary alphabet from what he calls Malean-Tamuza or

[1] Noël-Armfield (on retroflex consonants) in *General Phonetics*, pp. 98–100

Malabarico-Tamulicam—but he was under no misapprehension as to the language represented, " quae proprie Maleáima vocatur, lingua nova et incognita " He protested against the confusion of Malayalam with Tamil by Ziegenbalg La Croze, and others, though apparently without effect on Pope, who described it as a sort of corrupt Tamil in the fifth edition of his Tamil grammar, published in 1895 " Quasi idem prorsus esset Idioma Malabaricum atque Tamulicum, quo sane nihil absurdius hac in re comminisci potest Asserere enim Tamulicam Linguam Malabaricam esse, aut Malabaricam esse Tamulicam, idem prorsus esset, ac si Gallicam diceres, et Italicam Linguam invicem non differre. Licet autem utriusque Linguae, Malabaricae, et Tamulicae radices communes sint."

Peanius recognizes five long and five short vowels and two diphthongs He presents various types of syllable such as those " quibus copulatur *ja*, seu *jota*", which we may describe as " yotized "

Then there are combinations with " *r* ", " *l* " *Latinorum*, *v*, and also the characteristic doubling of consonants Of a common final " *l* " he writes " *linguae inflexione pronunciatur* " Of another, which we sometimes think of as an *r* sound, he says it is rather like " *z* finali Latinorum, sed pronunciatur cum aliquo sibilo, clauso ferme ore, ac retrorsum attracta lingua, idem tamen sonat in medio, ac in fine dictionis " Not at all a bad description of one of the most difficult sounds of Tamil and Malayalam

The homorganic nasal on-glides to the voiced stops are noticed, which we may represent by ˜**k**, ˜**p**, ˜**t**, etc, in the Indian way.

The author notices several characteristic features of the language, especially the contrast between the lax pronunciation of single **p**, **t**, **k**, as *b*, *d*, *g*,[1] in intervocalic position, and the energetically articulated voiceless stops usually termed " double " **pp**, **tt**, **kk**.

" *Ka* in principio dictionis aequivalet nostro *k*, in medio autem pronunciatur ut *ga*

" *kka* est idem duplex maiori vi prolatum, profertur cum aliquo conatu . . maiori tamen vi, quod in litteris duplicibus semper est observandum "

A second prominent characteristic of Malayalam is the palatalization of consonants Peanius appears to have noticed this in distinguishing the two *r* sounds (in addition of course, to the retracted

[1] My own observations of the pronunciation of a native of Trivandrum made some years ago seemed to indicate that the lax intervocalic consonants here referred to were only feebly voiced and often fricative

r or *l* sound previously mentioned, which he described as a sort of *z*) The first is "ut *r*, dulciter tamen, et tenerrime profertur prope dentes, iisdem quasi compressis" This is a good enough description of what we now recognize as a palatalized *r*. The second *r* is "ut *r* Latinorum, asperum valde et durum" He also notes the interesting fact that "si vero haec littera duplicetur, efformatur duplex *tt*, quod effertur compressis quasi dentibus, lingua ipsos impellente" This pronunciation is also clearly what we now recognize as palatalized, and, moreover, it is obviously quite a different sort of *t* from the dental and retroflex *t*'s which he also describes. It is the palatalized alveolar *t*, giving three different places of articulation for *t* sounds in intervocalic position in Malayalam. dental, alveolar, and retroflex.

Of the retroflex *t* he says. "est autem Europeis admodum difficilis, ac pronunciatur inversa omnino retrorsum lingua, adeo ut interiorem palati summitatem attingat"—doubled intervocalically "cum maiori tamen *impetu*".

The dental *t* and similar sounds were, of course, easily recognized as *Latin*. Bearing in mind Peanius' observations on *vis*, *conatus*, and *impetus*, and *aspiratio*, it is interesting to find he regards all the aspirated voiceless consonants as tense and transcribes them as double consonants aspirated Aspirated dental *t* is romanized as *tth* "quasi duplex *tt* cum majori impetu" Similarly aspirated *p* is "duplex *p* cum impetu et aspiratione.'

The author's notes on the aspirated voiced stop **bh** and the dental **dh** show he was not merely a slave of the spelling and that he really had a pretty good idea of the sort of bodily actions that produced these strange sounds Of **bh** he says "*ut duplex b*, efformatur ex intimis,[1] atque cum vi et aspiratione profertur." Of **d̪h** "profertur ex intimis cum conatu et aspiratione" So very few Europeans succeed in understanding the single stroke effort *ex intimis*, required for an Indian **bh**, that one feels this insight must have been based on personal knowledge *ex intimis*

Of the dental **dh**, however, he says "quasi duplex *dd*, *cum aliquo leni impetu*," and does not mention aspiration But for **ddh** occurring medially he says "idem cum maiori vi, et aspiratione."

He lists most of the nasals including an *n* "ut *n* Latinorum clare";

[1] "Ex intimis" is a very good guess at the motor background of the aspirated consonants, which are single stroke efforts, the release of the stop synchronizing with a "kick" of the diaphragm, etc Cf "ex pectore" above

and another " ut *n*, cum aliquo tamen narium ministerio " ; that was the best he could do about the retroflex *n*

He describes the palatal nasal as being like the *gn* of Italian, but not identical with it, " efformatur prope dentes cum aliquo narium ministerio " This is also in accordance with modern observations

Other consonants noted are —

va, ut *u* consonans Latinorum, aliquando ut *b*

Scia, " ut *c* gallico ore prolatum," and different from this,

Sza " inter *s* et *z* pronuntiatur, inflexa ad palatum lingua."

Sa, " ut *s* Latinorum formatur prope dentes, quasi sibilando "

Kcia, " retracta lingua et ad palatum inversa cum impetu, et aspiratione profertur "

ha ut Germanico ore prolatum

la—single and double—" est quoddam genus *l*, quod inflexa omnino ad palatum lingua crassiori sono efformatur."

za " quasi *z* Latinorum, dentibus labiisque vix apertis pronuntiatur, retracta tantillum lingua " He clearly distinguishes **s**, **ṣ**, and **ṣ**—three sibilants

After all this excellent phonetic description, he concludes " genuinus enim ipsarum sonus non scriptis, sed voce est aquirendus "

In the transcriptions at the end he makes use of grave and acute signs as some sort of indication of accent Any detailed phonological study of Malayalam would have to pay special attention to accent and intonation.

The *Alphabetum Barmanorum seu Regni Avensis* was first published in 1776, but it was much improved in the revised edition published in 1787. It represents the joint labours of Carpani and Mantegazza of the Catholic Mission. [1]

[1] My attention was first drawn to the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* by my friend and colleague, Mr G E Harvey, Lecturer in the Indian Institute, Oxford, who also very kindly wrote the note on the Mission, quoted below Carpani knew both Ava and Pegu, spending seven years in Rangoon Bishop Percoto sent him to Rome with " accurate information " about the mission, Burma, and the language There is a short note on the *Alphabetum* by E Luce in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, August, 1914, p 144

"The Catholic mission was small but already old when the first Protestant missionary landed in 1813. Indeed, there had always been a couple of Goanese priests in Burma from the sixteenth century onwards, under the Portuguese hierarchy in India, but they confined themselves to the feringhi colony and were, in addition, only semi-literate The first mission, that of the Missions Etrangères de Paris (now the dominant Catholic mission in Burma), lasted only four years, 1689–1693, and ended in martyrdom, but it was followed by an unbroken succession of Italian Barnabites,

The *Alphabetum Barmanorum* notices most of the outstanding features of the phonetics of Burmese in presenting the syllabaries of the Burmese writing lesson. To begin with it points out the special role of aspiration, glottalization, and nasalization "Plures Barmana lingua habet aspirationes, nasales, gutturales, aliasque, quibus ea locutio nobis perdifficilis est"

Carpani not only notices the aspiration of plosives but also of the four nasals and of *l* and *w*. "Quatuor priores nasali afficit aspiratione. qua nempe aer in pronunciandа littera per nares exploditur" Of **hl** and **hw** he says "quasi pronuncietur *fla, fua*" Moreover, he draws attention to the morphology in this connection "In hac denique lingua per solam saepe aspirationem significatio activa tribuitur verbo neutro aut passivo Sic, *kià* (**ca**) *cadere*, vel *decidere*; *khià* (**cha**) *deponere* vel *deiicere*; [*hlut*] *dimittere*; [*lut*] *liberum esse.*

In addition to noticing the antithesis of aspirated and unaspirated consonants, he fully appreciated similar qualities in the vowels or syllables. A certain sign, for example, "postspirandae syllabae adhibetur," which we now call breathy voice and correlate with length

1721–1832, and it is to these that we owe our first studies of the language There can be little doubt that both Judson, the founder of the American Baptist Mission in 1813, who wrote the first great dictionary, and the American Baptists whose studies thereafter held the field, were indebted, if only indirectly, to early Catholic MSS which no longer survive, the bulk perishing in the fire of 1840 which burned down the headquarters mission station at Chanthayua in Shwebo district Within four years of their arrival in 1721 the Barnabite Fathers had compiled a small dictionary, and in the next few decades they wrote MS grammars and bilingual devotional works, but the first printed work was the *Alphabetum* Its author, Melchior Carpani, who arrived in 1767 and does not seem to have returned after leaving for Rome in 1774, was stabbed by one of the Goanese priests, who persistently resented the intrusion of the Barnabites, men of a high type, whose mere presence inevitably invited comparisons, his first edition, 1776, was doubtless based on the work of his colleagues, and the second, 1787, was revised by Mantegazza Fr Caejetan Mantegazza, arriving in 1772, died as bishop in 1794 at Amarapura, the then capital where his tombstone still exists, when sailing for Rome in 1784 he took with him two Burmese converts, one of whom, an ex-Buddhist monk and hence a scholar, assisted in the printing, at Rome, not only of the *Alphabetum* but also of a Burmese prayer book catechism, and dialogues Fr Johannes Maria Percoto, who, mourned by the author *Alphabetum* as a better scholar than himself, arrived in 1761 and died as bishop in 1776 at Ava the then capital—the Burmese periodically changed their capitals—left translations of epistles and gospels, Genesis, Daniel, Tobias, St Matthew, prayers, catechism, etc, and a Burmese–Latin–Portuguese dictionary, some of which seem to survive in the Library of the College of the Propaganda at Rome See Bishop Bigandet, *Outline of the History of the Catholic Mission, 1720–1887*, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1887, Hosten and Luce, *Bibliotheca Catholica Birmanica*, Rangoon, British Burma Press, 1916, G E Harvey, *History of Burma* (Longmans, 1925), pp 214, 230, 253, 278, 345, 349"

and falling tone Another is " signum producendae syllabae " While of the opposite kind are the signs which mark short checked syllables, e g " syllabam corripit ' " Punctum suppositum syllabam brevissimi reddit soni, et quasi truncat " In describing vowels he notices an *í* which is long and an *i*, " breve ac quasi truncum, and also the opposite kind of syllable which he transcribes *kæh*, " cum e aperta et postspirata " [1]

His account of the pronunciation of syllables written with final *p*, *t*, *k*, and the check mark is quite in accordance with modern observations, so that the final glottal stop in such short syllables was usual in the late eighteenth century, e.g on a syllable which he transcribes *kæk* he remarks " ita tamen, ut posterius *k* vix audiatur nempe vix enunciari coeptum supprimitur, quod quidem in qualibet muta finali observandum est." [2]

He describes nasalized vowels by comparing Burmese syllables with French words Burmese syllables transcribed with final *n* as *kæñ*, and *kòuñ* he likens to French *vin*, *pain*, *bon*, *baton*. But he realized they were really different from these, for he adds a remark which modern observation confirms " *n* vix coepta supprimitur " On the syllable transcribed *kòuñ* his remark is also in accordance with modern observations · " *ñ*, nasalis, diphthongus vix percipitur " He also noticed that such nazalizations when followed immediately by the initial consonant of the next syllable, usually formed a homorganic junction, heard as **m** + **b**, **n** + **d**, **ŋ** + **g**, etc

Carpani noticed the behaviour of the stops in various contexts " saepius vero *t*, *p*, aliasque fortes, duplicesve in *d*, *b*, et in alias simplices, seu tenues Sed quasdam hac in re licuit regulas animadvertere, quas in alphabeto notavimus " And later he observes that after certain nasals and other syllables " consonantes immediate sequentes, quae valide, seu durae sunt ut *p*, *t*, *k*, pronunciantur *b*, *d*, *g*, paucae admodum exceptiones hac in re obtinent "

In phonological terms we should now say that the presence or absence of aspiration or " breathiness ", is used far more, has more linguistic weight, than the presence or absence of voice, or the voice correlation. Whereas the correlation of aspiration differentiates most

[1] See my " Notes on the Transcription of Burmese ", *Bulletin S O S*, Vol VII, Part I, 1933, also the remarks thereon of Professor Trubetzkoy in his recent *Anleitung zu phonologischen Beschreibungen*, 1935, p 29

[2] In Modern Korean the final voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, are held, and quietly released There is no plosion But they do not seem to have given place to the glottal stop

articulation types in pairs, and this in most of the typical contexts, there is one very common context in which the voice correlation does not function, and a second context in which it is doubtful.

The first is the context immediately after very short syllables ending with a sharp glottal check, where the only unaspirated plosives to occur in familiar speech are of the **p, t, k** type Taking the bilabial class of stops, **p, py, pw,** and **ph, phy, phw** are all possible, giving six alternants of the bilabial stop class in this context—and no further differentiation by voice Here we have what I have termed uncorrelated **p, t, k.**

Something very like the opposite would appear to be the case in the context immediately after long syllables with closing nasalization, where in most cases, but apparently not in all, the sounds heard are like **b, d, g,** and are not used in contradistinction from **p, t, k.** These I should term uncorrelated **b, d, g.**

It seems to me quite unnecessary and probably erroneous to postulate relations between the stops in these two utterly different contexts The question of notation or what letters we shall use in Romanic orthography is another matter altogether

Another feature of the *Alphabetum* which deserves notice is the classification of the different types of syllable to be met with in this so-called monosyllabic language It seems to me more enlightening than a mere catalogue of so-called individual sounds, perhaps because it follows the Burmese traditional writing lesson, and also because it agrees in some measure with the modern contextual approach

He gives six classes of syllable in the orthography, but naturally some of these classes correlate also with phonetic habit and morphological structure There is, of course, the distinction between the short sharply checked syllables and the long breathy ones, which we have already noticed as two characteristic contexts in which immediately following consonants should also be studied. He also notices those which begin with aspirated consonants, as well as the breathy ones which fade out, "postspirandae" Then there are the diphthong-syllables "Diphthongi autem, atque etiam triphthongi in tota lingua Barmana frequentes admodom sunt." He notices **ei** with "*e* præstricta", **ou** with "*o* medium", and also **ai** and **au.**

There is another characteristic contrast of syllables in Burmese between those which begin with a yotized consonant group and those beginning with a labio-velarized group e g **py, phy, my, hmy, ly,**

hly, etc., against pw, phw, mw, hmw, lw, hlw, etc These form classes five and four in the *Alphabetum* Of the yotization of syllables, it says "Hoc igitur signum brevissimi sonum i syllabæ intrudit, ut est in ghiaccio, pianta apud Italos" The "w" sound in the other class is given as the *u* of the Italians or the *ou* of the French.

The sixth class is really only due to orthographic superfluities, the Burmese letter "r", for instance, being pronounced "y".

Carpani's description of the vowels holds good to-day. "Barmani septem habent sonos, seu vocales Italorum duas *e*, apertam nempe, et praestrictam. duo *o*, medium, et largum, seu apertum atque a, i, u." Failing ordinary letters for the two extra vowels he employs æ and the Greek ω in his transcriptions of the open *e* and *o*

The close *e* "ut in *née, portée* apud gallos.

The open æ "ut *è* in *après*, or *chaîne, grêle* apud Gallos".

For the open *o* he suggests "apertum ut in voto seu vuoto apud Italos".

For the two letters corresponding to *y* and *r* he gives the same pronunciation. His note on *r* being "quam multi in pronunciatione in precedentem mutant".

For the Burmese characters which may be transliterated *hy*, *hðy*, and *hr* he gives the Italian indication *scia* or French *chien* This, too, accords with modern observation In Romanic orthography this element could be written *hy*, as it was probably an aspirated yotized group originally, and is now pronounced ʃ, rather like a certain very fronted pronunciation of the *ich*-laut.

Carpani shows acquaintance with French, but not with Spanish or English. He found the velar nasal ŋ difficult to describe He says of this letter "quam per n̄g utcumque expressimus, simplicis est soni, nullisque nostris litteris exprimi potest" And the best he can do for the sound θ is to suggest it is a lisped *s* "absque sibilo, uti apud nos quoque in nonnullis auditur vitio linguæ vel educationis."

He heard a *g*, "iuxta Germanorum pronunciationem," and the affricates ʧ and ʤ he transcribes as *ts* and *tzh* On the whole, it will be agreed this *Alphabetum* was an excellent piece of work for that time, and was not surpassed or equalled until our own day

The following table of letters is appended as an example of a schematic Romanic alphabet for Burmese:—

EXAMPLE OF ONE ARTICULATION TYPE

Initial Alternance Only

Basic type of articulation	Bilabial Articulation involving lip closure			Alveolar	Velar
	Voiceless [p]	Aspiration	Voice Correlation	t	k
	p	ph	b	t, etc	k
Yotization	py	phy	by	*nil*	*nil*
Labio-velarization	pw	phw	bw	tw, etc	kw, etc.
Nasalization	hm		m	hn, etc	hŋ, etc.
Nasalization and Yotization	hmy		my	*nil*	ny or specialized palatal *p*
Nasalization and Labio-velarization	hmw		mw	hnw, etc.	ŋw
Total	9		6	10	9
	Total of 15 "substitution counters" or terms having basic lip closure or bilabial articulation occurring in initial position.				Total of 34 for plosives and nasals in initial position.

Schematic Alphabet for Burmese in World Orthography

Initial Alternance Only

	Bilabial Articulation	Alveolar Articulation	Pre-palatal Articulation	Palatal Art.	Velar Articulation	Glottal Art.
	p ph b	t th d	c ch j		k kh g	
Yotization	py phy by				(*see* c, ch, j)	
Labio-velarization	pw phw bw	tw thw dw	cw chw jw		kw khw gw	
Nasals	hm m	hn n			hŋ ŋ	
Yotized nasals	hmy my	(*see* hny, ny)		Palatal hny ny		
Labio-velarized nasals	hmw mw	hnw nw			ŋw	
	w					
Dentals		hl l				
θ ð		hly ly	Laterals similarly treated.			
θw ðw		hlw lw				
		s sh z ʃ				
		shw zw				
	w			y		h
				yw		
				(hy = ʃ)		

VOWELS.

Low level tone. long, greatest frequency of occurrence	i iŋ	e eɪŋ	ɛ	a aŋ	ɔ	o ouŋ	u uŋ	aiŋ	auŋ
Falling tone, long, breathy	ˈi ˈɪŋ	ˈe ˈeɪŋ	ˈɛ	ˈa ˈaŋ	ˈɔ	ˈo ˈouŋ	ˈu ˈuŋ	ˈaɪŋ	ˈauŋ
Slightly falling, medium length, creaky voice, weak closure	ɪˈ iŋˈ	eˈ eɪŋˈ	ɛˈ	aˈ aŋˈ	ɔˈ	oˈ ouŋˈ	uˈ uŋˈ	aɪŋˈ	auŋˈ
Very short, "bright" voice, abrupt closure, slightly falling	ɪʔ	eɪʔ	ɛʔ	aʔ		ouʔ	uʔ	aiʔ	auʔ
Neutral				ə					

TEXT IN BROAD TRANSCRIPTION

I. BURMESE

θə ˈdiŋ za shə ya hniŋˈ ˈnyiŋ ˈkhouŋ ˈjiŋ

lu tə yauʔ ði, θə ˈdɪŋ za də zauŋ go, kaɪŋ ˈpyi hlyi—θə ˈdɪŋ za taiʔ θoˈ ˈθwa yauʔ ywe', θə ˈdɪŋ za shə ya ˈjɪ ˈa, ciˈ ˈ$_{\text{ɕtʰ}}$, ˈθɪŋ doˈ θə ˈdɪŋ za ha, ˈkauŋ ˈla; couʔ ə myɪ go lu ðe sə ˈyɪŋ ˈdɛ ma, thɛˈ ˈtha dɛ. cɪˈ ˈzaŋ sho ˈpyɪ, θə ˈdɪŋ za go pyaˈ ywe', ˈkaiŋ, da bɛˈ nɛˈ ˈpyɔ jiŋ ˈðe ðə ˈlɛ, huˈ, ˈdɔ ðaˈ hnɪŋˈ ˈme ðɪ.

θə ˈdiŋ za shə ya ˈji gaˈ, o, ˈθi khaŋ dɔ mu ba; dɪ ha, sa ˈlouŋ si ðə ˈma gə ˈle ˈmya, ˈhma loˈ, phyɪʔ pa leɪŋˈ mɛ. ˈθɪ khaŋ dɔ mu ba, huˈ, yo ðe zwa ˈtauŋ baŋ ˈto ˈʃo ˈpyɔ ðɪ.

lu ˈjɪ gaˈ, tɛ ˈkauŋ dɛ, θɪŋ doˈ doˈ, sa ˈlouŋ ˈhma ˈðwa youŋ. couʔ hma bɛ pouŋ ə ˈco youʔ mɛ sho da, mə ˈpyɔ naɪŋ ˈbu, sho lyɛʔ, θə ˈdɪŋ za shə ya ˈjɪ gaˈ khaˈ gaˈ yaˈ yaˈ ˈtauŋ baŋ ywe', ce yaˈ ðɔ ˈli, ˈdɔ ðaˈ gaˈ mə pye ðɪˈ lɛʔkhə na hnɪŋˈ ˈpyɔ ðɪ.

θə ˈdɪŋ za shə ya ˈjɪ gaˈ, ə ˈco mə youʔ yaˈ auŋ, cuŋ dɔ pyiŋ baˈ mɛ. nɛʔ phyaŋ ðə ˈdɪŋ za hnaiʔ, ˈmwe ˈphwa sə ˈyiŋ gaˈ, khiŋ ˈbya ə myɪ go, thɛˈ laiʔ paˈ mɛ pyaŋ ˈpyɔ le ði.[1]

[1] Story from Armstrong and Pe Maung Tin's *Burmese Reader*, p. 41. Recorded on H.M.V C1181

TEXTS IN WORLD ORTHOGRAPHY

II. Tamil

paal kuṭikkaata puunaı uṇṭaa entru raajaa tennaali raamaniṭam keeṭṭaar. tennaalı raaman uṇṭu entru patıl connan. appaṭiyaanaal koṇṭuvaa entru uttaravıṭṭaar.

tennaali raaman tan vıṭṭuku pooy puunaı ontrai piṭittu atan munnaal kotıttukkoṇṭırukkum paalaı vaıttaan. paalaı kuṭikka poona puunaiyin mukam ventu pooyıttru ıppuṭı ıraṇṭorutaram naṭanta pin, anta puunai eppootu paalai kaṇṭaalum (*o*)oṭṭam pıṭıttatu. kaṭaıcıyaaka puunaıyaı raajaavıṭam kaaṇ pittaan. raajaa mıkavum aaccarıyappaṭṭaar.

III. Telugu

voka roozuna tenaalıraamalıngani koḍuku tondara tondaragaa raazugaari darʃanaanikı vaccınaaḍu. kaṇḍḷanta nıırugaa vaccınaaḍu. vaanını cuucına vaarandarıkı aaʃcaryamu puṭṭınadi. atanikı eemı aapada vaccınadı janulaku booda paḍaleedu. vaaḍu tinnagaa raazugaarı vaddaku vaccı mahaaprabuu!

maa kompa munıgıpooyındı. naa tandrı canipooyinaaḍu; ani manavı ceesukunnaaḍu. aa sangatı vını raazugaaru aaʃcaryapaḍınaaru. aayananu aaʃrayıncukonı, tannu dukhamulandus antoogapeṭṭu cundına raamalıngaḍu gatıncanandoku raazugaaru mıkkılı vyasanapaḍaaru. veṇṭanee aayana, tana parıcaarulanu pılıci, konta dravyamunu tenaalı raamalınganı komaarunikıvvamanı uttaraviccı naaru.

IV Marathi

eka baıyne ek mwŋgws paḷyle hote. tya mwŋgsala tytsa far ləḷa laglela hota. te tycya ghərı ekadya mwlapremaṇe vavrət əse. hyamwḷe tya ghərat sapakyrḍacı əgdı bhıtı nəse. eke dyvʃı əse dzhale kı, tı bai aplea tanhya mwlala badzevər nydzvun paṇı aṇavəyas nədıvər gelı; ytkyat ek moṭha sap ghərat ʃyrun, tya badzevər tsəḍhu lagla. mwŋsacı drṣṭı tyadzvər dzatats, mwlala ha tsavṇar əse pahun tyane tabḍtob sapavər wḍı ghatlı, aṇı tyacı khaṇḍoḷı kərun takylı! mwlacı ai ghəri yete to daratəts mwŋgws tyca drṣṭıs pəḍle; tyatse toṇḍ rəktane bhərlele hote. apla pərakrəm tyla dakhvyṇya kərytats dzəṇw kay te tycya toṇḍakəḍe pəhat rahyle! pəṇ tyla əse vaṭle ki, mwŋsane az aple mul marun khalle! tevhā tyla dzo rag ala tyacya

dzhəpaʈyat tyne bhərlela haɳɖa mwŋsacya dokyavər ʈakyla. tya muɭe mwŋsatse ɖoke fuʈun te tatkaɭ mərəɳ pavle. pwɖhe tı bai badzevər dzaun pəhate, to sapatse twkɖe tycya drʂʈıs pəɖle, və mul hı khwʃal nıdzlyatse tyla aɖhəɭun ale.

V Urdu

ek buʈhe admı kı mawtka vəqt jəb qərıb aya to ek ləkʈıōka gəʈʈha bandkər əpne beʈõ se kəha ky wse toʈē. hər eknē bari bari zor ləgaya lekyn gəʈʈha nə ʈuʈa. buʈhe təɹrubəkar bapnē phyr gəʈʈheko kholdıa awr ek ek kərke sarı ləkʈıā tordī. phyr əpne beʈōse mwxatyb hokar kayhne ləga "pyare beʈo! jəb maỹ ys jəhāse kuc kərjaũ to twmhē cahıe ke ys ləkʈıōke gəʈʈhe kı tərhe rəho. əgər twm bahəm pyaromwhəbbətse rəhoge to taqətvər se taqətvər admı bhı twmhē ıza nə pəhw̃ca səkēge. lekyn əgər twm ek dusre ke dwʃmən bəngəe awr əlayhyda əlayhyda hogəe, to kəmzor admı bhı twmhare ys nyfaq se faeda wʈhakər twmhē zərur nıca dykhaēge.

VI Modern Persian

yekı æz æʔyane mæmlekæte iran, do ædæd ænjır ke taze dær bayæʃ ræsıde bud, bæraye padeʃahe xod beʔenvane tohfe færestad ve dær ærızeı ke beʃah neveʃt motezæker ʃod do ædæd ænjır ke pıʃæz mousem ræsıde bud, tæqdıme æʔlahæzræte homayunı mikonæd. ʃah pæsæz xandæne morasele xeılı xoʃvæqt gærdıde. væhokm kærd ke qasede hamele ærıze ænjırhara behozur aværde enʔame xodra begıræd. vælı moteʔæjjebane dıd fæyæt yek ænjır dær zærfæst æz qased porsid an ænjıre dıgær ku, qased ærz kærd an dıgærira xordæm. ʃah moteyæyyerane goft cetour xordı, qased ærz kærd ın tour, ve qoulra ba feʔl yekı næmude ænjıre doyyomıra bedæhæne xod gozaʃte væ xord.

After the presentation of a schematic alphabet for Burmese with an illustrative text, and experiments in world orthography for Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Urdu, and Persian, attention must be drawn to certain fundamental questions raised by the employment of world orthography to symbolize the forms of languages which have hitherto made no systematic use of Romanic characters.

The first thing to be said is that the Roman alphabet has been found to work well from the days of greater Rome to the present time,

when Western civilization is become a world civilization Hence the phrase world orthography The Roman alphabet has proved practical in all kinds of printing, both by hand and machines In education in its widest sense, in all manner of notation popular and scientific, it serves us well We have evolved a variety of founts of type and spacing for effective lay-out in all sorts of printed language We have developed new letters in harmony with the alphabet, also accents and punctuative signs No nation no people, need hesitate to adopt it Those who have will not go back

On the general advantages of the Roman alphabet, Professor Otto Jespersen has written a useful article which serves as the introduction to a report published in 1934 by the League of Nations *Co-opération Intellectuelle*, entitled ' L'adoption universelle des caractères latins " [1]

Of the practical advantages, one or two forceful illustrations may be given The technical results of Romanization in Turkey are With Arabic characters a compositor could handle 4,500 in six hours With Roman 7,000 in the same time The cost of production has been reduced from 25 to 50 per cent according to the size of the work The number of *touches* on the typewriter keyboard has been reduced from 90 to 37, and the employment of machines and typists enormously increased [2]

Professor van Ronkel, of the University of Leyden, writes [3] " L'écriture javanaise est belle, mais compliquée et peu économique un text y occupe trois fois plus de place qu'en écriture latine. Les livres sont donc trois fois plus gros qu'il n'est nécessaire "

Furthermore, the Turks have proved the great advantages of the new alphabet in schools, and a rapid multiplication of books and libraries has followed the adoption of an alphabet at once simpler and better suited to represent the forms of the language, and also much cheaper in production costs

In addition to practical advantages of this kind, the Roman alphabet has definite merits as the framework of a scientific linguistic notation It lends itself to analysis and synthesis It does not build syllabaries It is analytic, using a comparatively small number of signs which can be arranged and employed to suit the phonology and morphology of almost any language Moreover, the synthesis of the

[1] Afterwards referred to as A U C L

[2] See A U C L, pp 126–9, by Professor Caferoğlu, of Constantinople. And p 136, by Professor Rossi, of Rome

[3] A U C L, p 92

letters produces easily recognizable differentiated word-forms as wholes, the differential elements suitably symbolized by letters or signs having their places in the word and also in an ordered series of alternants established by analysis. Having analysed the language into a number of ordered series of letter-units, you put the ' pieces " together again and find you have differentiated word-forms When you put together your " pieces and find the result corresponds with the facts you have a scientific or organic " alphabet It is not surprising, therefore, to find Professor Caferoğlu reporting that the adoption of Roman characters " a conduit également à une *simplification* de la langue ' that it has had some influence " sur la grammaire turque ", and that it has opened de nouveaux horizons aux *recherches philologiques* concernant la langue turque." [1]

The alphabetic revolution in Turkey is, in fact, the most significant movement in the recent history of the world alphabet It was at the epoch-making Turcological Congress held at Baku in 1926, that representatives of the Turkish republic, of the Turco-Tartar peoples of Russia and of Russian and other European Universities, proclaimed the necessity and the opportunity of abandoning the Arabic alphabet in favour of the Roman character Within two years the alphabetic revolution affected about 25 000,000 Turco-Tartars in the U.S S R., which has been carrying out a great Romanization programme ever since among the Asiatic daughter republics [2] Turkey herself followed, and what is called the N A T (" nouvel alphabet turc ") came into force partially on 1st January, 1929 and completely on 1st June, 1930

In Russia it is true that earlier moves towards Romanization had been made by several local governments, in particular by Azerbaijan, but the Congress of 1926 marked the beginning of comprehensive " alphabetization on a vast scale In 1922 only two languages of the Russian Union had adopted a new alphabet, but the number given for 1933 is seventy !

The Russians attach great importance to the unification of the many Roman orthographies which had been independently devised in pre-Soviet days, and they report " Actuellement l'unification se poursuit , elle se manifeste par la progression de la fusion phonétique et graphique des alphabets nationaux, la simplification de la forme des lettres et la reduction de leur nombre "

[1] See A U C L , pp 124–5 Italics Professor Caferoğlu's

[2] See A U C L , pp 133–4, by Professor Rossi, the official Soviet report on p 161. and a report on Romanization in the U S S R by Professor Braun, of Leipzig, pp 142 seq

That leads us to the elements of the whole technique of symbolizing the forms of a language by the use of Roman letters. It may be described as alphabetical economy To make the most economical use of letters it is essential that the fullest advantage be taken of contextual conventions, thus reducing the number of signs required not only for the symbolization of the terms of an ordered series of possible alternants in any given context but for the particular orthography as a whole To achieve this, thorough phonological and morphological analysis is necessary "Si toutes ces questions ne sont pas suffisament examinées et résolues d'une manière uniforme, l'orthographe reste maladroite, lourde, difficile à lire, et elle a peu d'attrait pour les indigènes, qui doivent d'abord s habituer à la lecture Sous ce point de vue les orthographes déjà existantes ne sont certainement pas toutes très satisfaisantes" [1]

To a nucleus of thirty-three Roman letters the Soviet linguists have added fifty-eight new ones, making a total of ninety-one letters in a sort of unified alphabet which they think will serve all the languages of the Union. There is a great danger of swamping the characteristics of the alphabet if too many new letters are employed This may quite well result if the letters are based on universal phonetic categories instead of on a phonological analysis of each language *ad hoc* The Arabic and Indian alphabets are such that they have developed either initial, medial and final forms or special compound letters Such specializations of form may even be justified by abstract general phonetic theory, but very little can be said for them from the point of view of alphabetical economy. An orthography can be too phonetic The value of a Roman letter depends on its position and the context

A certain number of new letters such as those devised by the International Phonetic Association are undoubtedly necessary But, as Professor Troubetzkoy quite rightly points out, "Souvent ces caractères modifiés sont très nombreux de sorte que l'aspect général d'un texte écrit dans un tel alphabet est tout à fait 'exotique' En raison de cette circonstance un des principaux arguments cité d'ordinaire en faveur de l'adoption des caractères latins pour toutes les langues du monde se trouve presque réduit à néant" [2] Most spelling is phonologically not phonetically, representative

A schematic system of spelling or regular alphabet which enables

[1] A U C L, p 34 Professor D Westermann reporting on Africa
[2] A U C L, p 48, reporting on the peoples of the Caucasus

us to symbolize the forms of a language by means of combinations of letters and other signs without redundancy and yet without ambiguity must be based on linguistic analysis and involves the consideration of word formation and sentence structure as well as of pronunciation From the Saussurean point of view, which has been applied and developed in English by Dr Alan Gardiner,[1] orthography is representative of language, not speech

That is a striking way of saying half the truth, and perhaps the half that has too often been obscured But there is quite obviously a danger in following Baudouin de Courtenay de Saussure and Durkheim to the extent of the abstract integration of "sounds" or 'phonemes' or letters and signs in a mental scheme of ideas or in "the language as a whole" This kind of abstraction goes further than is at present either necessary or desirable for the handling of our facts In the symbolization of the forms of a language by means of an ordered system of letters and signs, the first principle should be the recognition of characteristic recurrent contexts in which an ordered series of phonological substitutions may take place

If we take an ordered series of English words or forms such as *bi:d, bɪd, bed, bæd, bɑ.d, bɔ d, bu d, bʌd, bɔ.d beɪd, boud, baud. baud, bɔɪd, bɪəd, beəd* we have sixteen vowel alternants in what may be considered the same context Between **d** and **g**, however, only three are possible

In final position the number of possible vowel alternances is two, sometimes three less than in medial position In initial position in isolated words the nasal alternances are **m, n,** in intervocalic and final positions **m, n, ŋ**. But immediately before a final *k* only **ŋ** is possible, before final *p* only **m** is possible, though before final *t* and *d*, which have morphological function all three are again possible, **m, n, ŋ**.

In the application of World Orthography to Indian languages the letters **m, n, ɲ, ɳ, ŋ**, have been used to represent the unique homorganic nasals preceding certain stops as well as for the series of nasals which may occur in initial position. But we refrain from any functional identification for example of a specific or unique *m* on-glide to a homorganic stop, and an *m* as a term in a three, four, or five term alternance in initial position

The initial medial, intervocalic and final positions in Tamil agglutinations give contexts in each of which various series of

[1] In his *Theory of Speech and Language*, Oxford, 1932

alternances may take place These must be studied in close connection with the morphology, each series of terms in each context independently, at any rate in the first instance Similar considerations apply to Malayalam In that language the consonantal alternance in initial position includes, for example, two homorganic plosives differentiated by the voice correlation which we may symbolize by **k** and **g**. In intervocalic position, however, the consonantal alternance includes two homorganic sounds differentiated by the tensity-laxity correlation which appears to affect the whole manner of articulation, involving also length, and a parallel laryngeal correlation of some sort, both these are again differentiated from a third sound by the voice correlation This gives us a three-term alternance which we may symbolize by means of **kk**, **k**, and **g**. It so happens that intervocalic **kk** sounds rather like initial **k**, and intervocalic **k** rather like **g**, except that it is feebly voiced and often fricative. It will be seen at once that from the logical and functional point of view it is impossible to identify the terms of the first series with the second series It is practically convenient to use the same letters over again both from the point of view of pronunciation and alphabetic economy We may write to **kt** and **sips**, using t and s both initially and finally, and they may correspond to similar sounds, but the two *t* s and the two *s*'s are phonologically and morphologically different Or take the English word *stick*, which may be transcribed **stik** or **sdik**, according to the nature of the contextual conventions laid down Discussions have taken place on the further and quite gratuitous question of whether "the sound" after the *s* is to be identified with *t*'s or *d*'s in other contexts

In other words the value of any letter is determined by its place in the context and by its place in the alternance functioning in that type of context This I have called its *minor* function, but grammatical and semantic function must also be considered These I have termed major functions [1]

These ordered series of alternants vary from context to context, so that minor function is not a constant for the language as a whole. The number and nature of the terms of such series also vary from context to context, and it is useful to note the range from contexts of maximum alternance to those of minimum alternance [1] It follows,

[1] See my "Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds", *English Studies*, February, 1935 Also my "Technique of Semantics", in *Transactions of the Philological Society of Great Britain*, 1935

therefore, that the differential function of the signs or letters varies from context to context The same letter may be used to symbolize terms in several different ordered series of alternances Its phonetic value categorized by perception or physiological phonetics may or may not be similar A balance must be struck between the convenience of using the same letter for terms which are roughly similar phonetically and the great alphabetic economies rendered possible if the same letter can be used for a variety of purposes according to context

The most uneconomical, I almost said extravagant, alphabets are those of an abstract schematic order, universal, purely logical and symmetrical but extra-linguistic Such alphabets are sometimes necessary for dialect and comparative work and in the earlier stages of phonetic research. But they are quite unsuitable for descriptive grammar or as a basis of a practical orthography

The great advantage of this alphabetic economy based on the fullest use of contextual conventions is what may be described as free letters Such redundant letters not required in any particular context may be used in all manner of ways. For example, in the Burmese orthography here suggested it would be possible to eliminate the mark which distinguishes the long falling tone with breathy voice, now written for example 'la, and use a final letter **h**, thus **lah**, but this would have the inconvenience that many syllables would have to be separated either by spaces or joined by means of hyphens. Otherwise in compounds printed together there would be confusion with such terms as **hl**, **hm**, etc.

Other common redundancies arise in contexts where certain differentiations do not occur, such as the absence of voice correlation or of distinctions between *f* and *h*, *r* and *l*, *w* and *v* Sometimes a redundant letter may be used with the purely lexical function of separating homophones For example, in Cambodian, which employs an alphabet of Indian origin, the final aspirated consonant is really redundant from the phonological point of view But it serves a useful purpose in separating, for instance, "*duk* conserver, de *dukh* malheur" [1] Something of the same sort would probably be necessary in a reformed spelling of English

It is probably true that there are no qualities in any letter taken by itself which make it inherently superior to any other. What matters

[1] A U C L, p. 43, by M Martini, of Paris

is again the clearness and distinctness of the differential features g is probably better than g, if q is used in similar contexts

Another important question affecting alphabetic economy and phonological theory is that of consonant groups and consonant junctions, which must be clearly distinguished in all phonological analysis

Both digraphs and trigraphs are used in my Burmese orthography, but these compound letters are to be understood to represent not two or three substitution elements in the forms of the language, but single substitution counters or terms belonging to an alternance occurring in initial position The bodily actions corresponding to these units are all, so to speak, single stroke efforts Many of the theoretical difficulties of phonetics have been due to the mistaken notion that the events of a phonetic sequence correspond to the string of Roman letters used to symbolize the linguistic forms in the sequence

Some people are of the opinion that one element should be represented by one letter, not a group of three As things are I prefer the ordinary world alphabet as far as possible But I am convinced that we must not allow the characteristics of the Roman alphabet to dictate the course of linguistic thought.

Consonant groups, such as **st, str, sp, spl, sk, skr,** in initial position in English, are best regarded as group substituents, and no attempt should be made to identify the function of the letter " t " (here part of a digraph or trigraph) with that of a similar letter used in another context. It is important however to distinguish such groups from consonant junctions, cf *missed riding, Miss tried, in my stride.*

The contextual study of such consonant groups and consonant junctions is likely to produce interesting results from several points of view, phonetic, morphological, syntactical, and also what I have termed phonæsthetic.[1] There are also obvious historical advantages in this way of regarding groups like *sp, st sk* I have presented a table of such initial consonant groups in English in the article referred to

From the foregoing summary of a technique of contextualization it will be clear that no attempt is made to establish psychological or phonological relations between terms of different series The contexts can be systematically analysed and various alternances constituted, but it does not follow that all these alternances or systems should be

[1] See my " Use and Distribution of certain English Sounds ", *English Studies,* Feb., 1935

forced into a single theoretical architectonic scheme.[1] What letters are practically convenient in orthography is a different question and involves additional criteria In the contextual technique I advocate, the statistical method is the one to be followed, and this allows discontinuity and change of measure and value from context to context

If the ultimate units of linguistic material be treated in this way context by context, there is no fun left in the notorious question "Are ŋ and h the same phoneme in English ? '[2]

Further progress in phonology will depend on the constitution of alternances the terms of which have differential values in the characteristic and significant contexts of a given language Up to the present no such exhaustive study has been completed, so that we are not really in a position to examine what relations, if any, there may be between phonetically similar terms of different alternances We are, of course, accustomed to refer to the influence one 'sound" is said to have on another, to inter-syllabic relations such as vowel harmony, inter-word relations such as assimilation, and at first sight it would seem that these facts are overlooked in a narrow contextual technique They are approached in a different way, and will be more fully understood when exhaustively examined context by context

The minor function of an alternant, that is of one term of an alternance is determined by the constitution of the alternance as a series of terms having differential values in a certain type of context Other facts are irrelevant A term is to be considered first in relation to its context and secondly to the relevant linked alternance What relations it may have to the language as a whole is difficult to guess To treat a language as a sort of unity does not mean that every element is to be regarded as in equal relation to every other element The phonological description of a language will reveal not just one

[1] In the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* it is obvious from the way various types of syllables are presented in the traditional Burmese way, that the number and nature of the terms or possible "substituents" varies from context to context, and that a set of letters is not being set up as a functioning system *in vacuo* apart from context Nevertheless, Carpani finds it necessary to issue the following warning "Observandum tamen est non omnia quidem haec signa cum qualibet littera, aut syllaba coniungi vel solere, vel etiam posse." That he should have gone out of his way to say this shows that he realized the common mistake of regarding a set of letters as a whole as free units or terms in a sort of mathematical relationship

[2] See Twaddell, "On defining the Phoneme," *Language Monograph No XVI*, pp 10 ff and 25 ff

architectonic system but a series of systems which taken together give a complete and unambiguous account of the facts

In the translator's preface to Holger Pedersen's *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, Professor Spargo calls the reader s attention to one important feature of the book—' the striking role assigned to the study of phonetics in increasing our knowledge of linguistics It is shown clearly that every important advance during the last century and a quarter was made by a scholar who attacked the problem from the phonetic side ' During the last twenty years phonetics has been applied in all sorts of practical ways One of these has been the establishment of orthographies for hitherto unwritten languages, and of simple, readable unambiguous transcriptions of languages having either an unfamiliar script or one which does not correlate with the forms in actual use even from the native point of view. Considerations which help us to establish such a notation are technical and practical, and cannot fail to have a profound influence on the future of linguistics

Further, and perhaps most important of all, those of us whose daily business it is to study the speech behaviour of our neighbours without either envy or scorn, and also that of strangers without breach of courtesy, realize as no one else can how narrowly conditioned our speech habits are by the daily round, the common task Within the framework of social routine and the ritualistic give and take of conversation there are great ranges of possibility, but few are unexpected. If you disturb the air and other people's ears by using your speech apparatus in ways both unexpected and highly individual, you run grave social risks

Such behaviour, to say the least, is felt to be unusual It is generally tactless, though sometimes it is merely eccentric. Occasionally we condemn such behaviour by saying it is uncalled for, or more strongly by saying it is not done We usually have a cue for what we say, the lines too, are there, and though there may be a choice our fellow-countrymen know them and know what to expect

To stretch the metaphor, what we say is usually "called for" With the linguistic stranger things are different If you are wise you will be prepared for anything, do what is practically convenient from moment to moment, and avoid strain or weariness, by reducing the necessity of vocal interchange to a minimum within the bounds of international courtesy

For some years now I have stressed what a friend and former

student calls the *Handlungscharakter der Sprache*,[1] and also the very fine distinctions in speech behaviour, determined by typical recurrent social situations for which these locutions are specialized and of which they are organs or functions It follows from this, of course, that a great deal is demanded of our notation and descriptive technique. Without it accurate morphology is impossible, and without scrupulously identified forms and well established texts Semantics is apt to be just gossip

It is the first duty of a describer of language, as it is of a classical philologist, to establish his forms and his texts with a scrupulous exactitude For what is the semantic value of a corrupt text ?

The purpose of this digression into general linguistics is to show that not even the broadest explorations in sociological linguistics are likely to lead to solid results without the pedestrian technique of the A B C as the principal means of linguistic description

And of all A B C's the Roman is the best Perhaps Lenin was right when he said to the President of the Pan-Sovietic Committee for National Alphabets La latinisation, voilà la grande révolution de l Orient [2]

[1] See a review in *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, July, 1935, pp 176–8, by Fritz Guttinger Zu den nachhaltigsten Eindrucken, welche man von der programmatischen Schrift J R Firth's uber den Sprechvorgang, wie auch von seiner Lehrtatigkeit am University College London davontragt, gehort die Einsicht, dass die Spielregeln der Sprache und des Sprechens im Grunde etwas viel Roheres sind, als man zu glauben gewohnt ist Was für Folgen dies fur die allgemeine Sprachtheorie hat, braucht hier nicht ausgefuhrt zu werden Daraus, dass das Zweckhafte, Handlungsmassige der Worte und Satze zur Betrachtung abgesondert wird, ergibt sich letzten Endes die Notwendigkeit, die Formenwelt nach streng formalen Gesichtspunkten zu beschreiben "

[2] A U C L p 174

Mittelpersisch *vēnōk* „Erbse (Linse ?)“

Von Bernhard Geiger

DAS Wort kommt im Frahang ī Pahl, iv, 2, in der auf die Getreidearten Weizen, Gerste, Hirse folgenden Reihe der Hulsenfruchte vor 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 𐭩𐭬𐭥𐭩𐭭 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭪. Seine Lesung, Herkunft und Bedeutung sind aber bisher nicht festgestellt Das Pahl-Pazand Gloss von Jamaspji Asa-Haug bietet *vînûk* mit der unrichtigen Bedeutungsangabe „a seed, grain for agricultural purposes“ Sie beruht auf der irrigen Annahme Anquetils (vgl auch Justi, Bund, p. 267 ويبك 3), dass im Frahang das Wort 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪, 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪𐭪, 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪𐭭 (alles falsche Schreibungen fur 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 = aram בזרא „Samenkorn“) noch als Erklarung zu dem vorhergehenden 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 gehort Die traditionelle Aussprache von 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 ist *vīnag, vīnūg, vīnū, vīnī* (Junker, Frahang 115 sub 𐭥𐭩𐭱𐭲𐭪) Um dasselbe Wort handelt es sich naturlich in der Stelle Gr Bund 117, 2 f, wo in der Klasse der Getreidepflanzen nach 𐭲𐭩𐭭 (Weizen), 𐭲𐭩𐭲 (Gerste) und 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 (nicht Reis, sondern statt 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪𐭪 Hirse Frah ī Phl, iv, 1, Bund, ed Justi 64, 17 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪, vgl WZKM, 26, 1912, 300) noch aufgezahlt werden

𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 𐭩𐭬𐭥𐭩𐭭 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭪 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭

Darin entspricht 𐭥𐭩𐭭, dessen 𐭥 hier zum Wort gehoren kann und nicht “und” bedeuten muss, dem 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 des Frahang, wie 𐭩𐭬𐭥𐭩𐭭 dem Worte 𐭩𐭥𐭱𐭲𐭪 מיצוך und 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 נחות dem 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 daselbst. Das mp *naχvat* bezeichnet ebenso wie np *nuχūd* die Kicher-Erbse, und 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪𐭪, das erste Wort der Reihe, ist mit np *gingir* identisch, das nach dem Burhān eine Feldfrucht, rund, von schwarzer Farbe und kleiner als *nuχūd* ist, nach anderen aber eine Art von Bohnen (*bāḳlā*), arabisiert حِرْحِر, nach dem Farh Šu'ūrī dagegen gleich arab جلبان, also eine Lathyrus-Art, ist Die zwischen 𐭥𐭩𐭭 und 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 stehenden Worter 𐭩𐭥𐭩𐭭 𐭥𐭩𐭭𐭪 sind nicht Namen von Hulsenfruchten, sondern

von zwei Hirsearten Dem Weizen (ܚܢܛܐ), dem *rat* (dem Meister, d i dem Klassenobersten) der grobkornigen Getreidearten, wird Bund 58, 12 ff *halum* (*alum*, ܗܠܡ) *ī hāmēnīk kē* פג (ܦܓ)-*īč χvānēnd* „ die Sommerhirse [*halum*, *alum*, gr ἔλυμος, syr ܐܠܘܡܘܢ, ܗܠܘܡ, ܗܠܡܘܢ: Low, Aram Pfl , p 101, Burhān كاورس واررن], die man auch פג (= פרנא, WZKM , l c) nennt ", als *rat* der kleinkornigen Getreidearten gegenubergestellt In der entsprechenden Stelle des Gr Bdh 121, 13 f steht ܟܠ an Stelle von ܚܢ (פג), und dieses ܟܠ ist offenbar identisch mit ܗܢܐ in der Verbindung ܗܠܡ ܘܗܢܐ innerhalb der uns beschaftigenden Reihe von Hulsenfruchten (Gr Bdh 117, 2 f) Dieses ܗܢܐ (ܟܠ) bezeichnet also eine zweite Hirseart und darf vielleicht als Verschreibung aus aramaischem ד(ו)חנא (arab دحن). etwa ܚܢܐ, erklart werden, obwohl aus den Gleichungen ܗܠܡ = פג und פג = ܟܠ gefolgert werden musste, dass ܗܠܡ und ܗܢܐ (ܟܠ) mit einander identisch seien So werden auch in der Mišna die zwei Hirsearten דוחן und פרגים nebeneinander erwahnt, und zwar bilden Reis, die zwei Hirsearten und Sesam eine besondere Kategorie von Kulturpflanzen zwischen Getreide und Hulsenfruchten (Low. Pfl 102 , Flora d Juden, i, 738), wahrend in unserem Falle ܗܠܡ und ܗܢܐ offenbar infolge eines Irrtums in die Reihe der Hulsenfruchte hineingeraten sind Im Frah ī Pahl , iv, 1, stehen die Worter fur Hirse פג, *gāvars*, *arzan* zwischen Weizen-Gerste und den Hulsenfruchten

Lassen wir die zwei Worter ܗܠܡ und ܗܢܐ weg, so bleibt in Gr Bdh. 117, 2 f als Reihe der Hulsenfruchte ubrig ܦܣܝ ܘܪܘ ܘܣܝ ܘܛܠܛ, wofur der ind Bdh 64, 17 bietet ܦܣܝ ܘܣܘܓܢܕ ܘܣܝ ܛܠܛ ܪܘ ܪܘ. Hievon ist ܘܣܘܓܢܕ *gavna* (Pazend Texts, ed Antia, 49, 16 ܘܣܟܘܓܢܕ) von Justi, West (SBE , v, 101 " various kinds of pulse ") und Modi (Pahl Transl , ii, 122 f) falschlich mit phl *gōnak* identifiziert worden Es ist aber, wie sich aus dieser Untersuchung ergeben wird, nicht zweifelhaft, dass das Pāzandwort aus ܓܘܢܐ, und zwar aus der durch Weglassung des ersten ܢ entstandenen Form ܓܘܐ (die ܓܘܢܟ *gavna* gelesen wurde) verschrieben ist Denn es entspricht dem ܓܘܢܐ des

Gr. Bdh. und dem 𐭥𐭩𐭫 des Frah. ī Pahl. in den Reihen der Hulsenfruchte.

Von besonderer Wichtigkeit fur unsere Untersuchung sind nun noch die Stellen des Bundahišn und des Zādsparam, die von dem Emporwachsen einzelner Pflanzen aus dem Mark, dem Blut, der Lunge, den Hornern, der Nase dem Herzen des Urstieres handeln Dieser Darstellung liegt der Gedanke zugrunde, dass zwischen den korperlichen Substanzen oder Organen des Stieres und den daraus enstandenen Pflanzen eine nahere Beziehung, zum Teile eine Wesensgleichheit (wie zwischen Mark und Sesam oder zwischen Blut und Wein) besteht, und dass die Pflanze oder das pflanzliche Produkt den entsprechenden Korperteil der Geschopfe, der Sesam das Mark, der Wein das Blut, starkt Keiner der drei Texte ind Bdh , 28, 5 ff , Gr Bdh , p 93, 8 ff , Zādsp , 9, 1 ff ist ganz korrekt Am meisten ist wohl Zādsp verandert, der aber einige fur das Verstandnis des Ganzen wertvolle Zusatze enthalt Hier kann nur der fur unsere Untersuchung in Betracht kommende Teil des Abschnittes behandelt werden Im Gr Bdh , 93, 11 ff heisst es zunachst *hač mazg kunǰēt* (Ms 𐭪𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭩 offenbar fur 𐭥𐭩𐭫𐭩𐭫𐭩, da 𐭪𐭪 hier nicht am Platze ware) *mazg-čihrīh ud, χvat-iš mazgē* [*hast*] „ aus dem Mark (entstand) der Sesam, weil dieser das Wesen des Markes hat , er ist selbst auch ein Mark " Darauf folgt *hač sr ūv* 𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭪, *hač vēnīk* 𐭥𐭩𐭫 „ aus dem Horn (entstand) 𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭪, aus der Nase 𐭥𐭩𐭫 (d i *vēnōk*) " Im ind Bdh , 28 8 ff ist offenbar zu lesen *hač mazg* 𐭮𐭥𐭣 (Ideogramm zu *kunǰēt* , nicht 𐭮𐭥𐭣 *dām ī*) *yat yat hai čišē kē pa mazg mēhmān* „ aus dem Mark (entstand) der Sesam einzelweise jedes eine Ding das im Mark seinen Sitz hat " Daran schliesst sich an *hač sr ūv* 𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭪, *hač vēnīk* 𐭪𐭪𐭪 Es ist nicht zweifelhaft, dass dieses 𐭪𐭪𐭪 nur falsche Schreibung des sonst 𐭥𐭩𐭫, 𐭪𐭩, 𐭥𐭩 geschriebenen Wortes ist und auf einer Verwechslung mit 𐭪𐭪𐭪 *gandanāk* (ind Bdh , 65, 9, np *gandanā*) „Lauch" beruht Schon die Schreibung 𐭥𐭩 an der entsprechenden Stelle des Gr Bdh sowie der Umstand, dass das 𐭪𐭪𐭪 des ind Bdh ganz ebenso unmittelbar neben 𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭪 steht, wie 𐭥𐭩𐭫, 𐭪𐭩, 𐭥𐭩 in der nachsten Nachbarschaft von 𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭪, 𐭪𐭪𐭮𐭲𐭪, 𐭪𐭪𐭮𐭲𐭪, 𐭩𐭫𐭮𐭲𐭪 erscheint.

beweisen, dass Justi, West und Modi 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎 mit Unrecht als „ Lauch " verstanden haben. Dazu kommt nun noch die Darstellung in Zādsp , 9, 2 and 4 (in Avesta, Pahl , and Anc Pers Studies in honour of P B. Sanjana, lxxviii , SBE , v, 177 f) Auf die Worte *pas yurtāk ul rust* „ hernach wuchs das Getreide empor " folgt 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙 𐬀𐬭𐬎, was wie eine Aufzahlung der Getreidearten aussieht dies aber schon deshalb nicht sein kann, weil 𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙 „ Sesam " nicht eine Getreideart ist Uberdies wird durch das dann folgende *čēγōn* 𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬐 (= *kunǰēt*) *mazg-čihrak* (oder, ohne *čēγōn*, 𐬌𐬵𐬀𐬐 (= *kunjēt*) *mazg-čihrak*[*īh*] *rāδ*), *χvat mas hast awzāyēnāk ī mazg* („ denn der Sesam hat das Wesen des Markes , er ist selbst in hohem Masse ein Mehrer des Markes ") vorausgesetzt, dass es vorher, wie in den Fassungen des Bdh , geheissen hat „aus dem Mark ist der Sesam (entstanden) " 𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙 𐬛𐬵𐬀𐬴 𐬀, und ich halte es fur moglich, dass 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬯𐬎𐬀𐬙 eine Verschreibung daraus darstellt Auf keinen Fall darf 𐬛𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎 mit West als عله gedeutet werden Weit eher durfte man eine Verschreibung aus 𐬱𐬀𐬱 *girgir*[1] annehmen wenn nicht der von uns rekonstruierte Zusammenhang der Stelle dagegen sprache Aber auch 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎 sind nicht Glieder einer Reihe aufgezahlter Getreidearten, obwohl 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎 an und fur sich mit West als Verschreibung aus 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬴 oder 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬁 (Hirsearten) gedeutet werden konnte Ich zweifle nicht daran, dass 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬙 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎 aus 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬴 (*srūv*) 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬁 [𐬴] „ aus den Hornern (entstand) 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬴 " verschrieben ist und irgendwie an diese Stelle verschlagen wurde Diese Annahme wird noch durch den Umstand erhärtet dass dieses 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬴 𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬁 𐬴, das ganz ahnlich in den zwei Bdh -Fassungen unmittelbar vor (𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙) 𐬀𐬭𐬎 𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬁 𐬴 (d i *hač vēnīk vēnōk*) steht, in unserem Zādsp -Text sonst nicht vorkommt Der Text ist also in Unordnung geraten Ursprunglich ist offenbar auch in ihm zuerst von der Entstehung des Sesams aus dem Mark, dann von der des

[1] Vgl oben die Stelle Gr Bdh 117, 2 Merkwurdig ist, dass auch in der entsprechenden Stelle Gr Bdh 93, 11 (vgl oben) dieses 𐬱𐬀𐬱 erscheint, und zwar in dem ganz unmoglichen 𐬱𐬀𐬱𐬀𐬭𐬎𐬀𐬙

𐭥𐭭𐭲𐭪 aus den Hornern, dann — und zwar v o r Blut und Wein — von der Entstehung des 𐭥𐭭𐭩 aus der Nase die Rede gewesen Von 𐭥𐭭𐭩 handelt nun der 4 Paragraph des Kapitels, den West zum Teil falsch transkribiert und ubersetzt hat Der Text lautet 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭪. 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭪 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭪 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭪 (Ms 𐭲𐭥𐭭𐭪) 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭥𐭭𐭩 𐭥𐭭𐭩

Aus dieser Übersicht ergibt sich, dass ‏נחלת‎, ‏נחשת‎ usw. ebenso wie ‏עדש‎, ‏עד‎ usw nur verschiedene Schreibungen e i n e r ursprünglichen Form sind, und dass beide gleich *naχvat* (, Kichererbse ") Namen von Hülsenfrüchten sind Und zwar ist es am wahrscheinlichsten, dass ‏נחלת‎ und seine Nebenformen mit np ميجو *mīǰū* (محو wohl nur Verschreibung daraus), angeblich auch *mīžū*, identisch sind, das und zwar auch im Hindī, die L i n s e bezeichnen soll Es wäre immerhin m ö g l i c h, dass die Form ‏מושנך‎ zu np *mušang, mušanǰ* gehört, die nach dem Burhān und dem Farh i Šu'ūrī Namen einer kleinen Erbsenart sein sollen Und ‏מש‎ könnte man zu dem ebendort als Name einer linsenähnlichen Frucht angeführten np مشو *mušū* stellen Doch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass es sich nur um Verschreibungen handelt, grösser Für ‏נחלת‎ *mīčūk* und ‏נחלד‎ *mīčūg* selbst kommt natürlich keine andere Erklärung als die durch np *mīǰū* (so schon Pahl.-Paz Gloss und Justi, Bdh., 243 sub ميچون ") in Betracht Die anderen, von Junker, Frah 115 versuchten Deutungen sind ganz unmöglich

Für ‏עדש‎ und seine Nebenformen wird die Richtigkeit der Lesung *vēnōk* erwiesen durch das b e z e i c h n e n d e r W e i s e n u r i m N ā y i n ī v o r k o m m e n d e *ʿīnōk* „Linse" (O Mann–K Hadank, Kurd pers Forsch., III, 1, 158, bei A Querry in Mém de la soc de lingu., 9 (1896), 116: وِنيك ، وِنُوك *vinouk, vinîk* „lentille") Dadurch werden auch die traditionellen Lesungen *vīnag, vīnūg, vīnū, vīnī* wenigstens zu einem Teile bestätigt Es ist jedoch gar nicht sicher, dass Linse" die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes gewesen ist Ja, die Annahme, dass hier eine Bedeutungsverschiebung stattgefunden hat, wie sie bei Pflanzennamen öfter konstatiert werden kann,[1] wird sogar durch die folgende Erwägung wahrscheinlich gemacht Es ist kaum noch feststellbar, ob die in den oben erwähnten Textstellen vorliegende Verbindung von *vēnōk* mit *vēnīk* „Nase" auf der Kenntnis einer sachlichen Beziehung der Hülsenfrucht zur Nase oder auf einer willkürlichen Zusammenstellung zweier ähnlicher Wörter beruht Auf jeden Fall lässt sich jedoch die Existenz eines sachlichen Zusammenhanges erweisen Der hebräische

[1] Auch bei V Hehn, Kulturpfl u Haustiere [8] 221 wird darauf hingewiesen, dass die einzelnen Gattungen der Hülsenfrüchte sprachlich selbst in jüngeren Epochen nicht scharf unterschieden werden, und dass sich manchmal sogar in einem Wort die drei Bedeutungen Erbse, Bohne, Linse vereinigen

Name der Kichererbse אַפּוּן „die kleine Nase" stammt daher, dass das schmalere Ende ihres Samens die Form einer Nase oder eines Schnabels hat, wie man aus der Abbildung bei I. Low, Flora d. Juden, II, 438, ersieht Auch der syrische Name der Platterbse (Lathyrus) חרטמנא bedeutet „kleine Nase" (von חרטומא). Er ist von der Kichererbse, die im 'Irāḳ sogar noch חרטמנא geheissen hat, auf die Platterbse übertragen worden (Low, l c , 427 und 438 f.). Wenn der bei dem syrischen Lexikographen Bar 'Alī überlieferte zweite, im 'Irāk gebrauchte Name der Kichererbse mit Low, l c , 438 קרננא zu lesen ist und „gehörnt" (nach der Spitze des Samens) bedeutet, könnte diese Bezeichnung der obenerwähnten Vorstellung zugrunde liegen, dass aus dem Horn des Urstieres die Hülsenfrucht *mīčūk* hervorgegangen ist, die ursprünglich vielleicht auch nur die Kichererbse gewesen ist Man wird demnach annehmen dürfen, dass das Phl -Wort *vēnōk* (mit *-ōk* als Diminutivsuffix) Übersetzung eines aramäischen Namens der Kichererbse, wie חרטמנא, ist Es ist allerdings auch denkbar, dass eine unabhängige Bildung nach der Art von hebr. אַפּוּן und syr חרטמנא vorliegt. Low, l c , 427, hat darauf hingewiesen, dass die Kichererbse magyarisch *bagolyborsó* „Eulenerbse" heisst nach den am Ende wie ein Eulenschnabel umgebogenen Schoten Mit Unrecht hat also Horn im Grundr. d iran. Phil., I/2, 49 dem Nāyinī-Wort die Bedeutung „Linse des Auges (*-bīn* ‚sehend')" beigelegt.[1]

[1] Während des Druckes hat H W Bailey mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass er schon in London Philol. Soc Transact., 1935, 64, das von mir behandelte Wort *vēnūk* gelesen und zu dem Nāyinī Wort gestellt hat

Singhalesische Etymologien

By Wilhelm Geiger

Dass das Singhalesische unter die „Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" einzureihen ist, wird heute wohl von niemand mehr ernstlich bestritten. Im *Linguistic Survey of India*, i, 1, p 145, ist diese Tatsache auch von dem Grossmeister der indischen Sprachenkunde, Sir George A Grierson, anerkannt worden, obwohl in dem Werke selbst das Singhalesische keine Berücksichtigung finden konnte. Möge es mir gestattet sein, einige ganz bescheidene Nachträge zu meiner vor nunmehr 38 Jahren erschienenen Etymologie des Singhalesischen, die den Ausgangspunkt und die Grundlage für meine Studien über diese Sprache bildete, dem allverehrten Jubilar zur Feier seines 85 Geburtstages in aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit zuzueignen.

1) Das Suff *-li, -lu* (nom sg. *-lla* < **-lya*, **-luva*) = altem *-lla-ka* ist im Singh. noch einigermassen lebendig Ich verweise auf *kahili, °lla* „Achselgrube" neben *kasa* (Sk. *kaksa*), *paḍalu, °ḍella* „Rasenstück" neben *paḍa* (Sk *pinda*), *varalu, °lla* „leichter Regen" (Sk. *vāri*) Vielleicht gelangen wir von hier aus zu einer Deutung des Wortes *dūvili, °lla* „Staub" Es ist anzuschliessen an P , Sk *dhūpa* und bedeutet zunächst „kleiner Rauch". Semasiologisch darf auf *mihidum* „Nebel", wtl „Erdrauch" (Sk *mahī* + *dhūma*) verwiesen werden. Auch auf *dhūma* selbst könnte zurückgegangen werden, da *v* zuweilen an Stelle von *m* tritt, wie in *navamu* neben *namanu* „sich beugen" (Sk. *namati*).

2) Wie *v* für ursprüngliches *m*, so kann auch umgekehrt *m* für *v* eintreten So in *nama* „neun" neben *nava* Dies gilt auch für *amunanavā* „einfädeln" (Clough ungenau *amunanavā*), das = P. *āvunāti, °ṇōti*, Sk *āvṛṇāti* ist mit gleicher Bedeutung. Ein ger *avunā* wird von Clough und Carter angeführt

3) Es lässt sich, wie ich glaube, wahrscheinlich machen, dass in der Proto-Singhalesischen Periode (4 bis 8 Jh) die frühere Accentuation des Sanskrit und des Mittelindischen sich änderte Es kam die Tendenz auf, den Ton auf den Wortanfang zurück zu ziehen und zwar zunächst auf die erste Silbe nur dann, wenn sie schwer war . ´ ⏑ ×. Auf die Wichtigkeit der Unterscheidung von leichten und schweren Silben für das Verständnis des singh Vocalismus zuerst hingewiesen zu haben ist Helmer Smith's Verdienst. War die erste Silbe leicht,

die zweite schwer, so trug letztere den Accent . ⏑ ⏓ ×. Waren die beiden ersten Silben leicht, so scheint der Accent geteilt worden zu sein, und zwar so, dass die starkere Betonung auf der zweiten Silbe lag ⏑ ⏑ ×. Nun beobachten wir haufig, dass im zweiten und dritten Fall der Vocal *a* der ersten Silbe zu *i*, *u* verwandelt wird *piyes* „Gegend" < P *padēsa*, *siyan* „Dach" < *chadana*, *siyalu* „all" < *sakala*; *duvan* „Hufte" < *jaghana*; *nuvara* „Stadt" < *nagara*. Stellen wir nun dagegen Formen wie *sayuru* „Ocean" < *sāgara*, *mayil* „Oheim" < *mātula*, *pavuru* „Mauer" < *pākāra*, so ergibt sich, dass *i*, *u* in der ersten Silbe der Wörter *piyes* bis *nuvara* Schwachung des *a*-Vocals sein muss, fur die kaum ein anderer Grund gefunden werden kann, als die starkere Betonung der folgenden Silbe. Wir haben also *padêsa*, *chàdána*, *nàgára* usw. vorauszusetzen, aber *sâgara*, *mâtula*, *pâkāra* Ein kurzer anlautender Vocal konnte elidiert werden vor der betonten zweiten Silbe. Der Fall liegt vor in *ḷav* „Wildnis" (nom. sg *ḷav-a*) durch **àláv* aus P. *atavī* Die Praepositionen *anu-*, *upa-* erscheinen als *nu-*, *va-* (durch **ànú-*, **ùvá-*). So in *vahan* „Sandale" = P. *upāhanā* (zuerst wohl bei Ed Muller) Ich fuge dazu *nuvā* „Saum am priesterlichen Gewand" (nom. sg. *nuvā-va*) = P. *anuvāta*, das wohl mit Stede von Wz. *vā* „weben" abgeleitet werden muss

Der letzte Schritt zur grundsatzlichen Betonung der ersten Wortsilbe, wie sie fur die moderne Sprache giltig ist, mag in der spateren Proto-Singhalesischen Zeit vollzogen worden sein.

4) Zum Schluss noch einige Einzeletymologien 1) *aňdinavā*, *haňd°* „(ein Kleid) anziehen" zu Wz. *dā* „binden" + *sam*; *aňdana* (°*na-ya*) „Unterkleid (eines Priesters)" = P. *sandāna* — 2) *allas-a* „Geschenk, Bestechung" < **at-lasa*, P *hattha* + *lañca* — 3) *kakul-a* „Fuss, Bein" = P. *kankala*, Sk *kankāla* „Gerippe" (cf. Turner, *Nepali Lang*, s v *kangāl*) mit einem ahnlichen Bedeutungsubergang wie bei dem deutschen Wort *bein* — 4) *kuḷāra* „Balkon", *Dhammapadatthakathā-Gata-pada*, ed Sir D B. Jayatilaka 34^{9}, 215^{11} = P, Sk. *kūtāgāra*, aber Singh *kotāra* = P *kotthāgāra* (Turner, s.v. *kotho*). — 5) *koḷanavā* „pressen, glatten, platt machen", *DhpAGp.*, 25^{24} = P. (*ā-*, *paccā-*)*kotēti*; aber *kotanavā* „zerhauen" = P. *kotteti*. — 6) *pilā-va* „Milz" = Pk *pilihā*, Sk. *plīhan* (Turner, s v *phiyo*; das Singh. steht hier dem Oriyā, Hindōstānī, Panjābī näher als dem Marāthī) — 7) *muhu*, *mū* „reif" = P. *mudu*, Sk. *mṛdu*. — 8) *mohot-a* „Augenblick, Moment" = Pk, P. *muhutta*, Sk *muhūrta*, ein Beispiel fur die Neigung zu offener Aussprache des Vocals *u*. —

9) Das Wort *vahan* führt uns auf das honorific *vahansē* Hier ist *sē* = P , Sk. *chāyā* in dem Sinne von „ Abbild " zu fassen , *vahansē* ist also Abbild der Sandale, d.i Fusspur. Man sagt in respektvoller Rede *svāmīn-vahansē* statt kurzweg „ Herr, Herrscher ". Bekanntlich spricht man im Sanskrit ganz ebenso von den *pādāh* einer hervorragenden Person, man verehrt beispielsweise *guroh pādān*. Da nun aber hier *pāda* nie im Dual gebraucht wird, so bedeutet das Wort wohl nicht „ Fusse ", sondern auch „ Fusspuren " Beide Ausdrucksweisen sind vereinigt in einer Inschrift Vijayabāhu's II, 1186–7, wenn wir *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, p. 183[10] den Text (nach Magd. Ggr) so zu trennen haben · *Simhabāhu-rajapā-vahansē* Das wäre Pāli *S.-rāja-pāda-upāhanā-chāyā* Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von *vahansē* hat man übrigens nicht mehr gefühlt Man kann es auch von verehrungswürdigen Gegenständen gebrauchen, wie z.B. *dhātūnvahansē*, etwa „ heilige Reliquie ". Von *vahansē* kommen wir endlich zu einer Erklärung des pron der 3. p *unnānsē* das von Respektspersonen gebraucht wird. Es steht für **unnahansē* < **unvahansē*. Hier ist *un* (wie oben *svāmīn, dhātūn*) C. obl. pl. (maiestaticus) und es bedeutet *unnānsē* etwa „ Seiner Ehrwürden ". — 10) *sumbuḷu-va* „ Rolle, Polster, Hülle, Membrane " = P. *cumbata*. — 11) *kaputu-vā* und 12) *kavuḍu-vā* „ Krähe " mögen den Beschluss bilden. Ich führe die beiden Wörter zurück auf M Ind **kappuṭṭha*, bzw **kavvuḍḍha* < *kad* + *p*°, bzw *v*°, Sk **kat-puṣta*, bzw. **kad-vṛddha* „ schlecht (mangelhaft, elend) ernährt, bzw grossgezogen."

The change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan Loan Words of Malayāḷam

By K. Goda Varma

[Abbreviations of languages in this article are the same as those employed in Professor Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. Forms without any abbreviation are Malayālam words.]

THE pronunciation of *a* coming after certain initial consonants as *e*, is the most important of the vowel changes met with in the Indo-Aryan loanwords of Malayālam, and also perhaps the most interesting from a phonological point of view

The first to note and record the change was Gundert He observed that *a* occurring after the voiced sounds *g, j, d, d, y,* and *r* is heard as *e* in the pronunciation of the Malayāḷis [1] (*A Grammar of the Malayāḷam Language*, 2nd ed , p 8) Gundert's observation is obviously imperfect inasmuch as the change is regularly manifested after *b* and *l* also, over and above the sounds specified by him Professor Rājarājavarma remarks " *a* is the heaviest of all vowels in Malayālam and as such it has undergone corruption in various words The corrupt pronunciation of *a* in Malayālam is very much like *e* " Ex Sk. *gandha-gendham*, Sk. *jana- jeṅam*, Sk. *dambha-* [2] *ḍembhŭ*, Sk. *dayā deya*, Sk. *bandhu- bendhu*, Sk *ravn- revn*, Sk. *layyā leyya* The words quoted above show that in Sanskrit loans *a* following unaspirated voiced stops (*mṛdus*) which remain voiced in Malayālam, the sonant *y*, and the liquids *r* and *l* is pronounced *e* though written *a* " (*Kĕṙaḷapāniṅĭyam*, 4th ed , pp 86–7)

Neither Gundert nor Rājarājavarma has explained the change· What I propose to do in this article is to discuss in full the scope of the change under consideration, and also to attempt an explanation of the tendency so peculiarly marked in the pronunciation of the Malayāḷis

It will be seen from the examples cited by Professor Rājarājavarma that the sounds after which *a* manifests a tendency to be pronounced as *e* are all voiced consonants occurring initially, which latter are totally absent in native Malayālam words The change in question

[1] Malayālam speakers who are also natives of Kĕrala

[2] *ḍambha* is Prākrit, the corresponding Sanskrit word being *dambha-*

is seen not only in Sanskrit loans, but also in other Indo-Aryan words that have found their way into the Malayālam vocabulary. The following examples from Middle Indian and New Indian will illustrate the point Middle Indian Pk *jamala- jevṇi* "double cloth, cloth in general"; Pk. *dambha- dembhŭ* "pride"; Pk *ratthia- rettiyār* "one belonging to a class of Telugu Śūdras, Pa Pk *lakkha- lekkŭ* "aim", Pk *laddī letti* "dung of animals" New Indian. H *jati jeti* "musical rhythm", H *dabbā deppa* "a tin vessel for holding oil", H. *barāī bedāyi* "self praise, magnifying", H. *lattū lettu* "a child's top", M *dambdī dempti* "a copper coin of small value", M *dasrā desra* "a festival held in honour of Durgā"; M *lakhōtā* "closed letter", *lekkōttŭ* "envelope", H M *dabbā deppi* "a small box", H M *banglā benkaḷāvŭ* "a bungalow"; H M *lāgōtī lenkōtti*, H *laddū*, M *laḍḍu leddu* "a globular sweetmeat".

Indo-Aryan *a* preceded by palatal stops (both voiced and voiceless) is also found represented by *e* in a fairly large number of loanwords The change which is evidently due to the position of the tongue required for the production of palatals colouring the vowel following, is often met with in the colloquial dialects in native Malayālam words showing *a* in the literary dialect Ex *cakini, cekini* "layers of fibre enclosing the flesh of jack fruit"; *cakiri, cekiri* "coco-nut fibre", *cavittu, cevittu* "kick", *caḷi, celi* "mud"; *carivŭ, cerivŭ* "slope"

The following forms with *e* in literary Malayālam, a few of them showing alternatives with *a* and *e*, may be regarded as loans from the popular dialect Sk *candra-* "gold", *centram* "golden neck ornament", Sk *campaka-, cempakam* "michelia champaca", Sk *caru- cariuvam, ceruvam* "cooking pot", Sk *jhatiti jhetiti* "soon", Sk. *jhampaḍa- cempata* "a mode of beating time"; Pa Pk *cammacemmān* "a worker in leather", Pa Pk *cakka- cakkŭ, cekkŭ* "oil press".

With the above may be compared Sanskrit loanwords in Kanarese showing a similar change Ka *candi, cendi* "a passionate, violent female", Ka *canda, cenda* "lovely, charming"; Ka *candira, cendira* "moon", Ka *carce, cerce* "smearing the body with sandal"

It remains to suggest an explanation for the phonetic development detailed above Malayālam *a* is not the equivalent of Hindi or Marathi *a* In pronunciation it takes its place between numbers four and five of the cardinal vowels, more inclined towards number four than five, and evinces a tendency towards greater closeness under favourable circumstances In the case of voiced consonants an occasion for the

natural tendency to manifest itself is provided by the lack of muscular intensity characterizing their pronunciation *a* preceded by palatals also has changed to *e* in colloquial Malayālam in a fairly large number of words (cf the previous paragraphs). It may be observed that the influence of the position of the tongue required for the production of the palatal consonants is, like the lack of muscular intensity noted above, a favourable factor conditioning the change. The above change is not observable when *a* follows a voiceless stop or voiced aspirate (palatals excluded), the reason being the resistance offered by the greater muscular tension involved in their pronunciation, ex Sk *kaksā kacca* "hem of the garment tucked into the waistband, cloth in general", Sk *cakra- cakram* "wheel, a coin valued 1–28 of a rupee", Sk *taksan- taccan* "sawer of wood", Sk *pakṣa- pakṣam* "partiality", Sk. *khadga- khalgam* "sword"; Sk. *chanda-* "appearance, look, shape", *cantam* "beauty", Sk. *phalaka- palaka* "plank", Sk. *ghantā ghanta* "bell", Sk *dhana- dhaṅam* "wealth, riches", Sk *bhangī-* "way of dressing, fashion, toilet", *bhangi* "beauty". An interesting parallel of a phonetic change affecting only voiced consonants is provided by the cerebralization of dentals in Sindhi The surd stops and aspirates which are pronounced with greater energy have remained dentals in Sindhi, while *d* alone has been cerebralized (R L Turner, *JRAS*, 1924, p 583.)

Voiceless stops of certain loanwords in Malayāḷam, going back to voiced stops followed by *a* in Indo-Aryan, are pronounced with *e* in colloquial Malayālam Ex. Sk *gati-* "movement, procedure", *keti* "means, way", Sk. *garuḍa- keṙutan* "Viṣnu's bird", Sk *garbha-kerpam* "pregnancy", Sk *garva- keruvŭ* "pride"; Sk *daṇḍa-*, OMal *teṇtam* "fine, punishment, trouble", Pa Pk *gaṇṭhi- keṇṭi* "inflammation of the scrotum".

In Tamil *e* is not only pronounced after voiceless stops representing Sanskrit voiced stops, but also written. Ex. Sk. *gaja-* Tam. *kecam*, Sk *gandha-* Tam *kentam* "odour"; Sk *gambhīra-* Tam. *kempīram* "depth, profundity", Sk *darśana-* Tam. *teṙcanam*; Sk. *bandhu-* Tam. *pentu* "relation, friend"; Sk *bala-* Tam *pelam* "strength", Sk. *bandha-* Tam. *pentam* "tie, bondage".

The foregoing examples would suggest that Malayālam and Tamil had a period when Sanskrit initial voiced stops were pronounced voiced in the loanwords. The appearance of *a* in colloquial Malayālam where we would naturally expect *e* as in *kañcāvŭ* "hemp" (Sk *gañjā*), *taṇtŭ* "stick, pole" (Sk. *danda-*), *pampaṙam* "spinning top" (Sk.

bambhara- "bee"), *tavi* 'ladle" (Pk *davvī*) may be regarded as the result of the attempt on the part of the learned to maintain, as far as possible, the pronunciation of Sanskrit words as written, influencing the colloquial speech In this connection may be contrasted the retention of *e* after *k* by Malayālam, both in the colloquial and the literary dialects, in native Dravidian words where Kanarese shows *ga-* < Primitive Dravidian *ga-* (For the general loss of voice in the initial voiced stops of Tamil and Malayālam see *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p 48, "Sanskrit and Dravidian," by Jules Bloch) Ex *kettŭ* in *anakkettŭ* 'dam", Kan *gattu*, *kettŭ* "bundle", Kan *gatte*, *kettu* in *kettu-tāti* "beard about the chin", Kan *gadda*; *kentan* "large', Kan *gaṇḍu*, *keta* "trembling palpitation", Kan *gada*, *keṅakku* 'to roar, sound harsh", Kan. *gane*

In the above instances, unlike the case of Sanskrit loans, there is nothing to tell the Malayāḷam speaker that the *e* represents earlier *a*, and in the absence of any force influencing *e* towards being pronounced *a*, *e* has remained unchanged both in literary and colloquial Malayālam

In the pronunciation of *y*, *r*, and *l* both the factors conditioning the change, namely the lack of muscular tension and the palatal position of the tongue,[1] are present Hence *a* following these sounds also shows a regular change to *e* With this may be contrasted *a* remaining unchanged after *v*, which latter is the only voiced sound occurring initially in native Malayālam words Ex Sk. *vata- vatam* "rope", Sk *varna- varnam* "colour", Sk *vallī- valli* "creeper"; Sk *varāḍī raṛāli* "a musical tone", Sk *vana- vaṅam* "forest", Sk *vayas- vayassŭ* 'age" The labial position of *v* may also have been responsible to a certain extend for resisting the change

In conclusion, then, we see that the change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan borrowings of Malayālam is conditioned by the lack of muscular intensity of the consonant preceding *a* or the palatal position of the consonant with which *a* is associated.

[1] In Malayālam *r* and *l* are pronounced with the tongue placed in a palatal position It may be noted that there are two kinds of *r* in Malayālam, one palatal (*ṛ*) and the other alveolar (*r*), and that the alveolar *r* occurs only very rarely in the Indo-Aryan borrowings

Observations on Middle Indian Morphology

By Louis H. Gray

INVESTIGATION of Middle Indian morphology from the strictly linguistic point of view can fairly be said to have been made thus far only by Jules Bloch, notably in his *L'Indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes* (Paris, 1934). However valuable as descriptive grammars and as collections of material the *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* of Richard Pischel (Strasbourg, 1900) and the *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* of Wilhelm Geiger (Strasbourg, 1916) undoubtedly are, both works are far from linguistic in purpose In Bloch's masterly survey of the history of Indian linguistic development from Vedic through Sanskrit and Middle Indian to Modern Indian, on the other hand, embracing phonology, morphology, and sentence-structure, it was scarcely possible, in view of the mass of material, for him to discuss every detail It is my purpose, then, as a comparative linguist, to consider in the following pages certain phenomena in Middle Indian which seem to merit further study, omitting on principle all that appears already to have been satisfactorily explained, such as the pronouns (cf Bloch, pp 145–7) Speaking in very general terms, Middle Indian would seem to present a mixture of forms common to Vedic and Sanskrit, a number of survivals to be paralleled only in Vedic or Iranian, and a considerable amount of contamination of formations whose functions were, at least approximately, identical

I. Nouns

The *nominative singular* of *-a*-stems ends in *-ō* in the majority of Prākrits and in Pāli, but in *-e* in Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī, and in *-u* in Apabhraṁśa (Sanskrit *putrás* Mg, AMg *putte*. A *puttu*) The two latter are reflected in Old Simhalese (*pute*) and perhaps in Old Bengali (*kumbhīre* "crocodile" Skt *kumbhīras*), and in Old Rājasthānī and Sindhī (*pāu* = Skt. *pádas* "foot", *deh*^{u} = *deśás* "country") respectively (Bloch, pp. 167, 168), while *-e* is at least superficially found in such Gāθā Avesta forms as *vačō* = Skt *vácas* "speech" (C. Bartholomae, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I, Strasbourg, 1901, pp. 154, 179) The Middle Indian *-e* is explained

by R. O Franke (*Pāli und Sanskrit*, Strasbourg, 1902, pp 104, 116, 128) as for *-ă̆-i*, a view which scarcely deserves even mention The question arises, rather, whether a purely phonological explanation may not be in order. The Skt *-ō* for *-as*, *-ah* has long seemed to me to be, not a true [o], but a mere *façon d'écrire* for a very different phoneme In Skt , *-as* < **-os* (e.g. *áśvas* < **ékuos*) is preserved before voiceless occlusives (*áśvas pátati* " the horse falls "), but is written *-ō* before voiced occlusives (*áśvō dhávati* " the horse runs ") Now *áśvō dhávati* is obviously for **áśvaz dhávati* , but [z] not being a Skt. phoneme, it vanishes with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. In other words, **az* > **ā* > *[ɔ], so that the real pronunciation of *áśvō dhávati* was probably something like [aşvɔ. d'a vati] Beside this, however, there would seem to have been the more regular development of **az* to [a], i e [aşva. d'a.vati] beside [aşvɔ. d'a vati] Between these two there would appear to have been intermediate stages in which the relevant vowels were obscured, and one may accordingly suggest that the type of *putte* is a " dulling " of [puttá] < *[putrá], and *puttu* of [puttɔ́.] < [putró]

Developments analogous to those here suggested may be seen in Anglo-Saxon *stán* [sta n] > Middle English *stane*, *ston* [stɔ.n] > English *stone* [sto·n] > [stoun], but Scots *stane* [ste·n] (in Northern English the " rounding " of [a:] did not take place), north-east Norfolk and east Suffolk [stʌn] (cf. J Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, Oxford, 1905, pp 88–92).

In the *ablative singular*, Māhārāstrī, Jaina Māhārāstrī, and AMg *puttāo* (M, etc , also *puttāu*), Śaurasenī, Jaina Śaurasenī, Mg *puttādo* (JŚ also *puttādu*), Paiśācī *puttāto*, *puttātu* appear to be contaminations of *putrât* and *putrátas*, unless, as my pupil, Mr Wilham B S Smith, suggests, they are for the ablative *putrât* plus the genitive-ablative *-as* < Indo-European **-es*, **-os* of consonantal stems (cf the A genitive singular *puttahŏ*, *puttassu* contaminated from *putrásya* and **putrás-as*, Pischel, p 251). The view of Pischel (p 63) that *a* is arbitrarily lengthened before *-tas* seems quite without foundation

M *puttāhi*, *puttāhimtō*, and A *puttahĕ*, *puttahu* are more complex The form *puttāhi* seems to presuppose **puttābhi*, perhaps a contamination of **putrót* (Skt *putrât*) with an instrumental singular **putróbhi* (cf Greek *θεό-φι*, Armenian *mardo-v*), this being aided by the confusion between the ablative and the instrumental in the plural in AMg and JM, where both cases are *puttehim* (sometimes

strengthened in the AMg ablative by the ablatival *-tas, puttehimto*). The form *puttāhi* would seem to be identical in type with Skt. (ŠB) *uttarāhi* "from the north", *dakṣināhi* "from the south" (Pāṇini, v, iii, 37. *āhi ca dūre*)

Elsewhere also, as is well known, the instrumental plural has usurped the functions of the ablative, as in Greek, Latin, Old Irish, and Gothic (*λύκοις, lupīs, feraib, wulfam*, cf. also the dative-ablative plural *-m-* in Slavic beside the instrumental singular *-m-*, e g. Old Church Slavic *vlŭkomŭ vlŭkomĭ*, and Greek *θεόφι(ν)* as instrumental, ablative, and locative alike, both singular and plural). The formative *-bhi-* likewise appears in the dative singular of certain pronouns (e g. Skt *túbhyam*, GAv *ma'byā*, Latin *sibi*, Oscan ***sifei***), in the instrumental of all numbers (sing. · Greek *θεόφι*, Arm. *mardov*, plur. · Ved. *devébhis*, Old Irish *feraib*; dual Skt. *devébhyām*, GAv *zastōibyā*, Old Irish *feraib*), and in the dative-ablative plural (Skt. *devébhyas*, GAv *dāθaē'byō*, Latin *deābus*, Oscan ***luisarifs***, Gaulish *ναμαυσικαβο*). The base-meaning seems to have been "with", but—at least in the historic period—the formative was common to several cases and to all three numbers (cf. Gray, in *Language*, viii [1932], 191, 192–3, 194, 195, 197).

The A ablative type of *puttahĕ* is apparently derived from **putrásyās*, i e. it has the termination of the feminine genitive-ablative pronoun, a like confusion of genders recurring in the AMg, JM dative *puttāe* < **putrâyai* (Pischel, p. 249) The form *puttahu*, on the other hand, seems to point to an original **putrábhas*, i.e to a formative *-bh-* (as in *deābus*, ***luisarifs***, *ναμαυσικαβο*), as contrasted with *-bhi-* (as in *devébhyas, dāθaē'byō*), plus the genitive-ablative termination *-as*. Derivation from **putrás-* plus *-as* seems much less likely, and Pischel's interpretation (p. 257) of the A ablative plural *puttahũ* as equivalent to the Skt ablative dual *putrábhyām* appears highly improbable

The *nominative plural* masculine and neuter, represented by AMg *puttāo* (masculine), M, AMg, JM, Ś, Mg *phalāim, phalāī, phalāi* (A, M also *phalaī*) (neuter) likewise call for consideration Pischel's view (p 254) that *puttāo* represents Skt *putrâs* plus the nominative plural termination *-as* of consonantal stems is obviously incorrect, nor can the Prākrit form be compared with the Vedic type *putrâsas*, Av. *aspâonhō*, Old Persian *bagāha* (the latter probably borrowed from Medic, see Meillet-Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*[2], Paris, 1931, pp. 10–11, 175) since *h* < *s* does not disappear in Prākrit (Pischel, pp. 183, 184) The type of *puttāo*, like those of AMg, JM, Ś *aggīo*,

AMg, JM *vāū* (contrast Skt. *agnáyas, vāyávas*), would seem to be formed directly from the attested Prākrit nominatives plural *puttā, aggī, vāū* plus the plural termination *-as* of consonantal stems. Similarly the feminine types of M, AMg, JM, Ś, Mg *mālāo, devīo, vahūo* are from **mālāas, *devías, *vadhūas* (contrast Pālı *mālāyas*, but *devıyo, vadhuyo*, as opposed to Skt. *mālās, devyàs* [Vedic *devís*], *vadhvàs*), with the long vowel carried throughout, plus the consonantal termination *-as* (cf Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, Paris, 1920, p. 186).

The neuter types of *phalāım, dahīım, mahūım*, continued in the Marāthī *-em* (Bloch, pp 81, 185, cf R L Turner, *JRAS* 1915, p 27, 1927, p. 230) and represented in Sanskrit by *phálānı, dádhīnı, mádhūnı*, have their long vowel from the types represented by Vedic *phálā̆, dádhī̆, mádhū̆* (cf Young Avesta *xšaθra, zaraθuštrı, po^{u}ru*—quantity of final vowel ambiguous) The final *-ım, -ī, -ı* can come only from **-in(ı)*, borrowed from the *-ın*-stems Here one would expect **-īn(ı)*, i e **phalāım*, etc (cf. Skt *balínı*); but the *-ī-* is clearly due to analogy with the *-ĭ-* of the Prākrit nominative and accusative plural masculine of the type of *aggıno*, seen also in the instrumental singular *aggınā* and in the genitive singular *aggıno* (cf Skt instrumental singular *agnínā*, Pālı *aggınā*, genitive *aggino*, ablative *aggınā*, cf also the short vowel in Av. *vohunąm*, Old Persian *dahyunām*) Against this hypothesis one may fairly argue that final *-ı* is preserved in the Mg ablative singular *puttāhı* (cf. A *puttāhĕ*), in the M, etc, locative singular *puttammı* (cf. A *puttahī*) and instrumental plural *putteh(m)*, *puttehī*, and in the A locative plural *puttahī*, and that the only loss of a final vowel recorded for Prākrit noun-inflexion is in the type of the A instrumental singular *puttem, puttē* (cf also Pischel, pp. 111–12). A solution may possibly be sought in the fact that in stems in *-n-* (and *-nt-*), from which *-ānı*—and, consequently, *-īnı, -ūnı*—is borrowed (Debrunner–Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, III, Gottingen, 1930, 105, 160–2, 276–7), Av shows forms in *-ąn* < **-ān* beside those in *-āni* < **-ānə* (e.g GAv *dāmąm · afšmānī*), and this ending is borrowed in Av *-a*-stems (e g GAv *ǰ̊ənaıąm*, YAv *amәšyąn* GAv *akā*, YAv *xšaθra*, Old Persian *hamaranā* [Bartholomae, pp 225, 233; cf. also K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*^{2}, Strasbourg, 1897–1916, II, ii, 232]) In Prākrit *phalāṇı, phalāım*, etc., I see, accordingly, a survival of the Indo-Iranian doublets **-n* and **-n*.

II. Verbs and Verbals

In the *present indicative active* only the A types of the first singular *vattaũ*, the first plural *vattahũ*, the second plural *vattahu*, and the third plural *vattahĩ* are not self-evident. The type of *vattaũ*, whose termination survives in Old Hindī, Braj, Old Gujarātī, and Chhatīsgarhī *-aũ* (Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, pp 248–9, cf R. Hoernle, *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, London, 1880, p. 335), is well explained by Pischel (p 322) as for **vártakam*, but his view that this is to be compared with Skt. *yāmaki* = *yāmi* (KB xxvii, 1) and the forms *pacatakı*, *chindhakı* = *pácati*, *chíndha*, etc, quoted by Skt grammarians, seems improbable (cf L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, 1930, p 247) In **vártakam* I incline to see, rather, the element *-kam* which appears in the nominative singular of the first personal pronoun M *ahaam*, JM *ahayam*, Asoka *hakam*, Mg *hag(g)e*, A, Pañjābī, Braj *haũ*, etc = Skt *ahakám* < **eĝhm̥-kóm* (cf Pischel, p 293, Bloch, pp 145, 191, and *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, xxiii [1929], 115). This element *-kam* is of doubtful origin, but is possibly the formative which recurs in the Indo-Iranian "genitive plural" (Skt. *asmā́ka(m)*, *yusmā́ka(m)*, Av *ahmākəm*, *yušmākəm*) In any event, it would seem that the pronominal ending *-aũ* has here influenced the verb (cf also the Pāli first singular optative *vatteyyāham* < **vatteyyam aham*, Asokan *vatte 'ham*, and Pāli first plural optative *vatteyyāmhe* < **vatteyyā amhe* [Geiger, p 75, Bloch, locc citt])

Whether the second singular *vattahi* is to be compared with Skt *vártasi* (Pischel, pp. 183, 322) or—as seems rather more likely—with an imperative **vártadhi* (Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, p 247), it, in conjunction with the second plural *vattahu*, plainly accounts for the otherwise inexplicable *h* in the first and third plural *vaṭṭahũ*, *vattahĩ* The form *vattahu* itself presupposes **vártathas*, with *-as* instead of *-a* (cf. Skt. *vártatha*) on the analogy of a first plural **vártahas* (cf Skt *vártāmas*; that we here have a dual—cf Skt *vártathas*—seems rather less likely)

In the first person plural one would expect **vattāhu* (cf Skt. *vártāmas*, general Prākrit *vattāmo*), but, besides the shortening of *ā* by analogy with the rest of the present, **-u* has become *-ũ*, apparently under the influence of the singular *vattaũ*. In the third plural *vattahĩ*, represented in Modern Indian by Old Gujarātī *nācaĩ* "they dance", Awadhī and Braj *calaĩ* "they go", and Chhatīsgarhī *ghuchaĩ* "they can move" (Bloch, pp 248-9, Turner, *JRAS* 1927,

p. 238 regards the nasalization as representing the older termination *-nti*), the nasalization, perhaps drawn from the first plural, is added to the singular *vattai*, so that the relation may be summarized in the scheme .—

First sing. *vattaũ*: first plur. *vattahũ* = third sing. *vattai*: third plur. *vattahĩ* (cf., on the whole question, Bloch, pp. 247–9).

In the *middle*, a single Pāli form merits consideration here. The first plural of the type of *vattamhe* (with the semantic distinction in Pāli between *vatt-* "exist", etc, and *vatt-* "be right" we are not concerned in this connection), cited only by grammarians, is clearly for **vártasme*, and can scarcely arise from syncope of **vattāmahe* = Skt *vártāmahe*, despite Geiger, p 107, and V. Henry, *Précis de grammaire pâlie*, Paris, 1904, p. 80 Just as in the first plural active of the type of *avattamha* (see below, p. 570), we evidently have a formation analogous to—perhaps actually combined with—the copula **amhe* (cf. the active *amhẵ* = Skt. *smás*) with *-e* mechanically substituted for *-ẵ* as a "primary" middle sign on the analogy of *vattasi . vattase*; *vattati . vattate*, *vattanti . vattante*, the proceeding being aided by the *-e* of the second plural, where it is fully justified (cf. Pāli *vattavhe* [attested only by grammarians] · Skt. *vártadhve*, and see Bloch, p 232). The type of *vattāmase* beside *vattamhe*, which recurs in the imperative and optative types *vattāmase*, *vattemase*, shows merely another mechanical substitution of the "primary" middle characteristic *-e* for the active *-i* (cf. the Vedic first plural active *vártāmasi*), and the type *vattamhase* appears to be simply a contamination of the two types *vattamhe* and *vattāmase* (Geiger, p. 107). The aorist middle type of *avattamhase* is probably of identical origin (see below, p 573).

The *optative* has been discussed by Pischel (pp. 325–9, and *KZ* xxxv [1899], 142–3), H Jacobi (ibid., p. 577), Geiger (pp 110–11), and especially Bloch (pp 233–4, and "Quelques désinences d'optatif en moyen-indien épigraphique et littéraire", in *MSLP* xxiii, 107–120) It falls into two types, represented by Prākrit *vatte* = Skt *vártet* (Type A) and *vatteyyẵ* < **várteyat*, **várteyāt(i)* (Type B) respectively The first of these calls for little comment except for the types of the Asokan third plural *vattevŏ* < **vártevur* beside *vatteyŭ* (contrast Skt. *várteyur*), where I can account for *v* instead of *y* only on the very unsatisfactory assumption of an arbitrarily sporadic interchange of the two phonemes (cf, for other instances, Pischel, p 177), and Asokan *vattāvu*, a contamination of the optative represented by Skt. *várteyur*

with a subjunctive **vártāyur*, again with *v* for *y*; the general Prākrit third plural type *vatte* < **várten*; the Pāli first singular *vatte* < **vártem*; and the first plural *vattemu* < **vártemu*, where one apparently has a contamination of the optative (cf Skt. *vártema*) with the imperative (cf. Skt *vártatu*) (Bloch, *MSLP* xxiii, 118, that *-u* is a Prākritism for *-as* [cf AMg *accemu*, etc, and see Pischel, p 235; Geiger, p 81] is less likely).

Type B is more complex It would appear to be a contamination of an analogical extension of the type of Skt. *várteyam* with the subjunctive (Pischel's view, that the contamination is of the thematic and the athematic optatives, seems less likely). Rather intricate in detail, the type will perhaps most clearly be presented by the following comparative table.—

	Prākrit.	Pāli	Skt. optative.	Skt. subjunctive.
Singular 1.	*vaṭṭejjă̆*			Ved. *vártā*
	vaṭṭejjāmi	*vatteyyāmi*	**várteyāmi*	
		vatteyyam	*várteyam*	
	(cf As *avaṭṭe 'ham*)	*vatteyyāham*	**várteyam ahám*	
,, 2.	*vaṭṭejjāsi*	*vatteyyāsi*	**várteyāsi*	*vártās(i)*
	vaṭṭejjasi	*vatteyya*	**várteyas(i)*	
,, 3.	*vaṭṭejjā*	*vatteyyāti*	**várteyāt(i)*	*vártāt(i)*
	vaṭṭejja	*vatteyya*	**várteyat*	
Plural 1.	*vaṭṭejjāma*	*vatteyyāma*	**várteyāma*	*vártāma*
,, 2	*vaṭṭejjāha*	*vatteyyātha*	**várteyātha*	*vártātha*
	vaṭṭejjaha		**várteyatha*	
,, 3.	*vaṭṭejjā*		**várteyān*	*vártān*
	vaṭṭejja		**várteyan*	
		vatteyyu(m)	*várteyur*	

It is possible, furthermore, that the "injunctive" of the type of Skt. *(á)vartam*, *(á)vartas*, *(á)vartat*, *(á)vartāma* (but not *[á]vartata*), *(á)vartan*, may also have played some part in the formation The Prākrit first singular *vatteyyā* seems to be a contamination of the Vedic subjunctive *vártā* with the optative *várteyam*, as *vatteyyāmi* (Pāli *vatteyyāmi*) is of *várteyam* with the present indicative *vártāmi*, and the type of *vatteyya* is probably by analogy with the third singular *vatteyya* (otherwise Pischel, pp. 326), for Pāli *vatteyyāham*, etc, see above, p. 567, for *-a* < *-as* in the Pāli second singular see Geiger, pp. 73, 128, 129

In the *imperative* active the *-u* characteristic of the third persons (*vattau*, Ś, Mg, Ḍhakkī *vattadu* : *vattantu* = Skt. *vártatu vártantu*) has analogically influenced the first singular (recorded only by grammarians) *vattă̆mu*, the second singular *vaṭṭasu*, *vattesu*, and the

A second plural *vattahu, vattehu,* this explanation (cf Pischel, p 331) being much more plausible than the older view (repeated by Bloch, *Indo-aryen,* p 249), which makes the termination a transfer from the middle voice (Skt. *vártasva,* Pāli *vattassu*), in which event one would expect a Prākrit **vattassa* or **vattāssa* (cf. Pischel, p. 218)

The first singular *vaṭṭāmu* < **vártām-u* corresponds to the formation of Skt *vártāmi,* while *vattamu* < **vártam-u,* outwardly similar to the Pāli first singular indicative *vattam* beside *vattāmi,* seems to be, in reality, an old "injunctive" (cf. Skt. *ávartam*), just as the A second singular *vattu* appears to be for **vártas* (cf. Skt. *ávartas*) The A second plural *vattahu* may either be the indicative used as an imperative (as is true also of the second plural *vattaha* and of the third plural *vattahī*) or may have arisen from **vártathu,* with *-th-* instead of *-t-* through analogy with the indicative (cf Ś, Mg *vattadha, vattedha,* general Prākrit *vattaha,* Pāli *vattatha* contrasted with Skt *vártata*), exactly as the second singular imperative *vattasu* < **vártas-u* corresponds mechanically to the second singular indicative *vattasi* = Skt. *vártasi*, i e we have here a contamination of the imperative and the "injunctive" The A second singular *vattahi* would seem to be for **vártadhi,* with *-hi* < *-dhi* carried over from the "athematic" conjugation; and the AMg *vattāhi* strongly suggests a survival of the subjunctive seen in Vedic *vártās(i)* (cf the Skt "imperatives" first singular *vártāṇi,* first plural *vártāma,* which are really subjunctives) In the imperative forms with *-e-* beside those in *-a- —vattesu, vatteha, vattĕmha, vattedha, vattehu*— one clearly has contaminations of the imperative with the optative (cf. Skt *vártes,* etc.) The Pāli second singular imperative *vattassu* can scarcely have arisen directly from **vártasva* (cf Skt. *vártasva*), despite Geiger (p 109), for this should give **vattassa.* It evidently represents a contamination of *vártasva* and *vártatu*

The first plural type *vattĕmha* (M, Ś, Mg, Dhakkī, and frequently JM) is well explained by Pischel (pp. 332–3) as based on the "injunctive" of the *-s-*aorist seen in Vedic *geṣma* (i e *ge-s-ma*), *jéṣma,* and *desma,* while the type *vattamha* would, correspondingly, be for **vártā-s-ma,* the first plural of the Pāli aorist *avattamha* beside *avattāmo* (cf Skt *ávartāma*) possibly pointing to an identical origin (for another explanation see below, p 572) The Pāli second plural middle *vattavho* is clearly for **vártadh(u)vas* (Bloch, p 232), a form which seems best explicable as a contamination of the second plural **vártadhva* (cf. the unique Vedic *yájadhva,* RV VIII, II, 37, and Greek *φέρεσθε* [see Brugmann, II, III, 651, and Gray in *Language,* VI (1930), 239]) with

a second singular active "injunctive" corresponding to Skt. *(á)vartas* The third plural *vattahĩ*, like the second plural *vattaha*, is merely the indicative used as an imperative.

In the *future* the normal ending of the first singular is *-m* rather than *-mi* (Prākrit *vattissam*, Pāli *vattissam*, as contrasted with Skt. *vartiṣyámi* (Gāthā Pāli even has the type *vattam* in the present). Here we seem to have a trace of the "injunctive" (cf Pāli aorist *agamisam* and the Skt conditional *ávartiṣyam*, Pāli *avattissam*, and see Bloch, *MSLP*, xxiii, 119), a similar phenomenon recurring in the (rare) M verse-form of the first plural *vattissāma* beside the normal *vattissāmo* and in the regular Pāli type *vattissāma* (contrast Skt. *vartiṣyámas*), possibly in the Prākrit first plural *vattihissā*, and probably in the second plural *vattihitthā*

For the first plural, Prākrit grammarians record the types *vattihissā*, *vatthissā* beside *vattissāmo*, *vattissāmu*, *vattissāma*, *vattihāmo*, *vattihāmu*, *vattihāma*, *vattihimo*, *vattihimu*, *vattihima*. The termination *-ssā* is obscure, but phonologically it may come from *-tśā*, *-tsā*, *-hśā*, *-hsā*, *-hsā*, *-śyā*, *-śrā*, *ślā*, *-švā*, *syā* *-svā*, *-syā*, *-svā* (Pischel, pp 217–18, 224–5, 225–6). Of these, only *-svā* (*-svā*) appears to be even remotely possible here, so that *vattihissā* would seem to be for **vartiṣyíṣvā*. The form seems to be, in reality, dual, not plural, in origin, and appears to be a contamination of the true future seen in Skt. *vartiṣyávas*, *vartiṣyámas*, Prākrit *vattissāmo*, etc, with the *-s-*aorist (cf. Skt. *á-śraut-s-va* and the M, etc., first plural imperative *vattémha* ~ Vedic *gesma* cited above), with the long vowel which appears in the Lithuanian reflexive type *dìrbavo-s*. With the grade in *ē* instead of *ō*, we may perhaps also cite Old Church Slavic *veze-vě* in this connection. This form is usually explained as influenced by the second personal pronoun dual *vě* (see, e g, Meillet-Vaillant, *Le Slave commun*[2], Paris, 1934, p 325), but it is at least possible that the analogy worked in the reverse direction, especially as only Slavic shows a long vowel in this pronominal form (cf Brugmann, II, ii, 412, 426–7) The *-h-* in *vattihissa*, etc, would seem to represent "a special treatment of *-ss-* > *-s-* in a terminational element", seen also in the Mg genitive singular *puttāha*, A *puttaha*, *puttahŏ* < **puttāsa* < *puttassa* < *putrásya*, **putrásas* (Turner, *JRAS* 1927, pp 232–5, *BSOS* V [1930], 50, VI [1932]. 531).

The second plural of the Prākrit type *vattihitthă* (known only from grammarians, with the exception of AMg *dāhittha* as contrasted with Skt. *dāsyátha*) is interpreted (e g. Pischel, p 363) as based on an "injunctive" of the *-is-*aorist (Prākrit *vattihitthă* < **vártiṣṭa*).

We should, however, expect *-tth-*, not *-tth-*, < *-st-*, just as we should in the Pāli second plural aorist active *avattittha*, second singular aorist middle *avattuttho*, and third singular *avattittha*, Prākrit *avuṭṭhā*, Asokan *vaḍhithā*. The presence in Pāli of the types of *avattattha* beside *avattuttha*, with *-tth-* < *-st-*, sugggests that in the forms with *-ttth-* either we have a contamination of the *-is*-aorist with the "thematic" aorist (i e. the type of Skt. *ábodhista* contaminated with that of *ásicata*, cf K. F. Johansson, in *KZ* xxxii [1893], 450–3, though he considered the contamination to be with the *-s*-aorist rather than with the "thematic"); or that, as suggested by Mr. Smith (cf. also Henry, p. 89; Bloch, p. 232), the termination has been influenced by the second plural of the copula (M *ttha*, Pāli *attha*, Skt. *sthá*), which, like *ās-*, *sthā-*, *vart-*, and *bhav-*, had already been used in Sanskrit with the present participle to express continuous action just like English *I am standing*, Late Latin *stat spargendo* "he is scattering", Spanish *estoy comiendo*, Italian *sto mangiando* "I am eating" (cf. J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden, 1886, pp. 294–5). It is quite possible that both factors were operative simultaneously. If this explanation may be accepted for the type *vattihittha*, *vattihitthā* would seem to have been similarly influenced by the vanished aorist of *sthā-*, **atthā*, corresponding to Pāli *atthā* = Skt. *ásthāt*, the third singular being generalized just as in the case of Prākrit *āsī* = Skt. *ásīt* (cf Pischel, p. 359) Beside *vaḍhithā* Asoka has the normal form *nikhamithā*. For the cerebral in Pāli *aṭṭhā* (cf. M, JM *thāi*) see Geiger, p. 71.

When we turn to the *aorist*, only Pāli forms need renewed consideration here The first plural active of the type of *avattamha* < **ávārtasma* may derive its ending from the copula *amha* (cf. M *mho, mha*, Skt. *smás*, see Bloch, p. 232), though it is more probably connected with the type of such Vedic aorists as *gesma, jéṣma*, and *desma* (see above, p 570) The rare type of *avattimha* is the precise equivalent of Skt. *ávartisma*, and the second plural *avattittha* is for **ávartasta* For the second plural *avattattha* beside *avattittha* < **ávartasta* and *ávartiṣta* respectively, and for *-tth-* instead of *-tth-*, we have already advanced two hypotheses in discussing the future (p. 572), and in the type of *avattatha* we have simply a borrowing of the present ending (*vattatha*; cf. Bloch, p. 232)

In the third plural types of Pāli *avattimsu* (Prākrit *avattimsu*), *-imsu* is explained as equivalent to Skt. *ávartiṣuḥ* (Pischel, p. 360; cf. Henry, p. 89), but it seems, rather, to be a contamination of

**avattum* and **avattɪsum* (cf. Skt *ávrtan ávartɪṣur*), ɪ e. of the *-a-* aorɪst and the *-ɪs-*aorɪst Asoka has the forms *alocayɪsu, nɪkhamisu, ɪchɪsu;* cf Skt. *ábhavṇṣur*, etc

The Pālɪ second sɪngular mɪddle type *vattɪttho* cannot be compared directly wɪth that of Skt. *ávartiṣṭhās* despɪte Geɪger, p 130, but seems to be from **ávartɪsthās* through confusɪon of the mɪddle termɪnatɪon *-thas* with the actɪve *-as* (cf Bloch, p 231, and for the dental ɪnstead of the cerebral, above, p 572), together wɪth a contamɪnation of the *-a-*aorɪst and the *-ɪs-*aorɪst (cf. Skt. *ávartas ávartɪsthās*) The third sɪngular of the type of *avattatha* (Asokan Prākrɪt *nɪkhamɪthā, vaḍhɪthā*), with *-th-* where one would expect *-t-* (cf. Skt *ávartata*), ɪs very puzzlɪng (cf. Bloch, p 232). The only suggestɪon that I can offer ɪs that we have here a contamɪnatɪon of the "thematɪc" wɪth the *-ɪṣ-*aorɪst, ɪ.e. *avattatha* < *ávartata* ~ **avattatɪha* < **avattasta* ~ **avattɪttha* < *ávartɪsta*. The quantɪty of the fɪnal vowel—short ɪn Pālɪ *avattatha*, but long ɪn Asokan *vadhɪthā*—may be due to analogy wɪth sɪmɪlar phenomena already observed ɪn the future The same *-th-* reappears ɪn the Pālɪ third sɪngular optatɪve and condɪtɪonal mɪddle (*vattetha, avattissatha*), and may conceɪvably be due to the fact that these, lɪke the aorɪst ɪtself, are characterɪzed by "secondary" endɪngs.

The termɪnation of the fɪrst person plural of the type of *avattamhase* can scarcely be derɪved dɪrectly from **-mase*, as stated by Geɪger (pp. 107, 109). It must stand for **ávartasmase*, whɪch seems best explaɪned as a mere borrowɪng from the present type of *vattamhe* (see above, p. 568).

The A *ɪnfɪnɪtɪve* of the type of *vattaṇa* ɪs obvɪously the nomɪnatɪve sɪngular of an actɪon-noun corresponding exactly to Skt. *vártanam* (for the use of the bare stem ɪnstead of the form ɪn *-m* cf. Pɪschel, p. 248), and ɪt survɪves ɪn Modern Indɪan (Bloch, p. 283) It can, however, scarcely be equated wɪth Kanesɪan ("Hɪttɪte") ɪnfɪnɪtɪves of the type of *hark-ana* "go to ruɪn", sɪnce these are probably datɪves beside the regular type of *ɪdalawani* "to ɪnjure' (E H. Sturtevant, *Comparative Grammar of the Hɪttɪte Language*, Phɪladelphɪa, 1933, pp. 151, 267) Besɪde *vattana* we also fɪnd *ɪattanahī* (probably a locatɪve sɪngular, less plausɪbly a locatɪve or ɪnstrumental plural; cf. Pɪschel, p 392) and *vattaṇahā*, whɪch looks lɪke a genɪtɪve plural (Pɪschel, loc cɪt). Sɪnce, however, no ɪnfɪnɪtɪve ɪn the plural ɪs known ɪn Indo-European, ɪt may be suggested that *ɪattanahā* ɪs for **vártanatham*, ɪ.e. a noun of actɪon ɪn *-no-* plus the Indo-Iranɪan formatɪve *-tha-* < *-tho-*, also used to make *nomina actionɪs* (e.g Skt *gāthá-*, Av *gāθa-*,

Skt *bhṛthá-*; cf. W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*², Boston, U.S.A., 1896, p 436, B. Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, Jena, 1878, pp. 84–5, Bartholomae, pp 107, 110) At the same time, *-tha-* is not used either in Sanskrit or in Avesta to form secondary noun-derivatives, so that the suggestion is open to grave objection. Another A infinitive of the type of *devam* "to give" would seem to be the locative (cf Vedic *mūrdhán* beside *mūrdháni*, and see Brugmann, II, ii, 177–8) of the formation in *-ṷen-* which appears in inflected form in infinitives of the type of Vedic *dāváne*, Cyprian δοϝεναι, Greek δοῦναι, GAv *vīdvanōi*, and which finds an exact counterpart in Av *rōiθwən* and the Kanesian "supine" type of *peskewan* "giving" (Bartholomae, pp. 145, 146; Sturtevant, p. 153).

The Pāli infinitival types *vattitāye* and *vattetuye*, like the AMg *vattae*, *vattitae*, are obviously datives (cf Bloch, p. 252, cf. also the survival of the dative in Pāli in an infinitival use, e.g. *dassanāya* "to see", Geiger, pp 78, 151). On the other hand, *vattae*, etc., are scarcely to be equated, despite Pischel, p 392, with Skt. *várttave*, even if intervocalic *v* occasionally vanishes in Prākrit (Pischel, p. 137), but must be exactly equivalent to Skt *vártaye*. Similarly, the Pāli type of *vattitāye* would seem to be a contamination of **vártitāya* and **vártitaye* (datives of **vártita-* and **vártiti-* respectively), just as *vattetuye* is of *vártayitum* and **vártayataye* (i e. the causative infinitive and the dative of **vártayati-*, cf Bloch, p. 132).

Of the *gerunds* (or *absolutives*), the types of JŚ *vattidūṇa*, Pallava Grant *vattitūnam*, JM *vattiūna(m)*, Gāthā Pāli (rare) *vattitūna*, represent a contamination of a gerund in **-tvāna* (cf Vedic *-tvānam*, cited only by grammarians) with the infinitive in *-tum*, with *-tū* < *-tu* by analogy with **-tvāna* and probably also with gerunds of the type of AMg *vattiyānam*, Pāli *vattiyāna* (cf the Vedic alternation here of *-ya* and *-yā*, e g. *abhikrámya samgṛ́bhyā*, A A Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, Strasbourg. 1910, p 413, see also Pischel, p. 400, Geiger, p. 156; Bloch, p 284), i e. **-tūṇa(m)* **-tū* < *-tu* = *-yāṇa(m)* *-yǎ* = *-tvānam* *-tvā* The formation in *-tvānam* actually appears in the AMg *vattittānam*, and beside it are *vatticcāna(m)* and *vatticcā*, with *-cc-* < *-ty-*. To assume a mere substitution of *y* for *v* in the two latter, with Pischel (p 397, cf p 177), seems very improbable These two types are, rather, to be compared directly with the Vedic gerund in *-tyǎ* (e g *étyā*, *abhyítya*, cf. Macdonell, p 414), and they would seem to be from **vartiyāna(m)* < **vṛtiyǎ*, a late formation from

**vŕt-tyă* (cf Skt *vŕtyă*) plus a formative *-(ă)na(m)*, and from the simple **vŕtityă* respectively. The type of AMg *vattıyānam*, Pāli *vattıyāna*, appears to come, similarly, from **vartıyānam* < **vŕtiyă*, an extension of a form precisely identical with Skt *vŕtyă* (see Geiger, pp 155–6) plus the same formative *-(ă)na(m)*

Much more problematical is the A type *vattı*, but it is at least clear that Pischel's explanation (p 401)—that it has arisen from the type of *vattia* through loss of a final *-a*—is quite improbable The question is rendered still more difficult since Modern Indian shows that the form must have been *vattī* (Bloch, p. 285). The only suggestion I can now make is that we here have a survival of a locative infinitive in *-i*, of the same type as the Vedic infinitive *nesáni* (only eight instances recorded, see Macdonell, p 412) and GAv *fraxšnī* (Bartholomae, p 146). A like confusion between the infinitive and the gerund is seen in the type of AMg *kāum* = Skt *kártum* as a gerund (cf Pischel, pp 390–1, 392–3, 398) It may also be significant, as regards the final *-ī*, that one finds in Vedic (though very rarely) *kartárī* beside *kartári*, and *védī* beside *védi* (Whitney, pp. 120, 134, 138; Macdonell, pp. 245, 271, 284) For other locative infinitives cf. Av. *-tačaiı*, Greek *ἔχειν*, Doric *ἐχην* < **ἐχεσεν*, Homeric *ἴδμεν*, Latin *agere* < **agesı*, Av. *roıθwən* (Brugmann, II, iii, 899).

Finally, the Pāli *future passive participle* of the type of *vattıtāya-*, *vattıtayya-*, *vattıteyya-*, to be compared with Asokan *pūjetaya-*, is clearly a contamination of the types of Skt. *vartıtavyà-* (in Vedic only *janıtavyà-* and *hımsitavyà-*) and Vedic *vŕtáya-* (e g *vdáya-*, cf Macdonell, pp 406–7)

The results obtained in the foregoing pages may be tabulated as follows:—

I Nouns

Sg. nom m. . .	Mg, AMg	*putte*, A *puttu*	**putrá:*, **putró:*
Sg. gen. m. .	A . .	*puttahě*, *puttasu*	**putrás(y)as*	*putrásya* ~ **putrás* + *-as*
Sg. abl. m . .	M, etc	*puttāo*	**putrātas*	*putrāt* ~ *putrátas* (or *putrdt* + *-as* ?)
	M	*puttāhı(mto)*	**putrābhı(mtas)*	*putrāt* ~ **putrábhı(m)(tas)*
	A . .	*puttahě*, *puttahu*	**putrásyās*, **putrábhas*	
Pl. nom m . .	AMg .	*puttāo*	**putrás*	**putrd* + *-as* of cons. stems.
„ f. . .	M, etc. .	*devīo*, *vahūo*	**devías*, **vadhús*	**devī*, **vadhū* + *-as* of cons. stems
„ n. . .	M, etc. .	*phalāı(m)*, A *phalāi*	**phálāın(ı)*	*phálā* + *-ın(ı)* of *-ın-* stems.

II. Verbs and Verbals

Act. pres ind. sing. 1	A .	*vaṭṭaũ*	**vártakam*	*vártāmi ~ ahakám*
,, ,, ,, 2	A .	*vaṭṭahi*	**vártadhi* (?), *vártasi* (?)	
,, ,, plur 1	A	*ıattahũ*	**vártatham*	*vártatha ~* A sing. *vaṭṭaũ*
,, ,, ,, 2	A .	*vaṭṭahu*	**vártathas*	*vártatha ~ vártāmas*
,, ,, ,, 3	A .	*vattahĩ*	**vártathım*	*vártatha ~* A sing. *vattaı*
Mid. ,, ,, 1	Pāli	*vattamhe*	**vártasme*	*vártāmahe ~ *asme ~ *asmas < smás*
	Pāli	*vattāmase*	**vártāmase*	*vártāmasi ~ vártāmahe*
	Pāli	*vattamhase*	**ıártasmase*	Pāli *vattamhe ~ vattāmase*
Act pres opt sing 1 (for Type B see pp. 568–9)	Pāli	*vatte*	**vártem*	
Act. pres. opt. plur. 1	Pāli .	*ıattemu*	**ıártemu*	*vártema ~ ıártatu*
,, ,, ,, 3	Pkt .	*vaṭṭe*	**ıárten*	
	As .	*vaṭṭāvu*	**vártāvur*	*várteyur ~ ıártān*
	As. .	*vattevũ*	**ıártevur*	
Act. impv. sing. 1 .	Pkt	[*vaṭṭāmu*]	**vártāmu*	*vártāmi ~ vártatu*
	Pkt.	[*vaṭṭamu*]	**ıártamu*	*(á)vartam ~ vártatu*
,, ,, ,, 2 .	Pkt. .	*ıaṭṭasu*	**vártasu*	*(á)vartas ~ vártatu*
	Pkt. .	*ıattesu*	**vártesu*	*vártes ~ vártatu*
	A .	*vaṭṭu*	**ıártas*	*(á)vartas*
	A . .	*vattahı*	**vártadhi*	*várta ~* type of *śṛnu(d)hí*
	Pkt. .	*vaṭṭehı*	**ıártedhi*	**várte* (!) *~* type of *śṛnu(d)hí*
	AMg .	*vattāhı*	**ıártādhi*	*vártās(i) ~* type of *śṛnu(d)hí*
	Pāli .	*vattassu*	**vártassu*	*ıártasva ~ vártatu*
Act. impv. plur. 1	M, etc	*ıaṭṭamha*	**vártāsma*	*vártāma ~* type of Ved. *jéṣma*
	M, etc .	*vaṭṭēmha*	**vártesma*	*ıártema ~* type of Ved. *jésma*
	A . .	*vattahu*	**ıártathu*	*vártatha ~ vártatu*
	A	*vatteha*	**vártethu*	**vártetha ~ várteta ~ vártatu*
Mid. impv plur. 2 .	Pāli .	*vattavho*	**vártadhıas*	*vártadhva ~ (á)vartas*
Act fut sing 1 .	Pkt.	*vattıssam*, Pāli *vattissam*	**ıartısyam*	*vartisyámi ~ (á)ıartam* or *(á)vartisyam*
,, plur 1 .	Pkt .	*vaṭṭissāma*, Pāli *ıattissāma*	**ıartisyáma*	*ıartisyámas ~ (á)vartisma*
	Pkt. .	*vaṭṭihissā*	**vartisyísvā*	*vartisyáıas ~ (á)vārtisva* (cf Lith. *dìrbavo-s*, OCSl. *vezevě*)
,, ,, 2 .	Pkt. .	*vaṭṭihitha*	**vartisyísta*	*vartisyátha ~ *(á)vartisṭa ~ (á)vartata* or *vartisyátha ~ sthá*
	Pkt .	*vaṭṭihitthā*	**vartisyísṭā*	*vartisyátha ~ (á)sthāt*
Act. aor plur. 1 .	Pāli .	*avattamha*	**ávartāsma*	*ávartāma ~* type of Ved *jésma* or *ávartāma ~ *smá smás*
	Pāli .	*avattımha*	**ávartisma*	*ávartisma*
,, ,, 2 .	Pāli .	*avattattha*	**ávartasta*	*ávartata ~ ávartista*
	Pāli	*avattittha*	**ávartista*	*ávartisṭa ~ ávartata*
,, ,, 3	Pāli	*avattımsu*	**ávartum ~ *ávartisum*	*ávṛtan ~ ávartisur*
Mid aor sing 2 .	Pāli .	*avattittho*	**ávartisthas*	*ávartisthās ~ ávartas*
,, ,, 3	Pāli .	*avattatha*	**ávartatha*	*ávartata ~ ávartista*
	As. .	*avattithā*	**ávartitha*	*ávartista ~ ávartata ~ (á)sthāt*

Mid aor. plur. 1	Pāli	*avattamhase*	**avartasmase*	*avartamahe* ~ **asme* ~ **asmas* < *smas*
Infin.	A.	*vattana*	**vartanam*	*vartanam*
	A.	*vattanahi*	**vartanasmin*	(cf. loc. *puttahi*)
	A.	*vattanahā*	**vartanatham*	
	AMg	*vattae*	**vartaye*	*vartaye*
	Pāli	*vattitāye*	**vārtitaye*	**vārtitāya* ~ **vārtitaye*
	Pāli	*vattetuye*	**vārtayatuye*	*vartayitum* ~ **vārtayatave*
Gerund	JŚ	*vattidāna*	**vārtitāna*	**vrttvāna* ~ *vārtitum*
	AMg	*vattuccāna(m)*	**vartityana(m)*	**vṛttyă* < **vṛtyă* + -(ă)*na(m)*
	AMg	*vattiyānam*, Pāli *vattiyāna*	**vartiyāna(m)*	**vṛtyă* < *vṛtyă* + -(ă)*na(m)*
	A	*vatti*	**vārti*	(cf *nesáni*)
Part. fut. pass.	Pāli	*vattitāya-*, etc, As. *vatṭṭeya-*	**vārtitāya-*	*vartitavyà* ~ *vṛdhya-*

Sakische Etymologien

By Olaf Hansen

1. Sak. ggāṭhaa

Sak. *ggāthaa* „Laie" und seine Ableitungen lassen sich als buddhistischer Terminus kaum von skt. *gṛhasthā* trennen. Offensichtlich deutet das sakische Wort auf ein mittelind **gāttha* oder **gahattha* (vgl. pālī *gahattha*), aus dem es entlehnt ist Derselbe Laut *th* fur skt. *sth* findet sich auch im sak Lehnwort *vathāyaa* < mittelind. *uvatthāyaa*, skt. *upasthā-* Die Herleitung von sak. *ggāthaa* aus dem Mittelindischen scheint mir gegenuber der von Konow in seinen Saka Studies p 136 gegebenen besonders aus dem Grunde den Vorzug zu verdienen, als auch eine andere iranische Sprache das Wort derselben Quelle entnommen hat soghd *k'rtk* Dhyāna-Text 6 und *k'rt'k* Dhūta-Text 206, dessen prazise Bedeutung ich mit Herrn S. Matsunami im Jahre 1932 aus dem chinesischen Paralleltext erschliessen konnte Wie Benveniste unabhangig davon nachgewiesen hat (*JAs.* 1933 (2), p 214), steht *k'rtk*, *k'rt'k* im Gegensatz zu soghd. *kty'ky*[1] *nyẓtk* „pravrajita" und zu *δynδ'r* „religieux". In beiden angefuhrten soghdischen Schreibungen ist *rt* offenbar ein Versuch. mittelind *tth* wiederzugeben Es liegt hier demnach eine ahnliche. Schreibung vor wie im soghd. *pwrny'nyh* „punya" (Rosenberg, Bull. de l'Acad des Sciences, 1927, p 1391 f), wo ind. *n* durch soghd. *rn* wiedergegeben wird Daneben steht jedoch gewohnlich *pwny'ny*. Ahnlich wie im Soghdischen sind vereinzelte Schreibungen Albērūnīs bei der Wiedergabe indischer Worte zu beurteilen (vgl. Sachau, Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen in der 1. Halfte des XI Jh., Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preuss Akad Wiss., 1888, p 18). Albērūnī schreibt in arabischen Zeichen *rn* resp *nr* fur ind. *n*[2] in برغ = banij, پارن* = Pānini (zu diesem Wort vgl. Sachau l c), und *rt* fur *th* resp *tth* in كرث = kunatha (Sachau, p. 17) und حرث = skt. *jyaiṣtha* (*ttha* < skt. *stha*).[3] Von dieser Art Schreibungen ist ganz zu trennen soghdisch *ywnw* VJ. 783, das

[1] Betreffs *kty'ky* sei auf das allerdings noch nicht ganz sicher gedeutete soghd. *'βčnpδy* (*γr'mtδ'rt*) der Kara-Balgasun Inschrift Zeile 14 (vgl Mém Soc Finno-Ougrienne 44 3, p 18 u 32) aufmerksam gemacht

[2] Daneben gibt es jedoch Falle, wo Albērūnī fur ind. *n* einfach *n* oder auch *r* schreibt (vgl. Sachau l c 18)

[3] حرث ist bei Sachau versehentlich unter die Beispiele gestellt, wo *th* mit ث wiedergegeben wird, wofur Sachau mehrere Beispiele anfuhrt.

Gauthiot richtig mit „ensanglantée“ übersetzt hat. *rty ZKh prw 'stkwh 'nšpr'ynt 'skwn KΓH 'Pny k'w 'nšpr'ynt rty ZKh z'yh s't γwrnw β'y* d.h. „und sie wanderten auf Knochen, sodass dort, wo sie wanderten, die Erde ganz blutig wurde“. *γwrnw* ist Adverb auf *-w* (**-u* < **-am*) vom Adjektiv **γwrn-* d i. **χuruwn(a)* oder *χurŭn(a)* mit der auch bei *r* belegten Umstellung des *w*. vgl. soghd *dwrt-* = mp *drūt* Somit lasst sich soghd. *γwrnw* zu aw *χrvant-* „grauenhaft“, eigentlich „blutig“ (*χrūra* „blutig, grausam“) stellen. Zur Ableitung sei auf lit *krùvinas*, abg *krъvьnъ-* „blutig“ verwiesen. In dem zweiten Teil der Soghdischen Texte von FWKMuller (hg von W. Lentz) ist *χwrny* im Ausdruck *χwrny pšynčn'* „(o) Blutvergiesser!“ belegt, das mit dem oben aus dem VJ belegten *γwrn-* identisch ist; offenbar ist *χwrn-* auch hier als Adjektiv aufzufassen.

2 Sak. bīr

Sak *bīr-* „werfen, streuen“ lasst sich mit lit. *beriù*, *beĩti* streuen, lett *beĺu*, *bẽrt* schutten, streuen, *bārstit* wiederholt streuen, *bārslis* allerlei Abfalle, die man den Huhnern als Futter hinstreut, *bārstaľa* jmd, der alles ausstreut, *bārstes* ausgestreutes Getreide, *biĩstu*, *biru*, *biĩt* sich verstreuen, ausfallen, abfallen (s. Muhlenbach-Endzelin, Lettisch-deutsches Worterbuch s vv), vereinigen Die baltischen Worte verbinden Būga, Aištiskai Studijai 1908, 184, Mikkola, Urslav. Grammatik 43, Bruckner in Gesch der idg Sprachwiss II, 3, 83, und Trautmann, Balto-slav Worterbuch 31 mit idg **bher-* „tragen“, ohne eine nahere Begrundung fur den Bedeutungswandel zu geben Einen Versuch, diesen Unterschied in der Bedeutung zu uberbrucken, unternehmen Muhlenbach-Endzelin, l c p 292, der jedoch nicht sehr uberzeugt. Walde-Pokorny verhalten sich dieser Verbindung gegenuber ablehnend (s Vergleichendes Worterbuch der idg Sprachen II, 165). Der Vokal des sak *bīr* erklart sich durch Umlaut. < **barya-* Demnach stimmt sak *bīr* ganz zu lit *beriù*, lett. *beĺu* (*-i̯e/-i̯o* Praes, vgl auch Endzelin Lett Gr. § 625) Dieser Umstand, dass zwei Sprachgruppen übereinstimmend ein *-i̯e/-i̯o* Praesens aufweisen, das nirgends von **bher-* tragen bezeugt ist (vgl. jetzt die Ausführungen uber **bher-* bei Ernout-Meillet, Dict Et langue lat, pp. 334 f), spricht neben der Schwierigkeit, die Bedeutungen zu verknupfen, fur den Ansatz zweier getrennter Wurzeln. Uber weitere Anknupfungen dieser Wurzel **bher-* in anderen idg Sprachen s Meillet, A propos de la groupe litouanienne de beriù, Streitberg Festgabe, Leipzig, 1924, 258 ff.

3. Sak. harma

Im sak. Bhadrakalpikāsūtra (hg. von Konow, Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, ii, hist.-filos. kl. 1929, No. 1, p. 11) steht. (33) . . . *u harma beṭī ttaraṃdara vāmmīha mi byehe*, was Konow l.c., p. 13 „and no poison finds entrance into the body" übersetzt. Im Glossar zu dem zitierten Text bemerkt er (l.c. p. 17) *harma* unidentified, perhaps „any". In seinen Saka Studies, 1932, p. 141, gibt er mit diesem selben einzigen Beleg *harma* of any kind, any, nom. *-ma*, und vergleicht aw. *haurva*. Gegen den Vergleich mit dem awest. Wort scheint die Verschiedenheit der Suffixe zu sprechen, besonders da in den übrigen iranischen Sprachen dieses Wort in der sakischen Gestalt bisher nicht belegbar ist. Die neuen tocharischen B-Texte, die S. Lévi 1933 (Fragments de textes koutchéens publiés et traduits . . Cahiers de la Soc. Asiat., 1re série, ii) veröffentlicht hat, belegen ein toch.-B. *solme* „complet", das Meillet Bull. Soc. Ling. 35, Comptes Rendus, p. 51, richtig mit toch. A *salu*, skt. *sarvah* usw. vergleicht. Toch.-B *solme* und sak. *harma* weisen beide das mit *m-* anlautende Suffix auf und stehen damit im Gegensatz zu allen übrigen idg. Sprachen. Ob da zwischen *solme* und *harma* ein direkter Zusammenhang besteht, der bei den verschiedenen gegenseitigen Beeinflussungen dieser beiden Sprachen nicht ausgeschlossen ist, lässt sich vorläufig nicht entscheiden.

Soghdische Miszellen

Von W Henning

I. *βγnpt-*

In einem der von mir unlangst veroffentlichten manichaischen Texte in mittelpersischer Sprache kommt zweimal [1] ein Wort *bšnbyd* vor, fur das sich die Bedeutung „Götzenpriester" zwingend aus dem Kontext ergab, die Herkunft des Wortes kannte ich damals noch nicht · sie wird mit einem Schlage klar, wenn man soghdisch *βγnpt-* „Zauberer" herbeizieht (*βγnptw SCE.* 255, *Alte Briefe* 1, 10; fem *βγnpt'nch SCE* 255, 252), das offensichtlich mit mp *bšnbyd* etymologisch identisch ist [2]

Die gemeinsame Grundform muss **bagιnapatι-* „Herr des *bagina-*" gewesen sein, woraus in persischem Munde, mit Palatalisierung des *g* vor hellem Vokal, **bažιnapatι-* wurde Nach Schwund des zweiten Vokals ergaben sich die Formen *bayнapat* (daraus soghd *βγnpt-* = *βaγnpat-*) und *bažnapet*, aus dem nach der im Persischen gelaufigen Verwandlung [3] von *-žn-* in *-šn-* schliesslich *bašnbeδ* (= mpT *bšnbyd*) werden musste

Dass in verschiedenen iranischen Sprachen der alte Velar eines und desselben Wortes einmal bewahrt, ein andermal hingegen palatalisiert ist, kommt garnicht so selten vor; es sei gestattet, hierfur ein paar Beispiele anzufuhren, die sich jedoch leicht vermehren liessen

(1) Parthischem *wrwc* = *vιδč* > *vrōž* [4] „Blitz" steht im Persischen *wrwg* [5] = *vrōγ* < **vrōk-* gegenuber (hierzu auch der Eigenname mp *wrwgd'd* = *Vιrōγdāδ* „vom Blitz gegeben" in Manis Gigantenbuch, = „*Vrukdad*" bei Bang *Manich. Erz* 13 ss [6]), zur

[1] Andreas-Henning, *Mittelir Manich*, II (*Sb P A W* 1933), 311, 21, 312, 16

[2] Die Form *βγ'npt-* bei Benveniste *Gramm*, II, 78, 89, 213, existiert nicht, die dort, p 78, gegebene Erklarung *βaγān°pat-* „maître des dieux, sorcier" ist daher vollig haltlos.

[3] Cf Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm* [2], 69

[4] Andreas-Henning, *Mittelir Manich*, III (*Sb P A W*, 1934), 908.

[5] In unveroffentlichten manichaischen Texten

[6] *Muséon*, xliv, das dort von Bang behandelte turkische Fragment, auf das mich seinerzeit Professor Schaeder hinwies, gehort in den Kreis der Henoch-Geschichten, die sich an Manis Gigantenbuch und an sein Henochbuch anschliessen, vgl *Sb P A W* 1934, 27 ss, *Qonuy Burqan* (lies *Xunoχ*) ist Henoch

Bildung vgl ai *viroká-*, *virolín-* usw., die im Ai so gelaufige Komposition von √*ruc* mit *ví* ist im Iranischen fast unbekannt, ausser *vrwc* usw gibt es hier nur das denominative Verbum parth. *vrušn'dn* „ aufleuchten " [1] = sak *barūn-* „ to shine ".[2]

(2) Parth *'bg'w-* = *aβgāv-* „ vermehren " < **abigāvaya-* gegen ap *abižāvaya-* (woraus soghd *'βž'w-* = *aβžāv-* und mp. *'bz'y-* = *aβzāy-*), die zur Wurzel av *gaiⁿ* „ verschaffen " gehoren.[3]

(3) Mp. *aβāγ* „ mit " aus **upāk-* gegen judpers *aβāz* aus **upāč-* [4]

(4) MpT *āvāγ* „ Stimme " [5] (np *āvā* „ Ruf, Schrei " *Šn* 81, 367, Asadi 57, 1, 2, und sonst) < **āvāk-* gegen Pehl, np. *āvāz* < **āvāč-*

(5) Soghd *mrč* „ Tod " = *marč* gegen av *ma(h)rka-*, np *marg* [6]

(6) Buddh.-soghd *crks* „ Geier " (Frag III 28), oss *cargas* (Reichelt I, 63 N 3) gegen av *ka(h)rkāsa-*, np *kargas*

Das erste Glied des mit ziemlicher Sicherheit rekonstruierten altiranischen Kompositums **bagınapatı-*, also **bagına-*, bedeutete „ Tempel ", wie sich aus dem zu arsacidischer Zeit vom Armenischen entlehnten Wort *bagin* „ Tempel, Altar " zweifelsfrei ergibt, **bagınapatı-* ist also der „ Tempelherr ". Was nun die Herkunft von **bagına-* anlangt, so ist es wohl klar, dass dies Wort ein substantiviertes *-ına*-Adjektiv zu *baga-* „ Gott " ist; wie av *hąmına-* als Adj. „ sommerlich " und als Subst. „ Sommer " bedeutete, so hiess **bagına-* „ den Gottern zugehorig " und substantiviert „ das den Gottern zugehorige, der Tempel " Ausser dem Armenischen scheint nur das Soghdische dies Wort bewahrt zu haben es kommt, in der Form *βγn-*, mehrmals in einem noch nicht veroffentlichten manichaisch-soghdischen Text der Berliner Sammlung vor; hier eine charakteristische Stelle (T II D 117 B V 11 ss)

'rty δywyδ δyβnw βyny' cyndr cw βγyštt 'skwnd s't wysprtnynyt xnd pyšt mrtxmytyy pryw nyy j'ynd 'ıty qt'm "δyy 'ww rwδnyt βγyšt ky 'ty wy' βyny' 'skwnd 'xšwndyy [Abbruch] „ Und wieviel Gotzen es in diesen beiden Tempeln geben mag, die sind zwar alle mit jeglicher Art Edelgesteins geschmuckt allein, mit den Menschen reden konnen

[1] M 81, R 4, *wrwšn'd* (unveroff.)

[2] Konow, *Saka Studies*, 125

[3] S *Mittelir. Manich.*, III, 892, s.v. *'bgwdn*, ebenso jetzt Schaeder, *Sb P A W.* 1935, 502 N 3

[4] Vgl zuletzt Nyberg *Hilfsbuch*, II, 11 ss

[5] z.B *Mittelir Manich* I (*Sb P A W* 1932) 204

[6] Dies Beispiel ist freilich nicht ganz sicher, da soghd *mrc* auch auf av. *mərəti-* (*mrti-*) zuruckgehen konnte (mit *ti* > *č*), anders Gauthiot, *Gramm* I, 94

sie nicht Ferner, wer auch immer die metallenen [1] Gotzen, die im Tempel sind, zufrieden [2] [zu stellen sucht] . . . "

II. *zwrnyy*

Buddh.-soghd „*nwrn'k*", „*nwrn'y*", das bisher meist fälschlich mit „glaubig" ubersetzt wurde, bedeutet „Epoche", wie Lentz soeben uberzeugend nachweist [3] Freilich geht die von Lentz vorgeschlagene Verknupfung mit buddh.-soghd *nwr* „jetzt" fehl · das Wort ist vielmehr *zwrn-* zu lesen und zu av *zrvan-* „Zeit", auch „Zeitabschnitt", zu stellen Den Beweis dafur liefert das Manichaisch-Soghdische, wo das Wort in der Form *zwrnyy* nicht selten vorkommt; es sei gestattet, eine eindeutige Stelle anzufuhren (T II D 115 V 1 ss., unveroff) *z'wr δβrnd skwn βγyštt wnyy mrtxmyty* oo *p'rt*[*y*] *δyn 'ty ršty'k fryš'nd sk*[*wn*] *pr zwrnyy zwrnyy γrβ'qy' ywcnd skwn wyzryy r'δδ 'nšt'ynd skwn* „Die Gotter geben den Menschen Kraft denn sie senden, in den einzelnen Zeiten, die Religion und die „Gerechtigkeit", sie lehren die Weisheit und zeigen den wahren Weg", hier entspricht *pr zwrnyy zwrnyy* genau persischem *pd 'w'm 'w'm* [4] In manich. Texten begegnet auch eine Adjektiv-Ableitung von *zwrnyy*, namlich *zwrnycyk*, [5]

[1] Vorher ist von goldnen und silbernen (*n'kṭynyy*) Gotzen die Rede

[2] *'xšwndyy* ist wohl dasselbe wie man.-soghd *'xwšndyy*, cf M 135, A II, R 15 — V, 2 (unveroff) *prw xwṭ'wṭ 'xš'wnδ'rṭyḵ 'sp's w'nw 'ṭy 'xwšndyy skwynd* „(Teile den Tag in drei Teile, erstens) in den Dienst der Herren und Machthaber, auf dass sie gnadig seien", hierzu gehort wohl buddh *'γwš'nt VJ* 54c „froh" (statt *'γws'nt* ist wohl ofters *'γwš'nt* zu lesen!) und sicher buddh *'γwš'w* „ich hatte Freude" *VJ* 1108 (Impf sg 1 wie das daneben stehende *p'r'w* „ich nährte", wie *pt'yγwšw VJ* 430, 577 usw., von Gauthiot nicht erkannt)

[3] Müller-Lentz, *Soghdische Texte*, II (*Sb P A W* 1934), 604 Ich benutze die Gelegenheit, die Besprechung einiger in dieser Publikation vorkommender Worter hier nachzutragen *'wžb'* „Schrecken", p 578a, dazu buddh *wzp-γwn'kw VJ*, 313, fem *wzpγwnch VJ* 63e „schrecklich" *γr'yḵ-* „Schlamm", p 583b (auch *SCE* 160), gehort zu np *xara* „Schlamm" (daneben auch خَر, z B Asadi 25) *qwrṭy* „Gewand", p 586c, hierzu gewiss russ курткa „Joppe", das wohl auf dem Umweg über eine Turksprache ins Russische gelangt ist und schliesslich auch im Nhd als „*Kurtka*" erscheint (z B bei Chamisso haufig) *pšt* „Lippe", p 593a ist jüngere Form von buddh.-soghd *pršt SCE* 86 (ebenso christl *pšṭ'd't* von buddh, manich *pršt't* usw) *swd't* „eilen" p 596b, dazu buddh *swδ swδn VJ* 1092 „eilends zu eilen" (auch manich *swδ-*), ob etwa hierher *Phl Ps.* 124, 5, *swd'tyšn*, das „er wird sie fuhren" heissen soll, gehort? *wy'wnt* p 600a *SCE* 90 steht *wy'wnty'* (auf dem Facsimile ganz deutlich), nicht *wy'wty' yχwsṭ*, p 601b, gehort wohl zu *yχw'y-* (christl *ywχ'y-*) „teilen, trennen" wie *ptχwst* zu *ptχw'y-* usw, und nicht zu *ywc-* „lehren", Pt von *ywc-* ist buddh *yγwt-* < *ywγt-* „gelehrt, gewohnt" (*VJ.* 310, 320, 796 bzw *Dhuta* 233, vgl *SCE* 536 *yγwsty* „lernt" [so!] < *ywγsty Dhuta* 162, 275)

[4] *Sb P.A W* 1934, 3

[5] Auch buddh *pyštrw zwrn'k čyk mrtym'k, Dhyāna* 369, „der späteren Zeit angehorender Mensch" (=chin *homme futur*)

cf. T II D 207 R 1 s (unveroff) *III zwrnycykt pnc bwtyšt* „ die den drei Zeiten angehorenden funf Buddhas " [1] Neben dem vom obliquen Kasus (mit Metathese) abgeleiteten *zwrnyy* besitzt das Soghdische zwei auf den Nominativ av *zrva* zuruckgehende Formen [2] *zrw'*, *'zrw'* als Gottesname (cf mp *zrw'n* dass) und *zrwh* „ Alter " (cf. parth. *zrw n* dass)

III *Drei soghdische Worter im turkischen Chvastvaneft*

(*a*) *buhdunč*

Der Satz *munday buhdunčsuz* [3] *yazuq yazıntımız arsar* „ wenn wir solche von der Erlosung ausschliessenden Sunden getan haben " (*Chv* I C Ende ed Bang) wird in der vermutlichen soghdischen Vorlage (entsprechend dem Stil manich -soghdischer Beichtspiegel verwandle ich die 1. Pl in die 1 Sg) *cw m'n' pw bwxtwnc γw'n 'ktwδ'ɣn* gelautet haben, wobei **bwxtwnc* „ Erlosbarkeit " ein *č*-Abstrakt zu **bwxtwnd* „ erlosbar, der Erlosung teilhaftig " (< air **buχtivant-*) ware Abstrakta von *vant*-Adjektiven sind im manich -soghd gar nicht so selten, vgl. z B. *wrcxwndqy'* „ Wunderbarkeit " (M 178 A R 18, unveroff , zu av *varəčahvant-*) oder das genau zu **bwxtwnc* passende *frnxwndc* [4] „ Glucklichkeit " ; da nun das Abstrakta bildende *č*-Suffix sich ohne Zwischenvokal unmittelbar an den letzten Laut des zu erweiternden Wortes anschliesst, wie sich z B. aus *δšt'wc* [5] „ Armut " < *δštw'n* + *č* (mit Schwund des schliessenden Nasals) ergibt, so verschmilzt leicht mit dem Suffix ein auslautender Dental, der dann auch nicht mehr geschrieben zu werden braucht (man vergleiche die femininen Partizipialformen manich *'uswyc* „ rein " M 178 A R 10 zu buddh *'wsuγtk*, manich *ptrysc'* „ vermischt " ibid B V 22 zu buddh. *ptrystk*, manich. *ptsyc'* „ geschmuckt " ibid. A V 7 zu buddh *pts'γtk* gegenuber buddh fem *pts'γtch VJ* 16b, 40c, 1169, 1258), ahnlich wie bei **bwxtwnc* liegt die Sache vielleicht bei christl *'wxwnc* [6] „ Kampf ".

[1] Sachlich vgl Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traité*, II (*JA* 1913, I), 137 N 3

[2] Cf Muller-Lentz, *S T* II, 602b

[3] So ist statt *bu adunčsuz* zu lesen, wie ich bei einer von Professor Schaeder und Frl Dr v Gabain veranstalteten Universitatsubung uber das Chvastvaneft lernte

[4] Waldschmidt-Lentz *Dogm* 548 V 22, und 580 , daneben gibt es auch *frnxwndky'* (T II D 163 R 2 , T II D 207 R 10), *frnxwndtky'ẖ* (M 116 V 12 , samtlich unveroff) das legt die mssliche Vermutung nahe, dass *frnxwndc* auch fem Adjektiv sein *könnte*

[5] Waldschmidt-Lentz, loc cit , manich auch *δyštwc* geschrieben, z B M 178 A V 25 , zum Vokal der ersten Silbe vgl christl *dīštvân* „ arm ", Müller, *S T*. I, 81, 16, pl ibid 34, 6, das Benveniste, *Gramm* II, 168, ubersehen hat

[6] Muller-Lentz, *S T* II, 577

(b) *boγtaγ*

Dass „*bugtaq*" in *buyan bigtag qilur biz* (*Chv.* VIII B Bang) und in *buyančï bugtagči*[1] *arγγ dïntarlarqa yazïntïmïz arsar* (*Chv* IV, B) aus dem Iranischen entlehnt ist und zu mp *buχt* usw gehört, hat Bang richtig erkannt[2] Freilich verbieten die Schreibung mit *g* und die Bedeutung, an das passive Prateritalpartizip mp *buχtaγ* selbst zu denken, naher liegend erscheint die Annahme eines Kompositums mit Verbalnomen im Hinterglied parth *bōγ* „Erlosung" (buddh-soghd *βuγ Dhuta* 201, *βwk'* geschrieben, *SCE* 215) + *-tāγ* „in Bewegung setzend" (causs zu av √*tak* „laufen"), ein solches **bōγtāγ* „was die Erlosung bringt" liesse sich dann unmittelbar mit parth *mužday-dāγ* „Bringer des Evangeliums" (Waldschmidt-Lentz *Stellung Jesu* 86; im Persischen entspricht *mizday-tāz*) vergleichen und wird wohl ursprünglich wie dieses dem Parthischen angehört haben. Das von **bōγtāγ*, woraus turk *boγtaγ* (*bugtag*), abgeleitete turk. nomen actoris *boγtaγči* (*bugtagči*) bedeutet demnach „Erlosungbringer".

(c) *bačaq*

bačaq „Fasten" (im *Chv* und auch sonst haufig), das im Turkischen keine befriedigende Ableitung hat, durfte wie so mancher Terminus der turkischen dem Soghdischen entnommen sein *bačaq* ist wahrscheinlich eine turkische Weiterbildung von soghd **pāč*, das aus air **pāti-*, dem nomen actionis von av. √*pā* „huten, sich in Acht nehmen", entstanden ist, der Lautubergang von air *ti* zu soghd *č* bietet keinerlei Schwierigkeit er liegt vor z B in manich-soghd *χrīč* „Kauf' (*xrγc ty pr`δn* „Kauf und Verkauf" M 135, A II V 9 s, unveroff, dazu buddh *γr'yck'* „feil", Reichelt 1, 10, 153[3]), das auf air **χrīti-* (= skr *-krīti-*) zuruckgefuhrt werden muss, und in dem haufigen Verbalprafix *pč-*, das gewiss nicht auf **patiš* oder **paθi-*, wie gewohnlich angenommen wird, sondern einfach auf *pati* beruht[4] Dass ein Derivat der Wurzel *pā* „huten" die Bedeutung „fasten" haben kann, wird durch zahlreiche Beispiele bewiesen cf mpT *pāδan* mit und ohne[5] *rōzaγ* „fasten" (die Bedeutung

[1] Diese Lesart durfte vorzuziehen sein
[2] *Manichaische Laien-Beichtspiegel* (*Muséon*, XXXVI), 201 ss
[3] Daneben auch *γr'ych* dass *SCE* 356
[4] Die Bedingungen, unter denen *pati* zu *pač* wird, sind freilich noch nicht klar.
[5] In unveroffentlichten Texten

„ Fasten " von *rōzaγ* stammt ja erst aus der Verbindung *rōzaγ pāδan*), arm. *pahk'* „ Fasten ", *pahem* „ fasten " [1]

Soghdisch **pāč* ist jedoch dem Anschein nach von einem nach Gauthiot aus dem Indischen stammenden buddhistischen Wort verdrangt worden buddh -soghd. *βws'ntk* (*SCE.* 77, 387), *βws'nty* (ibid. 381) Dies Wort ist dann auch in die Sprache der soghdischen (und schliesslich der turkischen [2]) Manichaer ubergegangen, es erscheint z.B in einem Kolophon (M 214 R II 7, unveroff). *ptyms βwsndyy nšk*[*rt*] „ Es ist zu Ende Die Deutung des Fastens " und auch (ganz wie im *Chvastvaneft*) in der Verbindung mit „ *ynmki* " [3] *ms š*[*y' δ'ɪδ']* . *ynγyy βwsndyy 'fr*[*y*]*wn p'šyg* „ Seid ferner eingedenk . des *Yamaγ*-Fastens, der Gebete und Hymnen " (M 134 I R 11–14, unveroff), vgl *Chv* xv C, wo statt *ynmkɪ bačaq* die Petersburger Handschrift *ynmkɪ wusantɪ* hat Statt *ymgyy*, der soghdischen Form von parth *yamaγ*, schreibt man auch *ymqyy pr myhr m'x jmnw mrysysn ymqyy βwt* „ zur ‚Mondzeit' (= Neumond) des (Monats) Mihr findet (die Gedachtnisfeier) fur den *ἀρχηγός* Mar Sisin statt " (M 197 II V 3 s, unveroff).

[1] s Hubschmann *Arm Gramm* 217.

[2] s Bang, loc cit, 218 s, neben dem uber das Soghdische entlehnten *wusantɪ* gibt es im Uigurischen eine wohl direkt aus skr *upavasathah* stammende Form, die ich durch Professor Rachmati kennen lernte, namlich *posat* (*busat*)

[3] Über *ynmkɪ* s. Schaeder *Iranica*, 22 ss, der Entlehnung aus einer jungeren parthischen Adjektivbildung **yamaγī* zu Unrecht annimmt, das turk Wort stammt vielmehr wie fast alle iranischen Lehnworter in dieser Sprache aus dem Soghdischen, namlich aus soghd *ymqyy, ymgyy* Das von Schaeder herangezogene *ymg'nyg* im Petersburger Fragment S ist nicht eine adjektivische Ableitung vom Plural *ymg'n*, sondern, wie ich glaube, ein *-ānīγ*-Adjektiv von *yamaγ* wie parth *bg'nyg* von *bg* u dgl Der im zitierten Fragment auf die *ymg'nyg rwc'n* folgende Satz *'wš 'st 'c 'ndr pd yk mr wysp gwšg* kann m E. nicht einen Eigennamen *Vɪspgōšaγ* enthalten (Schaeder, loc cit, 5 N 4), der Satz muss doch etwa heissen. „ Und es (sc das Buch) enthält in einer Hymne alle *gōšaγ* ", *gōšaγ* gehort vielleicht zu np. *gōša* „ Winkel "

Der Tod des Kambyses: hvāmršyuš amryatā

Von Ernst Herzfeld

Beh. § 11 Ap *passāva kambūžiya hᵘvāmršʲyuš amrʲyatā.*
Akk *arkı kambuziia mı-tu-tu ra-man-ni-šu mi-i-ti*
Elam. *iak me ni ᵖ kam pu.ci ıa ʰal.pi t[u.man].e.ma*
ʰal pı ᵗk.

DIESER kurze, ın drei sprachen erhaltene satz der Behistūninschrift des Dareios ist viel umstritten, von historischer und philologischer seite Heute kann man das ergebnis von W Schulzes bewundernswurdiger abhandlung „Der Tod des Kambyses“ [1] allgemein angenommen nennen H H. Schaeder schreibt dazu [2] „Die frage, so sollte man denken, ist damit erledigt — aber ın AMI 5 liest man“ und es folgt das citat eines satzes, ın dem ich meine hier begrundete, abweichende anschauung vorweggenommen hatte Jedes ergebnis hangt von seiner zeit ab, die zeit fliesst, und keine frage ist fur immer beantwortet.

W. Schulze hat gezeigt, dass viele indogermanische sprachen einen ausdruck wie „er starb seines todes“ besitzen und damit den tod als naturliches ende des menschlichen lebens, den dem menschen bestimmten tod meinen Zu diesen ausdrucken zahlt er das altpers. *hvāmršyuš* und sagt „Die weithin verbreitete und nirgends verblasste formel schliesst mord und selbstmord unbedingt aus, nicht aber nach antiker auffassung die verhangnisvolle, doch unbeabsichtigte selbstverwundung, die gerade ın Herodots darstellung sehr wirksam als uberraschende erfullung eines orakelspruchs auftritt. Kambyses selbst, der gemass der nachstliegenden deutung bisher gehofft hatte, ın seiner eigenen residenz *ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτᾶν γηραιός*, also als *ǰarāmrtyuh*, muss nun als erster erkennen, dass sein schicksal sich anders und fruher als erwartet erfullen soll *ἐνταῦθα*, ın der fremde, ın dem syrischen *Ἀγβατᾶνα Καμβυσέα ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν*. — Auch so ist er, recht verstanden, *πρὸ φύσεως* zwar, nicht aber *πρὸ μοίρας* vom tod erreicht Herodots bericht, so ungeschichtlich er ın der ausmalung sein mag, bringt den gehalt des Ap wortes ın voller reinheit zum ausdruck, unmittelbar fassen kann man ihn am besten durch eine antike umschreibung *κατὰ μοῖραν ἀπέθανεν*, oder *fato suo obiit.*“

[1] SbPrAkdW 1912, p 699 ss und 1918, p 331 s.
[2] SbPrAkdW 1935, xix, p 496, anm 1

Strabo sagt I 2. 1 *οὐ πρόκειται πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐᾶν, ἐκείνους δὲ διαιτᾶν, οὓς ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις κατωρθωκότας ἴσμεν*

Mehrere punkte in dieser darstellung Schulzes berechtigen zu fragen und widerspruch bewertet er Herodots erzahlung richtig? Kann sie den gehalt des Ap wortes rein ausdrucken? Gehort das Ap. wort wirklich zu der allgemeinen wendung, und kann diese die unbeabsichtigte selbstverwundung einschliessen? Endlich, was sagen die akkadischen und elamischen ubersetzer, die anders als Herodot, als zeitgenossen das wirkliche ereignis wissen und den lebendigen sinn des Ap ausdrucks kennen mussten?

Herodots erzahlung ist nicht bloss in der ausmalung ungeschichtlich, sie ist die zusammenarbeitung von mehreren, mindestens drei quellen, deren wert er nicht kritisieren konnte[1] Die rolle des orakels von Buto zeigt, dass Herodot als bewunderer Aegyptens in der hauptsache der aegyptischen uberlieferung folgt, die alles im spiegel des priesterlichen hasses sah Ueber Buto, wie auch uber Syrien, hatte Hekataios ausfuhrlich geschrieben, den Herodot zwar nicht citiert, aber in fruher unerkanntem umfang benutzte Auch die art, wie er seine aegyptische quelle verwendet, ist durch seine polemik gegen Hekataios bestimmt Die Prexaspes-erzahlung und die letzten worte des Kambyses zeigen, dass Herodot daneben auch mundliche mitteilungen von Persern besass Seine gefuhlseinstellung zu diesen mindestens drei incongruenten stoffen war sehr verschieden. So gestaltete er schliesslich ein sehr „wirksames", aber ganz griechisches drama

Der Apis war von Kambyses am schenkel verwundet und daran nach einiger zeit gestorben Da fur die aegyptische legende Kambyses tod die rache des Apis ist, mussten diese beiden zuge in die erzahlung eingefuhrt werden, in welcher gestalt auch das gerucht vom wirklichen ereignis nach Aegypten gelangte Das ist keine geschichtliche nachricht — Der ort des unfalls ist bei Herodot ein Agbatana in Syrien In seinen nachrichten uber Syrien benutzt er Hekataios Eine verlegung von Agbatana aus Medien nach Syrien kann man Hekataios nicht zumuten, eher Herodot die interpretation eines anklingenden namens bei Hekataios als Agbatana; denn der aegyptischen quelle kann das „in Syrien" nicht angehoren, da es dem orakelsinn widerspricht. Dass es kein Agbatana in Syrien gab, wusste Nikolaos von

[1] vgl AMI v, 125 ss

Damaskos, der daher in dieser erzählung das „syrische Agbatana" in die „syrische hauptstadt" umdeutend „Damaskos" sagt Weder ein syrisches Agbatana noch Damaskos waren der schauplatz der tragoedie Das orakel von Buto nennt mit Agbatana den wahren ort, das wirkliche und einzige Hangmatāna in Medien „In Agbatana wird Kambyses sterben" Der konig legt den doppelsinn erfreut aus in seinem herrschersitz, also in besitz seines konigtums werde er als greis **zarāmršyuš*, wie dem menschen bestimmt, *fato suo obire* Aber gemeint ist, dass er in seinem herrschersitz alles verlierend „an dem ihm *nicht* bestimmten tage" in seiner sunden blute den tod finden werde. Den tiefen doppelsinn des orakels hat Herodot vollig verdorben, und daraus ein falsches und triviales wortspiel mit zwei gleichnamigen stadten gemacht Es ware ein seltsamer zufall, wenn eine so ungeschichtliche darstellung den gehalt des inschriftlichen wortes in voller reinheit zum ausdruck brachte

Trogus Pompeius folgt halb Herodot, halb Ktesias, bestatigt also nichts Die dritte und letzte quelle, Ktesias, will wie immer Herodot widersprechen und ist daher auch negierend von ihm abhangig Von den aegyptischen einzelheiten lasst er nur den rest bestehen, dass Kambyses an einer zufalligen verwundung stirbt, aber auf einer fahrt nach Babylon Der alleinige grund dafur ist, dass Herodot nicht recht haben soll, denn die babylonische reise ist ganz unbegrundet und widerspricht der einzig sicheren geschichtlichen thatsache, dass der tod bei der, wegen der usurpation des Magiers ubersturzten ruckkehr aus Aegypten erfolgte Ktesias, der sonst in den alteren teilen der Persika bruchstucke einer halb vergessenen, halb in sage ubergegangenen uberlieferung widergiebt, wie er sie am hofe horte hat uber Kambyses' tod gar nichts gehort, sondern verschleiert nur bewusst seine abhangigkeit von Herodot Er ist keine selbstandige quelle, wie Schaeder nach den worten „sowohl nach Herodot wie nach Ktesias" zu glauben scheint, und wir besitzen nur Herodot und die Dareios-inschrift

An Herodots erzahlung ist der stoff meist tendenziose, aegyptisch-priesterliche entstellung, die „wirksam uberraschende" composition ist sein griechisches drama Geschichte ist nur die thatsache, dass Kambyses in kritischster lage umsonst versucht, da Persis verloren ist, das andre kernland seiner macht, das agbatanische Medien zu erreichen, und in oder bei Agbatana stirbt er wird an das orakel von Buto gedacht haben!

Bei der interpretation der inschrift-stelle muss man daher jede

beziehung auf Herodot streng vermeiden Aus der inschrift allein hatte niemand geschlossen, dass Kambyses infolge einer zufallig selbstbeigebrachten verletzung, wie moderne geschichtschreiber gesagt haben, an tetanus gestorben sei Die inschrift bestatigt die authenticitat von Herodots aegyptischer version *nicht*, selbst nach Schulze schliesst ihr ausdruck diese version nur nicht aus, und selbst in dieser einschrankung muss er ihn „recht verstehen", namlich *πρὸ φύσεως*, nicht *πρὸ μοίρας*.

Der kurze satz der inschrift ist danach die einzige geschichtliche nachricht uber Kambyses' tod. Das ist wert und zauber aller epigraphischen studien es ist etwas andres, bei Herodot zu lesen, was man sich hundert jahre nach dem ereignis in fremden landern erzahlte, oder bei Dareios, der alles erlebte, was wirklich geschah

Ich beginne die untersuchung des inschriftlichen satzes mit dem am meisten vernachlassigten, dem *elamischen text*

Im elamischen ist *ʰalpi* das gewohmliche wort fur „schlagen, toten, caedere, occidere", das in Behistün allein einige 30 male vorkommt, in folgenden formen, die ich nach alten studien von 1915 mit paragraphen und zeilennummern der elamischen version anfuhre —

a) *ʰalpi*, 1. sg. praet
fur ap *ažanam* „ich schlug (ein heer)" in § 18, i, 72, § 19, i, 77, § 31, ii, 53.
fur ap. *avāžanam* „ich totete (einen mann)" in § 17, i, 65, § 20, i, 81.

b) *ʰalpiia*, desgl.
fur ap. *avāžanam* „ich totete (menschen)" in § 13, i, 43; i, 45; mit *sop* „als ich getotet hatte" in § 16, i, 57.
fur ap *ažanam* „ich schlug (schlachten)" in § 52, iii, 49

c) *ʰalpiš*, 3 sg praet
fur ap *aža* „mein heer schlug" in § 25, ii, 18; § 26, ii, 27, § 27, ii, 31, § 28, ii, 35; § 29, ii, 43, § 30, ii, 47; § 38, ii, 83, § 41, iii, 11, § 42, iii, 16, § 46, iii, 26, § 47, iii, 33/34.
fur ap *avāža* „er totete (einen mann)" in § 10, i, 24, i, 24/25 mit *sop* „als er ihn getotet hatte"
fur ap. *avāžana* 3 pl praet „sie toteten ihn" in § 23, ii, 8.

d) *ʰalpiš*, nicht optativisch fur 3 sg. opt ap. *avāžaniyā* in § 13, i, 39 u 40
[d] *Oramasta* [p] *un ir ʰalpisne* fur ap *ahuramazdātaiy žantā hiyā* in § 61, „A.M. soll dich schlagen".
ʰalpisne manka fur ap imper *žadiy* „schlage, tote" in § 38, ii, 82.

e) *ʰalpis.manka* imper.

fur ap 2 sg. *žadiy* „ schlage (das heer) " in § 26, ii, 23 ; § 29, ii, 39.

fur ap 2 pl *žatā* „ schlagt (das heer) " in § 25, ii, 15 ; § 33, ii, 62 , § 50, iii, 41

ᵖwiwana ir ʰalpis kutta . -mara fur ap. *vīvahanam žatā* (2. pl.) *utā ava kāram . „ V schlagt und das heer . . .*" in § 45, iii, 22 s

f) Diesen activen formen steht die passivische gegenuber · *ʰalpika* in *appo pⁱrtⁱa ʰalpika* fur ap *tya bᵃrδⁱya avažata* „ dass Barδya getotet war " in § 10, iii, 41.

Dieselbe form steht in der nachricht uber Kambyses' tod. Die formen mit *-k, -ka* sind 1 *passiva*, z B. ·

marrik = adārivʸ „ wurde gehalten ", *marrika = āgrbītā* „ wurde ergriffen ", *tintek = aniyatā* „ wurde gebracht ", *tirikka = aθahiv* „ wurde befohlen ", *kuktak =* „ (mein gesetz) wurde befolgt "; *kusika* „ wurde gebaut ", *rappoka* „ wurde gebunden "; *pepraka* „ wurde gelesen ", *tallik = nipištam* „ geschrieben ", *huttak = astiv krtam* „ ist gemacht worden ".

Bei intransitiven, dazu bei verben der bewegung hat 2. das *k*-suffix stark *mediale* bedeutung, z B

sinnik „ profectus est ", *parik = parārasa* „ gelangte ", cf. „ nanctus est ", *puttukka* „ er floh " ; *hallak = √yaud-*, „ concitatus ", *topaka* „ ausus est ".

An *morir* zu denken liegt nahe, aber das elamische verb meint uberhaupt nicht sterben, sondern immer „ toten ".

Die beschadigung des elam. textes betrifft den ausdruck fur „ eigen, *hva-* ". Die reste sind 1 ein kurzer wagerechter keil mit kleinem winkel daran, 2 nichts, 3 ein *e*, 4 *ma* Was das war, geht sofort aus dem unmittelbar folgenden § 12 hervor *tu-man-e-ma* „ eigen " [1] Das *e* ist sachliches possessivum, das suffix *-ma* ist locativisch und instrumental Also heisst es

„ darauf Kambyses toten-eigen-sein-durch wurde-getotet (od. totete sich) "

Die elamische version spricht also den selbstmord uneingeschrankt aus

Die akkadische version

Das verbum מות ist als i, 1, „ sterben ", das permansiv *me-i-ti, mi-i-ti* heisst „ er ist, war tot ", „ er starb " wird nur fur unsere

[1] Nicht wie Bork MAOG. vii, 3, p 13, erganzt *kor-pi-e* „ seine hand "

stelle angesetzt und nimmt ihr etwas von der absonderlichkeit des ausdrucks, auf dessen erhaltung es gerade ankommt — Der stamm I, 2, zu dem der hier gebrauchte infinitiv *mitutu* gehört, hat eine etwas modificierte bedeutung Delitzsch, der in unserem falle „ selbstmord " übersetzte, bemerkt mit recht, dass es nicht „ durch sich selbst sterben " heisst Aber es ist ganz deutlich dass der stamm I, 2 immer, im unterschied von I, 1, das plötzliche, vorzeitige, auch gewaltsame sterben ausdruckt, oft „ sie sollen sterben ", „ sie wollen nicht sterben " u a , immer im sinn „ vor ihrer zeit ". Der infinitiv I, 2 *mitutu* wird so gebraucht „ ich (Istar) werde den tod (*mitutu*, nicht *mūtu*) des Aḫšeri herbeifuhren ", der dann ermordet wird Ausschlag giebt die stelle „ *Kuturnahhunte ina ūm lā šēmtišu urruḫuš imtūt* " „ K starb plötzlich an dem ihm *nicht* bestimmten tage " Der begriff *šēmtu* nahert sich gr *μοῖρα*, lat *fatum* Und doch ist die vorstellung grundverschieden · es ist das natürliche schicksal, und dem steht der begriff *lā šēmtu* für das, was die Griechen tragisch oder *ἐξαίσιος* nennen würden, gegenüber Das ist der „ Antike " ganz fremd

Vom selbstmord des königs Ursa von Urartu heisst es in den Annalen Sargons z 139 „ mit seinem eigenen schwert, wie ein schwein, durchbohrte er sein herz " Der ausdruck fällt, bei allem grauen, unter die definition des witzes und ist als solcher beabsichtigt. Er ist dabei voll der altorientalischen verurteilung des selbstmordes In dem bericht der 8ème *Campagne* spricht Sargon spottend so davon *murus lā tībē ēmid ramānšu* Thureau-Dangin übersetzt „ une maladie incurable il s infligea à lui-même ", nämlich den tod, gegen den kein kraut gewachsen ist Dabei nimmt Thureau-Dangin meines lehrers H Wincklers alte erklärung [1] von *šadāšu emēdu* „ sterben " an Der seltsame ausdruck „ auf seinem berge stehen (?) ", halb mythisch, halb euphemistisch, ist da ironisch verändert, indem *murus lā tībē* für *šadāšu* eintritt, zugleich ist ihm durch den zusatz *ramānšu* der sinn „ sich umbringen " gegeben Man konnte, die Ironie ausdruckend, übersetzen „ an einer unheilbaren krankheit starb er freiwillig " An sich bedeutet also *šadāšu emēdu* jedes sterben, ob natürlich oder freiwillig oder gewaltsam. Der begriff des *šēmtu*, *fatum* liegt nicht darin. Der andere ausdruck *ana šēmtišu illik fato suo obiit*,[2] kann

[1] MDOG 35, p 43 n

[2] In der neu gefundenen akk version der charta des Xerxes von Persepolis wird das ap *gāθaiā aśiyaiā* durch *ultu muḫḫi ša abūja dārijāuš ina ši-im-it el-li-i-ki* übersetzt Damit ist die bedeutung „ sterben " für „ vom throne gehen " als euphemismus für den tod eines königs festgestellt

dagegen nicht von selbstmord gebraucht werden Der selbstmord ist gerade nicht ein *mūtu ana šēmti*, sondern ein *mitūtu ina ūm lā šēmti*, ein „ sterben am *nicht* bestimmten tage

Genau das sagt die akkadische ubersetzung von Behistūn, sie gebraucht einen ausdruck, der fur das ap *hvāmrš'yuš* die bedeutung „ *fato suo obiit* " ausschliesst *mitūtu rammānišu mīti* „ darauf Kambyses einen plotzlichen-tod einen selbst-gewahlten war er tot ' .[1]

Der altpersische text

amriyatā ist „ er starb " [2] *hvāmš'yuš* [3] hatte ich fruher, AMI v, 133, nach der analogie von Beh *hvāipašya* gegenuber NiR b, 15 *hvaipašya* als vrddhi-adjectiv aufgefasst, und darin ein determinativ-compositum mit instrumentalem sinn des *hva-* gesehen, wie in *xvāδāta-* „ durch sich selbst geschaffen " und *xvāθaršta-* „ von sich selbst gezeugt ' Daran nahm Schaeder, l c . schweren anstoss mit leichtem aber grundlosem spott Denn wenn man vrddhi fur unwahrscheinlich halt, tritt Benvenistes erklarung ein, Gramm § 298, die ich gern annehme, weil sie meine erklarung erst recht bestatigt Danach ist *xvā-* uberhaupt instrumental von *xva-* und es bedeutet „ litt (la) mort par soi-même Den instrumental druckt das elamische durch sein suffix *-ma* aus Dies instrumentale „ tod-durch-sich-selbst " ist der gegensatz zu dem , naturlichen tod ", den man mit ausdrucken wie „ seines todes sterben ' meint Also

., Darauf starb Kambyses durch selbstmord '

So haben es auch die beiden ubersetzungen verstanden, und mit recht

Ein euphemismus liegt nicht vor, da das wort fur sterben nicht vermieden ist, und die bei Xerxes von Dareios' tod gebrauchte wendung „ er stieg vom thron " erscheint hier nicht [4] Der ausdruck ist ganz kurz, nur zwei worte, und doch ist mehr gesagt als nur „ er starb " , durch *hvāmišyuš* wird die todesart bestimmt Man hatte

[1] Weissbach hatte richtig, gewiss auf grund des akkadischen „ durch eigne hand ' ubersetzt, denn in *ramānišu* liegt etwas von „ wille ' es wird „ eigen " oder „ selbst ", sofern ding oder person dem willen unterstehen, und es ist in kurze gleichbedeutend mit *ina qāt ramānia*, z B NiR b 21 , daher ist die einschrankung „ unbeabsichtigt kann gemeint sein ' , die er in der anmerkung in rucksicht auf die nicht angezweifelte Herodot-erzahlung macht, nicht notig, nicht einmal ganz richtig

[2] Zur schreibung siehe AMI iii, p 113

[3] Cf AMI v, 133

[4] Im mittelpersischen sagt man euphemistisch *uftan* „ decedere ", *pa baxt šutan* „ fato suo obire ", im neupersischen *az bain* (d i *az miyān*) *raft* „ e medio excessit ", alles genau wie im lateinischen, wie ich in hinblick auf die bemerkungen R. G Kents, *Language*, ix, p 42, erwahnen mochte.

erwarten konnen „ er starb plotzlich, vorzeitig " Aber auch als nur zufalliger ware Kambyses' tod ein tod *ina ūm lā šēmtišu*, gegen die bestimmung des schicksals. Bei aller ahnlichkeit kann *hvāmršyuš* nicht zu der allgemeinen formel *fato suo obire* gehoren, mit der es Schulze vergleicht und ubersetzt, sondern muss ein ausdruck fur den geschichtlichen sonderfall sein Anders als z B. bei den Stoikern, die darin den letzten und hochsten act menschlicher willensfreiheit sahen, verurteilt der Orient den selbstmord Ein beispiel aus assyrischer zeit sind die angefuhrten worte Sargons, eines aus sasanidischer zeit wird gleich folgen Die iranische verdammung geht noch weiter auch der tod ohne erben — der fall des Kambyses — wird mit hollenstrafe geahndet Da dieser gedanke schon in Kambyses' letzten worten bei Herodot anklingt, ist die allgemeine verurteilung des selbstmordes erst recht die anschauung der achaemenidischen zeit Daher *will* Dareios mit nicht mehr als zwei worten von Kambyses' tod sprechen

Auch ohne die beiden eindeutigen und ubereinstimmenden ubersetzungen muss man so urteilen Denn von einem konig, der seinen bruder und nachfolger ermordete, seine mutter in den tod trieb, seine gattin durch brutalitat totete und sich dann, am rande des wahnsinns, seines konigtums durch seinen reichsverweser beraubt sieht, zu sagen „ er starb eines naturlichen todes ", statt einfach „ er starb ", konnte nichts andres meinen als „ in solcher lage starb er, so unwahrscheinlich das klingt, eines naturlichen todes " · dann wollte die inschrift die geruchte von der thatsache des selbstmordes durch leugnen aus der welt schaffen — Und wenn die worte bedeuteten „ er starb seines schicksalsgemassen todes ", so konnte das, da es nicht „ er starb als greis " heissen kann, in dem beispiellosen fall auch nur als verhullter ausdruck fur selbstmord aufgefasst werden Aber diese auslegung ist ebenso unzulassig, wie die als „ zufalliger tod ", die Schulze mit seinem „ recht verstanden, *πρὸ φύσεως*, nicht *πρὸ μοίρας* " halten will. Denn damit wird immer der tragische schicksalsbegriff, auch der der Nemesis, in die worte hineingetragen, der ausschliesslich griechisch ist und in altpersischer gedankenwelt nicht erscheinen kann.

Endlich giebt es eine parallele zu dem inschriftlichen ausdruck im Artavīrāz-nāmak, 1, 11, vom tod Alexanders d Gr. *χvat-škast ō dušaxv duwārist* „ selbst-zerstort fuhr er in die holle " Den anlass zur sage vom selbstmord Alexanders mussen erzahlungen wie bei Arrian, vii, 27, gegeben haben, wo Roxane Alexander von dieser absicht abbringt Die absicht wird dabei ahnlich dem geschichtlichen selbstmord des Julian Apostata und des khalifen al-Ḥākim ausgemalt

Die im Orient um Alexander wuchernde sage hat den gedanken ausgesponnen, um dem erzketzer, der incarnation Ahrimans auch noch schimpf und sunde des selbstmordes anzuhangen. Die worte des Artavīrāz-buches drucken dieselbe verdammung aus wie die der inschrift, und *χvat-škast* ist das genaue gegenbild von *hvāmršyuš*.[1]

In R M Rilkes „Buch von der Armut und vom Tode" steht:

„O Herr, gib jedem seinen eignen Tod,
das Sterben, das aus jenem Leben geht,
darin er Liebe hatte, Sinn und Not"

„Denn wir sind nur die Schale und das Blatt
Der grosse Tod, den jeder in sich hat,
das ist die Frucht, um die sich alles dreht"

„Denn dieses macht das Sterben fremd und schwer,
dass es nicht *unser* Tod ist, einer, der
uns endlich nimmt, nur weil wir keinen reiften —"

Das griechische νεὸς δ' ἀπόλλυθ' ὅντιν' ἂν φιλῇ θεὸς steht im gegensatz zum orientalischen „Des Menschen Leben wahret siebenzig Jahre" Der tod nach einem solchen langen leben ist der tod *ana šēmtišu*, der tragische tod ist *ina ūm lā šēmtišu*. Dies in der griechischen welt nicht vorstellbare gegenteil vom ἀποθανεῖν κατὰ μοῖραν ist *šadāšu emēdu ramānišu, mitūtu ramānišu* — *hvāmršyuš* ist der nicht-unsere, nicht-gereifte, nicht-bestimmte, der selbst-gegebene tod.

[1] Ebenso spricht Eusebios, wenn er Pilatus' selbstmord mit den kurzen worten αὐτοφονευτὴς ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο berichtet, damit von Gottes strafe.

Bird-names in the Indian dialects

By E H Johnston

THE dictionaries of the modern Indian languages, whether scientific or otherwise, are alike in omitting certain material which would be of considerable value both to linguists and to those whose fortunes take them to reside in the Indian countryside I refer to the names of birds There is, of course, good reason for the deficiency, not merely is interest in ornithology not as widespread among the educated classes in India as it is in England, but only a few of the commonest birds have names recognized over large areas, while relatively few Englishmen resident in India are capable of recording the names with the accuracy required by scholarship The suggestion I should like to put forward is that concerted steps should be taken by the learned societies in the different parts of India to catalogue the varying names of the different kinds of birds, the materials to be compiled perhaps on the admirable lines of Sir George Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life* Such a survey could not avoid meeting with serious difficulties, names vary from area to area, and in some cases the same name is applied to different birds in different districts Detailed knowledge of the names is mostly to be found amongst the shikaris and birdcatchers and for waterbirds among the boating and fishing castes, and it seldom covers birds which are rare in any tract Further, the recorder must be able to identify the exact species in each case, and it is not easy to find such persons nor has the less qualified observer as a rule any book on which he can rely to help himself out

The advantages and the nature of such a survey may be best illustrated by a list which I drew up many years ago of the different wild duck in the Monghyr district of Bihar These names, which I collected for purely practical reasons, were not then noted by me in a scientific transliteration, and after this lapse of time I am not prepared to deny that there may be minor mistakes of spelling in it The list refers mainly to Pargana Pharkia, a marshy area in the part of Monghyr north of the Ganges famous for its ducks, geese, and other waterbirds, and it covers all the varieties of duck which are to be found there in any number, and should be compared with the names, spelt in popular fashion, in F Finn, *The Waterfowl of India and Asia* (Calcutta, 1909), whose order I follow The omissions are not without

interest. Thus geese, which seem to be increasing in number there, are divided nearly equally between the Grey Goose (*Anser ferus*) and the Bar-headed Goose (*A. indicus*), whose different aspect is obvious from some distance, yet I never came across anyone who distinguished between them in name, though Finn gives special names as known in the adjacent district of Bhagalpur and in Nepal The Dwarf Goose, of which I only saw one specimen, naturally had no special name. The Smew (*Mergus albellus*) frequents in most years a certain tank in the Jamui Subdivision of Monghyr, but equally has acquired no name Among duck proper the Mallard (*Anas boscas*) only comes occasionally to this district, and is not known to the inhabitants as a separate species; and I omit the Ruddy Sheldrake, for which the regular Hindi word, *cakwā*, *cakaī*, alone is used My list is as follows :—

The Red-crested Pochard (*Netta Rufina*), *dumar*.

The Red-headed Pochard (*Nyroca ferina*), usually known in England as the Common Pochard; the two sexes are entirely different in appearance and the female is also known as the Dunbird. The male is called *lālsar* (*lālsir* in Hindi), and the female *arun* (Sk *aruna*). This latter name is interesting, as it recalls the *aluna* of Aśoka's Delhi-Topra Edicts, where it is mentioned next to the Ruddy Sheldrake *Aruna*, in fact, does not imply any genuinely reddish tint, as compounds such as *bhasmāruna* show, and "dun" probably represents the sense as well as any other equivalent It would be useful for the identification of the name in the Aśoka Edicts to ascertain if this name is applied to any other sort of bird elsewhere in India Finn gives *cheun* as the name in Nepal, which shows the kind of mistake recorders fall into; for this is really the wigeon, the females of the two species looking much alike when dead

The Tufted Pochard (*Nyroca fuligula*), *dubāo*, this bird, as the name implies, is a remarkable diver

The White-eye (*Nyroca ferruginea*), known as *kurā dubāo* or *majītā* (spelling of last syllable uncertain), in the adjacent Begusarai Subdivision of Monghyr, where it is the commonest duck, it is called *maītā* This bird is also a great diver, and the name possibly goes back to Sk. *majj*

The Small Whistler (*Dendrocygna javanica*), *silī*, the regular Hindi name. the same name is given to the Large Whistler, *D. fulva*, which, so far as I recollect, I only saw in the Jamui Subdivision.

The Comb-duck (*Sarcidiornis melanonotus*), *naktā*. Forbes' *Hindustani Dictionary* gives it in this form also, and the name is

presumably derived from *nāl*, by reference to the curious growth on the beak The sexes separate in the cold weather; I saw only females in Pargana Pharkia, only males in the Jamu Subdivision.

The Cotton-teal (*Nettopus coromandelianus*), *kablā*

The Wigeon (*Mareca penelope*) *cihū*

The Shoveller (*Spatula clypeata*), *sakcur*

The Pintail (*Dafila acuta*), *dighōch* (Sk *dīrghapuccha*); Finn notes this name from places as far apart as Nepal and Sind, but the regular name in Hindi is *sīkpar* (Prakrit, *simka*, *JRAS*, 1934, 614)

The Spotted-bill (*Anas poecilorhyncha*), *nadīm*.

The Gadwall (*Chaulelasmus streperus*), *mail*

The Garganey (*Querquedula circia*), *adhangī*, presumably from Sk *ardhānga*

The Common Teal (*Nettium crecca*), *gairī*

Note

As regards the White-eye, Professor Turner suggests to me the spelling *majūthā* and *maīthā* and a derivation from Sk. *mañjiṣṭha*, Sindhi having a similar doublet from the same word The bird could be described as madder-coloured, and I am prepared to agree on both points

Note on the Ancient North-Western Prakrit

By Sten Konow

THE discoveries in Chinese Turkestan have brought to light extensive remains of one or two ancient Indian dialects In the first place we have the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, which has found its way to Paris and Leningrad, and, in the second, the numerous Kharoṣṭhī documents found by Sir Aurel Stein and now available in the splendid edition of Messrs Boyer Rapson, and Senart I shall distinguish them as Dhp and Doc respectively

In Dhp we have before us a remarkably consistent dialect, an ancient Prakrit, which must have been reduced to writing at a comparatively early date and used by some Buddhist school in religious literature In my edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions I have tried to show that it is essentially identical with the form of speech used in those records, over a large area, where we, at the present day, find Dardic languages, Lahndā, and Sindhī, and I have also drawn attention to the existence of traces of other Buddhist works in the dialect It is *a priori* likely that Dhp. has been translated from an older version in a different dialect, and it is easy to show that the translators were also acquainted with the Sanskrit forms of several words But it is a likely hypothesis that the translation was made at a time when Sanskrit had not yet come into general use as the sacred language of the leading Buddhists of North-Western India

The Doc language is far less consistent, and it has undergone so many modifications that we must necessarily assume that it had, for some not quite inconsiderable time led an independent existence of its own, partly under the influence of non-Indian speeches We can see that a Buddhist literature in Sanskrit had begun to come into vogue, at least towards the end of the period covered by these records, i e the end of the second century

In a short note, *JA*, x, xix p 411, Senart wrote that "les tablettes rapportées par le Dr Stein, bien qu'elles proviennent à peu près de la même région, ne présentent pas les particularités phonétiques qui charactérisent le manuscript Dutreuil de Rhins" I have never been able to accept that view So far as I can see, we have before us two forms of one and the same dialect, one normalized as a literary

language, the other developed in a foreign country by the descendants of an ancient Indian colony, under the influence of more than one alien tongue

As long as the Leningrad portion of Dhp is inaccessible, it is not possible to arrive at certain results about all details I have repeatedly tried to get reproductions, but always in vain Our conclusions must, therefore, be based on the excellent plates accompanying Senart's masterly edition of the Paris folios And, as a matter of fact, they are sufficient in order to enable us to settle the question about the home of the dialect with some confidence That has been done in an excellent essay by Jules Bloch, *JA*, X XIX, pp 331 ff, at the hand of certain phonetical features, notably the treatment of compounds consisting of a nasal and a stop We must, it is true, take exception to his statements that *ng*, *ngh* occur as *g*, *gh*, and *nd* as *n*, respectively We find, it is true, *g* < *ng* in *sagama* < *samgrāma* and *kadigara*, Pali *kalingara*, but in *sagama g* is initial in the second part of the compound word, and with regard to *kadigara* it is possible to compare Skr *kadankara*, Pāṇini, v, 1, 69 Everywhere else *g* < *ng* is provided with a hook above or below, so that we can hardly have to do with an ordinary *g* And for *nd* we always find *n* and not *n*[1] Bloch s main results are, however, unobjectionable "la seule région qui admette à la fois tous les traitements caractéristiques du dialecte dans lequel sont rédigés les fragments Dutreuil de Rhins est celle du penjabi occidental et des parlers montagnards du Nord-Ouest On est donc en droit d'affirmer que l original de ce manuscrit, s'il a été écrit dans l Inde, n'a pu l'être que dans cette région Il est également possible, bien entendu, qu il l'ait été plus au Nord, en un pays où l'on aurait parlé aux premiers siècles de notre ère un dialecte indien disparu depuis, et formant avec les parlers de l'Extrême Nord-Ouest un groupe linguistiquement continu

In my edition of the Indian Kharosthī inscriptions I have drawn attention to several details where we find parallels in Dardic languages. In the present paper I shall try to show that there are many important points of such agreement, and that this remark also holds good with reference to Doc The great chronological gap of more than a thousand years between Dhp and Doc on one side, and Dardic on the other, prevents us from expecting a thorough agreement

Grierson, *JRAS*, 1925 pp 226 ff, has shown that the combination

[1] See my remarks *Festschrift fur Ernst Windisch*, pp 85 ff There are several misprints in this paper, owing to the fact that proofs could not be sent to me

vowel + a geminate consonant is treated in different ways in Indo-Aryan vernaculars Thus Prakrit *bhatta* < *bhakta* becomes *bhatt* in Pañjābī, *bhāt* in Gujarātī and the literary languages east and south of the Pañjāb, but *bhat, bat* in Sindhī and Dardic The common view is that the last-mentioned forms have passed through the Pañjābī stage, but Grierson maintained that the geminate consonants did not exist in the Prakrit of the North-West In Dhp and Doc long vowels and consonants are not generally marked as such, so that *bhata* might be *bhata, bhatta,* or *bhāta* But *bhata* is excluded because the syllable is long, and *bhāta* because *-t-* regularly becomes *-d-*, at least in Dhp [1] We can only think of *bhatta* If those scholars who maintain that the *t* of Sindhī and Dardic is derived from *tt* are right, this feature does not prove anything about the position of the Dhp Doc language

The treatment of the *r*-vowel varies in Dhp. and Doc We frequently find the usual change to *a, i,* or *u,* e g Dhp *svadi* < *smrti, kida* < *krta, mucu* < *mrtyu* , Doc. *kada* < *krta, kisi* < *krsi, muta* < *mrta* In other cases the *r*-element is preserved ; cf. Dhp *pradhavi, padhavi* < *prthivī, dridha* < *dṛdha, prudhiyana* < *pṛthagjana* , Doc. *krida* < *krta, ghrita* < *ghṛta, prichati, pruchati* < *pṛcchati.* Turner [2] has compared *prichati* with Kashmīrī *prutshi* " asks " and drawn attention to the development *ṛ* > *ru* in most Dardic languages. Doc is here, on the whole, more in accordance with Dardic than Dhp , which was a literary language, probably to some extent influenced by the Prakrit from which it was translated

With regard to stops the general rule in Dhp is that they are preserved as initials and voiced as intervocalic Forms such as *loka* with *k* can hardly represent the actual pronunciation, the less so because *-k-* occasionally also stands for *-g-*, e g in *nadakara* < *nadāgāra, parakata* < *pāragata* A similar confusion is not rarely met with in Doc , e g in *citughi* and *jitughi* , *tamda, tamta* and *daṃnda* , *poǵa* for *bhoga* We cannot draw the inference that voiced stops were liable to lose their voice Such writings find their explanation in the voiced pronunciation of voiceless intervocalic stops, and partly probably also in the desire to avoid the pronunciation as fricatives, to which, e g. the *ǵ* in *poǵa* seems to bear witness I shall not, however, try to analyse such details which seem to point to the existence of fricatives

[1] Senart and those who have copied his text have failed to distinguish between the akṣaras *ta* and *da* Also in Doc it is often difficult to choose between *t* and *d*

[2] Gypsy Lore Society, Monographs, No 4, p 7

especially in Doc., because it would take too much of the limited space at my disposal.

There is an evident tendency to deaspirate voiced aspirates, a tendency which manifests itself in spite of the literary tradition, in which the influence of other Prakrits may have played a certain role Even in Dhp we find forms such as *jai* < *dhyāyan*, *dunadi* < *dhunāti*, and conversely *drugha* < *durgāt* *ghadhedi* < *ghātayati*, *kusidhu* < *kusīda*, *samidha* < *svāmitā*, *saghadhadhama* < *saṃskrtadharma*, which point to a pronunciation of *dh* as *d*, if we have not here indications of fricative sounds In Doc the examples are numerous, cf. *ghita* and *grida* < *ghita*, *viga*[1] < *vighna*, *śigia* and *śuhia* < *śīghra*, *jāna* < *dhyāna*, *ajesana* < *adhyesanā*, *guta* < *gūḍha*, *daridavo* and *dharidavo* < *dhārayitavya*, *tarmena* and *dharmena* < *dharmena*, *anusamti* < *anusamdhi*, *bhaǵena* and *baǵena* < *bhāgena*, *poǵa* < *bhoga*, *durlapa* < *durlabha*, etc, and conversely, *dhada*, *damda* and *tamda* < *danda*, *dhaḍima* and *dadima* < *dādima* *dhaśami* and *daśami* < *daśame*, etc[2] It is difficult to account for this state of things, otherwise than by assuming a strong tendency towards deaspiration, and it is of interest to recall the fact that such deaspiration is a prominent feature in Dardic, though even there it has not become the rule[3]

Before leaving the subject of uncompounded stops it will be convenient to mention one curious feature, viz the occasional change of intervocalic dentals to *s* or *z* In Dhp I have only found *saghasadhanesu* corresponding to Pali *samkhatadhammānam* Cro 14 and *masuru* < *madhuram* B 11. Senart looked on both forms as mistakes but they find some confirmation in Doc *asimatia*, *aṣimatia*, *ajhimatia* < *adhimātra*, and *masu* < *madhu*[4] We may also compare *śiśila* < *śithila*, which is common to Dhp and Doc because it may have passed through *śisila*, in the same way as *śāsana* occurs as *śaśana* in Dhp and *śaśana* in Doc

This change of a dental to *s* or *z* must have been found in the dialect from which Khotanī Saka and the so-called Tokharian have

[1] The signification of the stroke above *g* is not of interest in this connection

[2] Some of the instances of *dh* for *d* may point to a fricative pronunciation, and in the Khotan document No 661, which has several instances of Iranian features, the regular initial *dh* < *d* is almost certainly a fricative With regard to forms such as *tamda* < *danda* it should be borne in mind that it is often very difficult to choose between *t* and *d*

[3] Cf, e g, Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p 51; *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, pp 29, 49, 53

[4] The true explanation of this word was given by Lüders, *SBAW*, 1933, pp 1000 ff

borrowed some of their Indian loanwords, for we find Saka *sīysā*, "Tokharian" *sīsā* < *sītā*, Saka *maysıla* < *mıthılā*

The Saka forms and some of those found in Doc seem to point to *z* rather than *s*, while Dhp *s* may represent an attempt at noting the voiced *s* In that case it would be possible to think of a voiced dental fricative as the intermediate stage At all events there cannot be much doubt that Doc *masu* "wine is the same word as Kāshmīrī *mas* to which word Morgenstierne has drawn my attention *Mas* can well be an old *maz* with the usual devoicing, and, on the whole, it is tempting to compare what Grierson [1] calls the Zetacism in Dardic The form *śiśıla* mentioned above has a parallel in Ashkun *cıcıla*, Kati *cŏıl* "soft

As shown in the paper quoted above, (l 54), Dhp distinguishes *n* and *ṇ* in the same way as a large group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars comprising Sindhī, Lahndā, Pañjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, and Marāthī [2] In Indian Kharosthī inscriptions there is no consistency, but we are left with the impression that the two sounds tended to coalesce in the dental *n* Such is almost certainly the case in Doc , as stated by Rapson in the edition mentioned above, p 305

According to Grierson, l c , para 117, ' in Dardic the existence generally of the *n*-sound is uncertain It certainly does not exist in Kāšmīrī, and has not been noted elsewhere, except in Kāfirī, where it may be due to contamination with the neighbouring P^{a}što, and in Ṣinā, where it is a secondary sound, arising from the proximity of another cerebral sound, as in the word Ṣinā itself"

Here there is accordingly an apparent difference between the system of Dhp and that of Doc and, so far as we can see, Indian Kharoṣthī inscriptions It is, however, remarkable that the Kurram casket inscription, which contains a quotation of a canonical passage written in practically the same language as Dhp , has no trace of the Dhp distinction between *n* and *n* We are left with the impression that Dhp in this respect represents a normalization which may be due to the influence of another literary Prakrit, or belongs to a limited territory within the area covered by the dialect, where the treatment of *n* was different

In Indian vernaculars an intervocalic *m* usually becomes *ṽ*. In Dardic, however, it remains, or the change is at least rare and, according to Grierson, l c , p 101, in such cases probably due to borrowing It

[1] On the modern Indo-Aryan Languages, para 326.

[2] Cf , e g , Bloch, *La formation de la langue Marathe*, para 132.

is, on the whole, a comparatively late change, so that nothing can be inferred from its apparent absence in Dhp and Doc Forms such as Dhp *jinavva* < *jīrnam va* can hardly count, because the accusative termination had long ceased to be *am* On the other hand, the opposite change of *-v-* to *-m-* in Dhp *emameva* < *evameva*, *sabhamu* < *sambhavam*, *namo* < *nāvam*, etc , Doc *emu* < *evam*, *cimara* < *cīvara*, *gamesaṭi* < *gavesate*, etc , is isolated and difficult to explain, just as the corresponding change in Kāshmīrī *namath* "ninety", Tōrwālī *nom* "nine"

The Dhp. treatment of nasals followed by mutes has, as mentioned above, been examined by Bloch, and I shall only add that the change of *nd* to *n* is occasionally met with in Dardic, e g in Kāshmīrī *ran*^{u} < *randa* In Doc there is great inconsistency We find *upaśamk*, *upaśamg*, and *upaśamgh* < *upaśank*, *dramga* < *dranga*, *kamculi*, and *kamjuli*, *khamja* but *gamñavara damda*, *chimnaṭi*, and *chinta*, *bimnanti*, and *bimnita*, etc If we bear in mind how often we ourselves believe that we pronounce letters which are no more heard, we get inclined to lay special stress on such writings which agree with the state of things in Dhp

In connection with nasals it may be of interest to consider the treatment of old *tm*. It regularly becomes *tv*, e g in Dhp and Doc. *atvan-* < *ātman-* Writings such as Dhp *utvari*, Pali *uttarim*, Doc *utvaravarsi* < *uttaravarse*, however, show that the *v* was hardly sounded If the common Doc word *tanu* "own" is derived from *ātman-* and not from *tanu-*, it is of interest that it has its exact parallel in Dardic, cf Turner *Monograph*, p 14

Both Dhp and Doc preserve old *y* and do not change it to *j* like most Prakrits , cf Dhp *yujatha*, Doc *yudhamma*, etc The same is the case in most Dardic dialects [1] Grierson [2] remarks that *ny* becomes *ñ* in Kāshmīrī, but not elsewhere in India, and similarly we have *aña* < *anya*, etc , both in Dhp and in Doc The difference in the treatment of *y* is old, and therefore of some importance

Of interest are also the numerous compounds where *r* has been preserved, because we know that also in this case the different treatment can be traced back to the third century B C. The writing is not consistent, but forms such as Dhp *krodha*, *gradhadi*, *trihi*, *drumapatra*, *pridipramoja*, *bramana*, Doc *krama*, *grahita*, *trii*, *dramga*, *bramnana*, *bhrada*, etc , clearly show the prevailing tendency. Among modern

[1] Cf Turner, *BSOS* , iii p 208
[2] *LSI* , viii, ii, p 245

languages Dardic and to some extent, Lahndā, Sindhī, and Western Pahārī show the same state of things [1]

The change of *v* to *b* is apparently comparatively late in Indo-Aryan vernaculars We cannot, therefore, lay much stress on the fact that it is unknown in Dhp and Doc , if we abstract from *b* < *v* in particles after old *m*, e g in Dhp *siha ba* < *simham iva* It is, however, of some interest that the change is also absent in Kāshmīrī, while some other Dardic languages often, but not always, have it [2] Attention may also be drawn to the fact that *tv* and *dv* are usually preserved in writing, e g in Dhp *catvari*, *satvana*, *vidva*, etc , Doc. *śatva*, *dvara*, etc Forms such as Doc *capaṇśa* < *catvāriṃśat*, *bādaśa* < *dvādaśa*, *bṭi* side by side with *dvṭi* < *dvitīya*, etc , are, therefore, suspect of borrowing As mentioned under the head of *tm* the *t* was probably not sounded, cf also Dhp *udhvaradha* < *uddharata*. The change of *tv*, *dv* to *t*, *d* respectively, which is already found in the North-Western Aśoka dialects, is common in the Dard group [3] It is also tempting to compare the gerund termination *ṭi* in Dhp *baheṭi*, *pramajeṭi*, Doc *apṇochṭi*, *palayṭi*, etc , which is already found in the North-Western Aśoka edicts,[4] with Kāshmīrī *ṭh*, Kati *ṭi*.

An outstanding feature is the preservation of, and careful distinction between, the three old sibilants *ś*, *s*, and *s*, which again have their parallel in the North-Western Aśoka dialects and in Dardic The state of affairs is mainly the same in Dhp and in Doc , even in minor, but significant details They both also agree in sometimes using Sanskrit forms side by side with the genuine ones, but that is a feature which is too well known in most Indian languages to necessitate a discussion of details

There is only one feature which cannot be traced in Dhp , viz. the tendency to voice intervocalic sibilants like other intervocalic consonants , cf. Doc *ija* < *iśa*, *koʃalya* < *kauśalya*, *dajha* and *daṣa* < *dāsa*, *tivajha* < *dvasa*, etc We cannot *a priori* decide whether the apparent absence of all such forms in Dhp. corresponds to the actual state of things or is due to the absence of letters for voiced sibilants But it is of interest that the same tendency is found in Dardic,[5] e g in Ṣiṇā *bazodu* < *vasanta*, *māz* < *māsa*

[1] Cf Turner, *Monograph*, p 21
[2] Cf Grierson, *Vernaculars*, para 367
[3] Cf Turner, *Monograph*, p 14 , but Prasun *čiṛpū*, Katī *čtwå*, Waigeli *čatā* " four "
[4] Cf Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, VIII, p. 78.
[5] Cf. Turner, *BSOS* V, p 130

Though old *ś* is generally preserved as *ś*, there is one curious exception For Sanskrit *śuci* "pure' Dhp has always *suyi* and Doc once *sucı* Morgenstierne has drawn my attention to Kati *suč*,[1] an exclamation used in sacrifice Have we to do with an old dissimilation? Dhp *śaśana*, Doc *śaśana* < *śāsana*, and perhaps *śiśila* < * *śisila* < *śithila*, are examples of the opposite tendency.

Writings such as Dhp *samana*, Doc *samana* side by side with the Sanskrit form *śramana* show that *śr* regularly became *ṣ* just as in Dardic and Kati [2]

Old *śv* occurs as *ś* and as *śp*, cf Dhp *aśa* < *aśva*, *viśpa* < *viśva*, Doc *aśpa*, *viśpa*, etc Writings such as Doc *eśvarı* < *aiśvarya*, *śvana* < *śvāna* are evidently "learned' The usual forms can be compared, e g with Ṣīnā *śū*, Kāshmīrī *hūnᵘ* "dog", Ṣīnā *ašpo* "horse", etc

With regard to *s* it is a notable feature that the numeral "six", which begins with *ch* in all Prakrits except the North-Western, and in all Indo-Aryan vernaculars except Dardic, has preserved the initial *s* in Dhp Doc *so* Also the treatment of the compound *ks* is the same as in Dardic There are, it is true, in Dhp and Doc as everywhere else, some stray examples of the change to *kh*, but as a general rule we find an aksara which resembles *ch*, but differs from it in not containing the cross-bar, and which had been variously transliterated as *ks* and as *čh* It evidently had the same sound as the Dardic cerebral affricate sound *ch* mentioned by Turner, *Monograph*, p. 11 Cf. Dhp *čhaya* < *ksaya*, *cačhuma* (beside *cakhuma*) < *caksumā*, Doc *čhura* < *ksura*, *račhidavo* < *raksitavyam*, etc

If we turn to the dental *s*, we are met with some difficulties The *śr* in Dhp *viśiavatena* < *visiavatā* and the *s*, which means the same thing, in *saga* < *sanga* are peculiar Is it possible to compare the curious *r* in Kāshmīrī *śrūtsᵘ* 'pure"?

The change of *ts* to *tś* in Dhp *bhetśidı* < *bhetsyatı*, *matśana* < *matsyānām*, Doc *samvatśara* < *samvatsara* is not much different from the usual treatment in other Prakrits More peculiar is the development of *ms* to *mtś* in Dhp *ahıtśa* < *ahimsā*, *satśara* < *samsāra*, Doc *mamtśa* < *māmsa*, etc. In Dhp we also find *praśajadı* < *praśamsantı*, where the *tś* sound has become voiced So far as I know a

[1] Cf. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 421.
[2] Cf., e g, Morgenstierne, *Report Afghanistan*, p 58.

similar development has only been traced in Sindhī, where we find *hañju* < *hamsa* [1]

Old *sv* occurs as *sv* and as *s*, cf Dhp *svaga* < *svarga*, *salavhu* < *svalābham*, *rasa* < *hrasva*, Doc *svaya* < *svayam*, etc. In Doc we occasionally find *śv* instead in *śvastı* and regularly in *śvasu* < *svasr* It is tempting to compare Tōrwālī *šū*, Gārwī *išpo* and perhaps Khowar *ıspusār*, and it is perhaps possible to think of a kind of dissimilation The word *śvasu* is also of interest in another respect, as showing that the word for "sister" was the same as in Dardic, where only Kāshmīrī, which has been largely influenced by the Midland languages, has adopted *beñe*

With regard to the compound *st* the rule is that it remains between vowels and is changed to *th* when initial, cf Dhp *hasta* < *hasta*, *thala* < *sthala*, Doc *hasta* < *hasta*, *thana* < *sthāna* There are, however, also instances of initial *st*, e g Doc *stıta* < *sthıta*, *stora* "horse" *strī* and *ıstrī* < *strī* A glance at the material registered by Grierson, *Vernaculars*, para 290, will show that also here there is a remarkable agreement with the state of things in Dardic

In making these remarks I have not attempted to give an exhaustive sketch of the phonetical system of Dhp and Doc But I have tried to draw attention to some important features which, in my opinion, make it absolutely certain that Dhp and Doc are not two different languages, but closely connected forms of one and the same ancient dialect Moreover, there are so many essential points of agreement with Dardic that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that also Dardic is derived from a Prakrit of the same kind as that of Dhp and Doc. The cerebral *n* in Dhp and the change of *ṃś* to *mtś* in Dhp. and Doc, it is true, point to a territory where we, at the present day, do not find Dardic speeches Grierson has, however, repeatedly drawn attention to Dardic traits in modern vernaculars outside the Dardic territory, and also the find-places of Kharosthī inscriptions written in the old North-Western Prakrit raise a strong presumption in favour of assuming that this Prakrit was subsequently ousted from a large tract of country, where we at the present day find languages such as Lahndā and Sindhī

Dhp shows that the North-Western Prakrit was, at a comparatively early date, used for literary purposes by a Buddhist sect And the remarkable consistency apparent in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript

[1] Cf. *vañjhu*, Pañjābī *vañjh* < *vaṃśa*, and Doc *saṃcaya* < *saṃśaya*.

shows that this was done with great skill and insight We cannot tell how the development would have been, if this literary activity had been continued But we know that the leading Buddhist school of the North-west soon gave up the use of Prakrit and adopted Sanskrit as their sacred language We thus understand how these parts of the area of the ancient Prakrit where the literary activity was continued, in Sanskrit, came under an increasing influence of the Midland Such has especially been the case in Kashmir, though even there we still find remarkable features which remind us of the Prakrit of Dhp and Doc.

The Military Colonization of the Caucasus and Armenia under the Sassanids

By J H Kramers

THE ancient Arabic historian al-Balāḏurī (d 892) begins his chapter on the conquest of Armenia by a description of the political conditions of those regions in Sassanian times According to the local historical tradition, obtained from inhabitants of several Armenian towns, there had been a time when the people of the Ḫazars in Southern Russia were making continuous raids over the Caucasus passes and penetrated Persia as far as al-Dīnawar in Media. The first king to take energetic measures against these raids was Kubāḏ (Kawāḏ, 488–531). One of his generals ravaged Arrān (Albania) between the Araxes and the Kura, then Kubāḏ came himself and founded or, better, fortified in this region the towns of al-Baylakān, Barḏa'a, and Ḳabala He erected also a wall of brick which extended from the country of Širwān in the east as far as the pass called Bāb al-Lān, the "Pass of the Alans" His work was completed by his son Kisrā Anūširwān (Ḫusraw I 531–579), who fortified farther to the north the towns of al-Šāburān and Maskat.[1] and finally the very strong town of al-Bāb wa'l-Abwāb, on the site of the later Derbend. The name of this town, "the Gate and the Gates," is explained by the fact that its fortifications comprised the gates to several mountain passes Here the text of al-Balāḏurī (ed de Goeje, *Lugd Bat*, 1866, p 194) continues as follows واسكن ما بى من هده المواضع قوما سمّاهم السياسيجين "He made dwell in these places which he had built a kind of people whom he called al-Siyāsīğīn" Continuing the same tradition al-Balāḏurī describes the conquests of Anūširwān in the western direction, in Georgia, as far as the Black Sea, and in the south-western direction in Roman Armenia Here were conquered in the first place Dabīl (Dwīn) and Našawā (Naḫčewān), and further the fortress of Wayas[2] and several fortresses in the country of al-Sīsağān Here (p 195) the text continues واسكن هده الحصون والفلاع ذوى البأس

[1] On the topography of all these places in Albania cf Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp 111, 118, and the map accompanying W E D Allen's *History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932

[2] Arm *Vayoç*, cf Hubschmann, *Idg Forsch*, xvi, p 469

والجده من سياسيجيّة "He made dwell in these fortresses and strongholds strong and valorous men from Siyāsiğīya". Finally we read, at the end of the section on the conquests and the reign of the Persians in those regions (p 197) فلم ترل ارمينية فى أيدى الفرس حتى ظهر الاسلام وفرض كثير من السياسيجين حصونهم ومدائنهم حتى حرب وغلبت الخزر والروم على ما كان فى أيديهم بدياً، "Armenia continued to be dominated by the Persians, until the appearance of Islam, many of the Siyāsīğīn then left their strongholds and their towns, which consequently were ruined, while the Ḫazars and the Romans recovered the territory they had originally possessed"

The orthographies السياسجين and ساسجيّه were adopted by de Goeje partly on the base of the different and generally unpunctuated readings of his manuscripts (see below) and partly on the assumption that the word must be related to the name of the Armenian district of al-Sīsağān and that it denotes the inhabitants of that region In the note on p 194 of his Balāḏurī edition de Goeje says 'Est populus cujus genealogiae princeps appellatur Sisag," while referring to St Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, Paris, 1818, i, pp 207–214 Here St Martin discusses the text of Moses of Khoren s *History* (book ii ch 7) on the province of Sisakan, which is the north-westernmost province of Great Armenia, lying between the Araxes and the Lake of Sewan and bordering on Albania, the older Armenian name is Siounik' Moses of Khoren derives the name Sisakan from a *heros eponymos* Sisak; this Sisak is, however, as Hubschmann also (*Idg Forschungen* xvi, p 263) thinks, only an imaginary forefather, whose name was deduced from the form Sisakan Now the reason of de Goeje s assumption can be no other than the fact that in the second passage quoted from al-Balāḏurī (p 195), the سياسيجيّة were placed also in al-Sīsağān

I do not know if de Goeje is the first to have made this identification For in Thornberg's edition of the *Chronicle of Ibn al-Aṯīr* there occurs a parallel to al-Balāḏurī s first passage in tome i, p 319 (edited 1851), where the word in question is read السياسجيين, although the MS readings do not seem at all to make such a spelling more probable than any other After de Goeje, however, the identification given by him has never been questioned, it was adopted by Marquart in his

earlier works (*Osteurop und Ostasiat Streifzuge*, Leipzig, 1903, pp 37 sqq , *Ērânšahr*, Berlin, 1901, p 120) and by Hubschmann (*Idg. Forsch* , xvi, loc cit)

Parallels to al-Balāḏurī's first passage are found, besides in Ibn al-Aṯīr, also in Kudāma (ed de Goeje in *BGA* vi, 1889), p. 259—where the reading السباسحسّن was adopted—and in the geographical dictionary of Yākūt (ed Wustenfeld i, p 221)—where the edition gives the same spelling as Ibn al-Aṯīr A parallel to al-Balāḏurī's second passage (p 195) is found in Ibn al-Fakīh (ed de Goeje in *BGA* v, 1885), p 288, where de Goeje has printed سباسيحيّته, in which the addition of the possessive ending gives in any case a better reading

Ibn al-Fakīh has, moreover, a passage, to which a parallel is not found in al-Balāḏurī It is found on p 291 of de Goeje's edition in a description of the fortification of the town of al-Bāb wa'l-Abwāb by Anūširwān and of the wall extending from this town to the mountains over a distance of seven farsaḫs Here we read وجعل فى هذه السعة فراسخ سبعة مسالك على كلّ مسلك منها مدينه قد رتّب فيها قوم من المقاتله من الفرس يقال لهم السياسكين، "He made in this distance of seven farsaḫs seven passages, each one of these was dominated by a town, in which he had placed Persian warriors named al-Siyāsīkīn A parallel text is found in Yākūt, i, p 440, where there is printed الاستاسكين The latter reading is made also much more likely by the MSS of Ibn al-Fakīh, but de Goeje, by his Sisaǧian or Sisakian theory, has again adopted a reading complying with that theory

Finally the same people are mentioned probably in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūǧ al-Ḏahab*, Paris edition, ii p 75, where it is said that they used the so-called Siyāwardī battle-axes It is true that the Paris edition calls them السابحة, but Marquardt (*Streifzuge*, p 37) has pointed out that the Cairo edition, p 89, has here السَاسِنجيّه

Now a comparison of the different MS readings [1] puts it beyond question that the unpunctuated original readings of the three text passages of al-Balāḏurī and their parallels is السباسحس and لساسحيه, while the passage of Ibn al-Fakīh, p 291, and its Yākūt

[1] For footnote, see p 616.

parallel go back to الاساسكس My conclusion is that the first group must be punctuated الشاستجين (and شاستجيه)—which is, indeed, the reading of the British Museum MS. of Ibn al-Aṯīr—and the second الاشاستكس—which is the printed reading of Yākūt, i, p 440 The word would render then an arabicized plural of middle Persian *mšāstag*, belonging to the middle Persian verb *mšāstan*, the causative form of *mšastan* (cf H S Nyberg. *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, ii, Glossar, Upsala, 1931, p. 161) The meaning would be "somebody who has been made to dwell in a certain place" and, in a pregnant sense, a "garrisoned warrior". The Arabic verb اسكن used in the first passage of al-Balāḏurī is the exact counterpart of *mšāstan* in this sense.

This interpretation is much more obvious than that of Sisakians, because an Arabic plural derived from سيسجان would yield سناسجة and the addition of the ending *-ūn* or *-īn* would be abnormal in the highest degree And as to the historical facts, it appears from al-Balāḏurī, that those garrisons were firstly laid in Albania and the Caucasian towns, and only afterwards in Armenia, amongst others in al-Sīsaǧān. Moreover. the text of Ibn al-Fakīh, p 291, states expressly that the garrisons consisted of Persians

Another interpretation of the word concerned is incidentally given by J Markwart in his paper, "Np. āḏīna Freitag" (*Ungarische Bibliothek*, i, 13), p 83,[1] where, without referring to the Arabic

Footnote to p 615

al-Balāḏurī	p 194	p 195	p 195.
	الساسجس (all MSS)	ساسجه (two MSS)	الساسجيں
		ساسجه (one MS)	الساسيجس
			الساسجس
Ibn al-Fakīh		p 288	p 291.
		شاستجه	الاسايسكس
		يشاستجه	الاسناسكس
		ساسجيه	الاسايسكس
Kudāma	p 257.		
	الساسجس		
Ibn al-Aṯīr	i, 319		
	الساسجيں		
	الشاستجين		
	الساجيين		

[1] I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor V. Minorsky.

historians and geographers cited above, he takes it for granted that the Sasanian military colonists in Daghestan were called *spāsīgān* ساسحون, ساسيحيّة Markwart here interprets the word as "Dienstleute", deriving it from Pahlavi *spās*, which, as appears from the Armenian loanword *spas*, may have had also in middle-Persian the meaning "service" (cf Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, II, p 205) I cannot agree with this explanation (1) because a form *spāsīk* has not been actually proved to exist, while in Persian *sipāsī* apparently means only a "beggar", according to the *Burhān-i Kāti'*, (2) because the majority of the manuscript readings is in favour of the reading سـ; (3) because al-Balāḏurī's text gives a kind of interpretation by the verb أسكن. Moreover, the form ساسحيّة does not deserve any regard, because the texts prove that the final ـة is the suffix of the 3rd person preceded by the oblique form of the masculine Arabic plural

The information given by the Arabic authors on these conquests reposes on local traditions gathered in early Islamic times and does not occur in this form in the Arabic versions of the Persian Royal Annals, the *Ḫwatāy-nāmak* It is not found in the history of Sassanian Persia by al-Tabarī, nor in Firdawsī's *Šāhnāma* For this reason the corrupted reading in the Arabic texts cannot be ascribed to the misinterpretation of a Pahlavi original The two different original forms الشاستجن and الاشاسكس—with a prothetic vowel as in اسموذح —also point to an endeavour of the early Islamic collectors of local traditions to render a word really heard

From an Arabic grammatical point of view the ending *-īn*—used by Ibn al-Fakīh even in the nominative—seems to be a compromise between the Persian ending *-ān* and the Arabic *plurals sanus* ending in *-ūn* (gen *-īn*) I do not know another instance of the plural of a Persian word being made in this way, but it certainly can be brought under the rule that the proper names of men form their plurals in this way.[1] The plural of non-Arabic words is formed by preference by a so-called "broken plural" (cf Siddiqi, *Studien uber die persischen Fremdworter im klassischen Arabisch*, Gottingen, 1919, p 20 sqq), only the *nisba*-forms—which often represent as well the Persian ending *-ī(k)*—have generally *-iyūn*

Further, it is to be noticed that the causative verb *nišāstan* is

[1] Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed, I, p. 195

essentially middle-Persian, for which modern-Persian has *nišāndan* or *nišāḫtan* In literary Pahlavi it is used in a cognate sense in the *Catalogue of the provincial Capitals of Ērānšahr* by Markwart (ed. Messina, Rome, 1931), pp. 9, 10, 17, for the founding of fire temples or a camp, while in Manichæan middle-Persian we find it used for the founding of Manichæan monasteries called *mānīstān* (Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, II, Berlin, 1933, p 11 [302]) Dr Bailey kindly draws my attention to two passages in the Bundahišn (ed Anklesaria), where *nišāstak* has equally the meaning of ' settled ", used of men In the first passage (pp. $106^{7,8}$) it is said that nine of the primordial kinds or races of men passed the sea Frāḫkart from Xᵛanīras and were settled in the other six Karšvars (*ō ān 6 kišvar ī dīgar vtārt u ōd nišāstak kart*) In the other passage (pp 108^{13}, sqq) it is told how the people of the Zangīk, who had sprung up under Aži Dahāk's reign from the mixture of men and female demons, fled from Ērānšahr when came the reign of Frētōn, and were made to dwell on the border of the sea (*pat kanārak-ī zrāy nišāstak kart*) The reading of *nišāstak* (p. 109^{1}) is here corrupt, but as Dr Bailey informs me, the shorter text has here the ideogram for " to sit " The language of Firdawsī has, just in the same meaning of populating a town—which is the meaning of الشاستحان—the verbs شاحتن (ed Turner Macan, p 1379, with relation to the foundation of Ǧōr—written erroneously Zōr—by Ardašīr I) or شاندن (ed Mohl, VI, p 214, in connection with the populating of the town of Zēb-ī Ḫusraw with Roman prisoners by Anūširwān).

We have to finish by pointing to the fact that the interpretation given above of the Arabic texts is not without importance for our knowledge of the military administration of the Sassanid Empire, as it reveals the establishment of a system of frontier garrisons which reminds us very much of the organization of military themes in the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century and, in many ways, of the frontier-posts called *ribāt* in the Islamic empire of the Caliphs

Māla vihāra

Par † Sylvain Lévi

J'AI eu l'occasion, il y a trois ans, d'attirer l'attention sur un terme obscur du bouddhisme sanscrit, *mālavihāra*, que j'avais rencontré dans le texte du Mahā-Karmavibhanga dont je donnais l'édition et la traduction (Paris, 1932, p. 63, note) Il s'agissait, dans ce passage, du fameux Candanamāla vihāra érigé par Pūrna à Śūrpāraka. J'avais rappelé à ce propos le récit du voyage de Bhagavat à Śūrpāraka sur l'invitation de Pūrna et de la consécration du vihāra, tel qu'il est rapporté dans le Divyāvadāna (II, Pūrnāvadāna) ou plus exactement dans le Vinaya des Mūla Sarvāstivādin's (Osadhivastu, chap II = Dulva tibétain II, 40 sqq) J'avais signalé quelques autres textes, tant sanscrits que pālis, où la même expression se retrouve, soit à propos du même Candanamāla vihāra (Kandjour, Mdo III , Paramatthadīpanī (et non Apadāna , à rectifier) sur Theragāthā 187–188 Paramatthajotikā sur Suttanipāta, Pūralāsutta , soit comme une désignation générique (Mahāvastu II, 367 , Śiksāsamuccaya, p 300 , Divyāvad , p 79 et p 467 , texte sanscrit de Koutcha publié par M Luders, Pr Ak Wiss 1930, I, p 23) Aux textes sur le Candanamāla je puis ajouter maintenant le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (Trivandrum Sk Ser , p 619, inf) qui mentionne un bhiksu nommé Nanda ou Nandaka, hôte du Candanamāla, avec une longévité de trois cents ans —

bhavitā Candanamāle 'smin bhiksur Nandako bhuvi
tasmin kālādhame prāpte jīved varsāśatatrayam

J'avais rappelé aussi l'embarras des traducteurs, à commencer par les interprètes tibétains qui avaient hardiment substitué *mālā* à *māla* et rendu par *phren ba* " guirlande " , Burnouf, dans sa traduction du Pūrnāvadāna, avait fait de même (*Introd. à l'Histoire du Buddhisme indien,* p 258), et Bendall après lui (Śiksāsamuccaya, loc laud) , Luders s'était contenté d'un point d'interrogation

Les textes jainas, témoins précieux et trop peu consultés, donnent la solution de cette difficulté Le mot *māla* y paraît souvent, non seulement dans les récits et les contes, mais aussi dans les prescriptions d'ordre rituel Jacobi l'avait rencontré dans l'Āyāramga (II, 1, 7) et dans la traduction qu'il a donnée de cet ouvrage (*Sacred Books*, vol XXII), il en a bien reconnu la signification Il est interdit au moine ou à la nonne en tournée d'aumônes, d'accepter de la nourriture qui a été placée en lieu élevé, " sur un poteau, ou un pilier, ou un

tréteau, ou un *māla*, ou une plate-forme, ou une terrasse" (*khamdhamsi vā thambhamsi vā mamcamsi vā mālamsi vā pāsāyamsi vā hammiyatalamsi vā*). Jacobi a rendu *māla* par "loft", le grenier en haut de la maison Et il met en note · "The word is not explained in the Ṭîkâ and Dîpikâ , the Guzerati translation says that the word is *lokapratîta*, commonly understood It is probably the Marâthî *mâl* or *mâlâ*, the former word denotes a loft floored with bamboos, the second, the room formed by overlaying with slight sticks the cross-beams of a house, a loft, an erection or stand in a cornfield, scaffolding (of a building) Molesworth. *Marâṭhî and English Dictionary*, s v ' L'excellent dictionnaire pracrit de Pandit Hargovind Das T Sheth (*Pāia Sadda Mahannavo, A Comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1923) distingue deux homonymes *māla*, masculins tous deux, provinciaux (*desī*) d'origine tous deux, à l'un il attribue les significations de 1° jardin (*ārām, bagīcā*), 2°, plate-forme (*mañc, âsan-visēs*), 3° harmonieux (*mañju*) ; pour l'autre il donne comme significations 1° nom de pays (*deś-visēs*), la littérature sanscrite connaît ce nom, 2° partie supérieure de la maison (*ghar kā uparibhāg*), support (*talā*), et il ajoute "En langue du Guzerat, c'est *mâlo* (*Gujarātī mē mālo*). Il indique encore comme troisième sens · une espèce d'arbre (*vanaspati-visēs*) Et pour toutes ces significations, il donne des références précises à des ouvrages jainas L'admirable encyclopédie du jainisme Śvetāmbara, l'Abhidhāna Rājendra une œuvre modèle, qui devrait servir d'exemple au bouddhisme et au brahmanisme, et qui n'a pas encore obtenu la consécration qu'elle mérite enregistre le mot *māla*, masculin, avec les interprétations suivantes (en sanscrit) 1° la partie d'en haut (*uparitanabhāge*), 2°, plate-forme (*mañcâdika*), 3° nom d'un pays montagneux Et il rappelle les significations indiquées par Hemacandra dans sa Deśīnāmamālā jardin, harmonieux, plate-forme (*ārāmamañjumañcesu*) Les deux lexicographes, à la suite de Hemacandra, qui suit les commentateurs jainas, se servent, pour expliquer le mot *māla*, de ce mot *mañca* que nous avons vu paraître à côté de lui dans le passage cité de l'Āyāramga A la différence de *māla*, *mañca* est un mot d'usage courant dans la littérature sanscrite, la formule *mañcāḥ krośanti* est un des exemples stéréotypes de métonymie qui reparaît à l infini dans tout l'Alamkāraśāstra P K. Acharya, dans son utile *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* (où il n'a pas malheureusement mis à contribution les ouvrages jainas, qui ont tant à fournir dans ce domaine) explique *mañca* par "bedstead,

couch, bed, sofa, chair, throne, platform, pulpit " et cette multiplicité d'équivalents atteste l'extrême élasticité du sens L'Abhidhāna Rājendra dit fort bien s v " un *mañca* est fait d'un lit de bambou posé sur des montants (*sthūnānām upari sthāpitavamśakatakādimayo mañcah*) " et il ajoute " Tout le monde sait ce que c'est (*loka-prasiddhah*) " Et il a recours encore, pour l'expliquer, à un dérivé du mot *māla, mālaka* " c'est un *mālaka* où des gens qui veulent voir un spectacle peuvent s'asseoir (*preksanakadrastrjanopavesananimitte mālake*)." Et, sous le mot *mamcātimamca*, il répète " *mañca* est un *mālaka* où des gens peuvent s'asseoir pour regarder une grande fête (*mahotsavavilokanajanānām upavesananimittamālako mañcah*) " Le commentateur du Sthānānga ajoute encore une précision importante, le texte (3, 1, 145, p 124*a*) mentionne toute espèce de grains qui sont conservés dans des endroits divers, entre autres " conservés dans un *mamca, mamcāutta* [*āgupta*], conservés dans un *māla* (*mālāutta*) ". Le commentaire explique le premier mot dans les termes que l'Abhidhāna Rājendra lui a empruntés pour sa définition : *sthūnānām upari sthāpitavamśakatakādimayo janapratītah* ; pour le mot *māla*, il en est de même *mālako grhasyoparitanabhāgah*, mais il ajoute une référence à un texte jaina, dictionnaire ou commentaire, " Et il est dit un *mamca* n'a pas de murs, et de plus un *māla* est au-dessus de la maison (*akkuddo hoi mamco mālo ya gharovarim hoi* glosé en sanscrit par *akudyo bhavati mañco mālaś ca grhopari bhavati* " Ainsi le *māla*, comme le *mañca*, n a pas de mur ; mais à la différence du *mañca*, il est situé en haut de la maison, on conçoit dès lors que les deux mots servent à s expliquer mutuellement : un *māla* est un mirador, une loge, un kiosque, un pavillon, un balcon place en haut de la maison, et en général placé en haut C'est dans ce sens que ce mot—sous sa forme dérivée . *mālaka*—paraît dans un texte sanscrit jaina, la Simhāsanadvātrimśikā éditée par Weber, *Ind. Stud*, xv, p 266 sq , Dans un village d'Avanti, un brahmane tirait de son champ des moissons merveilleuses " Alors il fit élever dans le haut de ce champ un *mālaka*. Or chaque fois qu'il monte dans ce *mālaka*, il se sent de la grandeur, chaque fois qu'il en descend, il se sent misérable " Il va à la capitale informer le roi Bhoja de ce prodige. " Le roi vint lui-même examiner les lieux, mais il ne remarqua rien Alors il monta en personne dans le *mālaka* et il se sentit une grandeur extraordinaire . Le roi acheta à prix élevé ce champ au brahmane, et il fit creuser au-dessous du *mālaka*." C'est là qu on découvre le trône merveilleux aux trente-deux statues autour duquel

se déroulent les contes. Il est bien clair qu'il s'agit ici d'un de ces abris portés sur des poteaux qu'on voit si souvent dans la campagne indienne, où le paysan se repose à l'ombre d'un toit de chaume et surveille ses cultures Weber avait bien deviné (ib , p 219) qu'il s agissait " probablement d'une estrade " mais qu'il imaginait ronde (wohl einem ringformigen Gestell) sans doute sous l'influence, lui aussi, du mot féminin *mālā* " guirlande "

Examinons maintenant la miniature népalaise publiée par M Foucher dans son *Étude sur l Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pl I 6 , j'ai déjà indiqué dans ma note du Mahā-Karmavibhanga qu'il fallait rectifier la transcription et lire, au lieu de Supāca, Supāra : *Supāranagare Vuntraka* (M Foucher a lu *Vulbhuka*) *vītarāgakrta Candanavihāra* Supāra est une de formes que prend le nom de la ville où Pūrna éleva son fameux Candanamāla vihāra ; c'est sous cette forme même Σουππάρα que *Ptolémée*, vii, 1, 6, écrit le nom du grand port que fréquentait le commerce d'Alexandrie J'ai antérieurement proposé de considérer l'énigmatique Vuntraka (?) comme une altération graphique assez facile à expliquer de Pūrnnaka. Quoi qu il en doive être de ce nom mystérieux, le monastère de santal à Supāra ne peut être, dans la galerie des lieux saints les plus célèbres, que le Candanamāla vihāra Et la miniature montre en effet au premier plan une loggia, une espèce de balcon couvert accroché au flanc d'une maison d'habitation , dans la loggia se tient un personnage portant une guirlande au cou, le même peut-être qu on voit apparaître au fond, dépassant largement de sa taille démesurée le stūpa à parasol et le pilier surmonté d'une image (de lion ? pour rappeler le Sākyasimha, le Lion des Sākya's ?) un ensemble qui évoque nécessairement le souvenir des grands vihāra's du Népal. Est-ce le Bouddha qui vient sur l'initiative du Pūrna et qui ensuite visite le monastère ? L'artiste le fait alors paraître dans la loggia de santal qui avait valu au monastère sa réputation. Nous avons donc là l'illustration d un *māla* Et il est frappant de voir un mot considéré comme proprement gujarati paraître dès les origines du bouddhisme dans le nom d un monastère qui était la gloire du Guzerate Il y aurait là un indice curieux de l ancienneté du vocabulaire des parlers régionaux de l'Inde

Je suis heureux de soumettre cette question au grand savant et au vieil ami dont le nom reste et restera toujours lié indissolublement à l'étude linguistique de l'Inde, au créateur et à l'auteur du *Linguistic Survey of India*, Sir George Grierson.

Nochmals *mleccha*

By B. Liebich

UEBER diese Entsprechung des griechischen *bárbaros* im Sanskrit habe ich im 72 Band der *ZDMG.* (1918) Seite 286/7 eine kleine Studie veroffentlicht. Den Anlass dazu gab ein Artikel von K. P. Jayaswal, der am gleichen Ort einige Jahre vorher erschienen war. Jayaswal hatte richtig erkannt, dass die allgemeinere Bedeutung von *mleccha,* wie sie in der Literatur erscheint und auch von den indischen Grammatikern angegeben wird, sekundar sei, und dass das Wort ursprunglich ein bestimmtes nichtindisches Einzelvolk bezeichnet haben musse. „like *Yavana,*" sagt er, „*Mlechchha* is a foreign word, and like *Yavana* it originally meant a specific foreign people "

Das griechische *bárbaros,* lat. *barbarus* bietet in dieser Hinsicht kein Problem, es zeigt in seiner reduplizierten Form deutlich seine Abkunft von einer uralten lautmalenden (onomatopoetischen) indogermanischen Wurzel *bar,* die sich, ebenfalls reduplíziert, als Verbum mit der Bedeutung plappern, summen u a in mehreren slawischen Sprachen und im Litauischen erhalten hat Ja diese Wurzel *bar* hat in der neudeutschen Theatersprache eine interessante Wiederauferstehung erlebt, wo sie in der Vermummung Barbara oder Rhabarber vom Sprechchor allgemein als „Volksgemurmel " Verwendung findet Neben indogermanisch *bar* steht die Wurzelvariante *bal* in lat *balbus* „stammelnd ", lat *balbutire* und skr *balbalā-karoti* „stammeln, stottern ", also in Beziehung auf einen individuellen Sprachfehler. Griechisch bárbaros bezeichnet dem gegenuber von Haus aus einen Menschen, der sich durch seine undeutliche oder unverstandliche Sprache als Volksfremden zu erkennen gibt.

Soweit kann man also Jayaswal zustimmen, aber seine Verknupfung von *mleccha* mit einem bestimmten Volk ist allzu kuhn und durfte nicht unwidersprochen bleiben. Er geht namlich vom altesten Vorkommen des Wortes im Śatapatha-Brāhmana aus, wo gesagt wird, dass die Asura mit dem *mleccha*-Ruf *helavo helavo* im Kampf unterlagen und zu Grunde gingen Die Asura sind ihm (wie anderen neueren Hindu-Gelehrten) die Assyrer, in *helavo* findet er das hebraische *eloah* „Gott " und in *mleccha* selbst das semitische *melech* „Konig " !

Was die Asura betrifft, so genugt es wohl, daran zu erinnern, dass mit diesem Wort in den alteren Buchern des Ṛgveda die eigenen Gotter

(Indra, Varuna, die Ādityas) bezeichnet werden, erst vom zehnten Buch ab, im Atharvaveda und in den Brāhmana's sind die Asura zu Damonen geworden und stehen den Deva's als Feinde gegenuber. Die umgekehrte Entwicklung haben diese Worte bekanntlich im Iranischen genommen, wo *asura*, lautgesetzlich als *ahura* erscheinend, im Namen des hochsten Gottes Ahuramazda—Ormazd wiederkehrt, wahrend hier die Diven zu Damonen und Gotterfeinden geworden sind Martin Haug, der zuerst auf diesen Gegensatz hingewiesen hat, sah darin das Anzeichen einer religiosen Spaltung zwischen Indern und Iraniern, welche die Trennung der alten Indoiranier in zwei gesonderte Volker begleitet oder veranlasst habe, was wohl auch jetzt noch die naturlichste Deutung bleibt Jedenfalls hat Asura nur mit den arischen Persern, nicht mit den semitischen Assyrern etwas zu tun, und damit erledigt sich die Gleichung *mleccha* mit *melech* von selbst

In meiner oben erwahnten Entgegnung unterstrich ich die Tatsache, dass das spater so haufige Wort *mleccha* in der Tat in Rg- und Atharvasamhitā wie auch in der vedischen Prosa des Yajurveda und der alten und mittleren Brāhmana's vollig fehlt und erst im dritten Buch des (verhaltnismassig) jungen Śatapatha-Brāhmana erscheint. Im Rgveda bis zum zehnten Buch einschliesslich finden wir sogar eine andere Entsprechung von *bárbaros*, die spater ganz verschwindet, namlich *mṛdhravāc* „ dessen Rede (Sprache) mangelhaft, — fehlerhaft ist, kauderwelsch —, barbarisch redend " (Geldner, *Der Ṛgveda in Auswahl*, 1, 138) Als Redaktor des Śatapatha-Brāhmana wird uns Yājñavalkya genannt, der am Hofe des Konigs Janaka in Videha, dem spateren Magadha, im unteren Gangeslande seine beruhmten, im Brāhmana selbst aufgezeichneten Disputationen uber Ātman und Brahman hielt, und im ersten Buch desselben Brāhmana (1, 4, 1, 10–18) finden wir die Erzahlung von Videgha Māthava, dem sagenhaften Stammvater der Videha's, und seiner einstigen Besiedlung dieses Landes, das ganz felderlos (*akṣetrataram*) und sehr fliessend, sumpfig (*srāntaram*) gewesen sei, bis Agni Vaiśvānara, gefolgt von Videgha Māthava, es uberbrannt habe (*atṛdadāha*) Bei Agni Vaiśvānara, dem „ Jedermannsfeuer ", wird man an das Abbrennen des Jungle zu denken haben, das der Besiedlung und Bebauung des Landes vorangehn musste Hier am unteren Ganges durften wir also nach allen ausseren Indizien den Ursprung des Namens Mleccha zu suchen haben

Das Wort *mleccha* im Sinne des griechischen *bárbaros* ist nicht nur haufig im klassischen Sanskrit, sondern ist auch in der gleichen

Bedeutung in die indischen Dialekte übergegangen. Konsonantengruppen werden hier durch Assimilation oder Vokaleinschub beseitigt, der durch Assimilation entstandene Doppelkonsonant wird im Anlaut durch den einfachen ersetzt Dazu kommen hier und da, namentlich wo es sich um die Wiedergabe von Fremdworten handelt, noch sporadische Veränderungen Demgemäss finden wir für *mleccha* im Pali *milakkha*, in Śaurasenī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī und Apabhraṁśa *mĕccha*, in Ardhamāgadhī sogar vier Formen *milicca*, *milakkhu*, *mĕccha* und *micca* nebeneinander Alle diese Formen sind durch Parallelfälle lautgesetzlich vertretbar, die Nachweise sind bei Kuhn und Pischel leicht zu finden

Auf Grund dieses Tatbestandes wies ich auf die Mēch hin, ein nichtarisches Volk von jetzt rund hunderttausend Menschen, das heut hauptsächlich im Tarāī, also im Jungle, westlich des Brahmaputra haust, teils in Assam, teils in Bengalen Obwohl sie durch Hautfarbe und mongolide Züge den Bōdo nahe stehen, haben sie keine Tradition, dass sie jemals ausserhalb des Jungle gelebt haben Ich erinnerte schliesslich daran, wie stabil häufig die Namen auch der nichtarischen Völker in Indien sind die Bhilla und Kirāta der alten Sanskrit-Autoren finden wir noch heut in den Bhīl des Vindhya und den Kiranti des Himālaya wieder, die Sabara des Plinius und Ptolemaeus unter ganz dem gleichen Namen in den östlichen Ghats, die Darada des Mahābhārata in den Darden von Dardistan

Als ich meine Studie veröffentlichte, kannte ich die Mēch nur aus dem vortrefflichen Werk von Sir Athelstane Baines, *Ethnography* (castes and tribes), Strassburg 1912, p 129, von dem, beiläufig bemerkt, mein Kollege Freiherr von Eickstedt erst kürzlich bedauerte, dass es, weil im Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie erschienen, bei seinen Fachgenossen, den Ethnologen und Anthropologen so gut wie unbekannt geblieben sei. Ich war aber hocherfreut, als ich einige Jahre später in der Linguistic Survey of India, dem monumentum aere perennius des ehrwürdigen Altmeisters der Indologie, zu dessen Ehren diese Festschrift entstanden ist, in vol III 2, p 1 die folgende Stelle fand „ The Bârâ folk who live to the west of the Kamrup district are called Mech by their Hindū neighbours This word is probably a corruption of the Sanscrit '*Mlēchchha*', which corresponds to the original meaning of our word 'Welsh', *i e* foreigner, stranger " Es kann für uns dahingestellt bleiben, wer von beiden den Tatbestand zutreffender erfasst hat, die Linguistic Survey des Census von 1901 oder die Ethnographical Survey des gleichen Census, auf deren Angaben

Baines sich stutzt Jedenfalls erhalt meine damals noch ziemlich schuchtern geäusserte Vermutung durch diese Stelle eine wichtige Bestatigung.

Noch ist eine dritte Behandlung dieser Frage zu erwahnen, die ein Jahr n a c h meiner Arbeit von Isidor Scheftelowitz am gleichen Ort (*ZDMG.* 1919, S. 243/4) veroffentlicht wurde Sch. verwendet eine andre Methode und kommt zu einem andern Ergebnis. Er trennt pali *milakkha* ganz von skr *mleccha* und weist sie zwei verschiedenen, aber indogermanischen Wortsippen zu. Allerdings geht es dabei nicht ohne Gewalttatigkeit ab. Zunachst ist es ziemlich kuhn, die Zusammengehorigkeit dieser beiden Worte zu bestreiten, die genau im gleichen Sinne in der Literatur verwendet werden und durch die oben erwahnten Zwischenformen verbunden sind, weshalb alle grundlichen Kenner der indischen Dialekte, Kuhn, Franke, Stede, Pischel, wie auch die einheimischen Grammatiker an der Zusammengehorigkeit festhalten Die Tatsache des spaten Auftretens von *mleccha*, die mir wichtig erschien, wird von Sch. mit Stillschweigen ubergangen.

Skr *mleccha* muss sich zunachst eine Umformung gefallen lassen. Sein palataler Ausgang soll auf einen alteren dentalen zuruckgehen. Durch diesen (sehr ungewohnlichen) Lautwandel kommen wir auf ein indogermanisches **mlais-sko,* das auch in cymrisch *bloesg* vorliegen und mit lat *blaesus* aus **mlais-sos* verwandt sein soll Diese beiden Worte bedeuten „ stammelnd, stotternd ". *Mlais-sko* ist aber eine rein papierne, kaum aussprechbare Konstruktion.

Pali *milakkha* wird von Sch mit skr *mūrkha* „ Dummkopf " vereinigt und zu einer indogermanischen Wortsippe gestellt, deren Grundbedeutung „ erstarren " zu sein scheint, wahrend die ihr zugeschriebenen Verben in den verschiedenen Einzelsprachen meist schweigen oder schlafen bedeuten.

Scheftelowitz schliesst mit den Worten Die Untersuchung hat somit ergeben, dass altind *mleccha* nicht mit altind. **mlska, *mlsku* (pali *milakkho,* prakr. *milakkhu*) etymologisch verwandt ist, aber beide Worte rein indogermanischen Ursprungs sind. — Ob seine Ausfuhrungen uberzeugend genug wirken, um ein so zuversichtliches Urteil zu rechtfertigen, mogen andere entscheiden.

Nugae Burushaskicae

By D. L R. Lorimer

THE makers of Burushaski, whoever they were and wherever and whenever they lived, were people of resource and ingenuity, perhaps of imagination. So much is evident from the grammar of the language, which I have described in some detail elsewhere, *The Burushaski Language*, vol i, Oslo, 1935 I am not referring to the modern speakers of Burushaski They appear to me lacking in these qualities. They might be gifted as craftsmen, but not as creative artists.

After further researches I would now also attribute to the begetters of the language some subtility of mind I would even credit them with a measure of originality, but if I adduced in evidence the phenomena which I am here going to describe I fear I should be speedily convicted of ignorance of all the most interesting languages of the globe.

1. I will merely mention here in passing the system under which by varying the quality, stress, and length of the vowel of its pronominal prefix (or infix), a verb may be changed from Intransitive to Simple Transitive, then to a Transitive where a third party is affected (to whom the pronoun-prefix then refers), and lastly into a Causative Active The Intransitive form of the verb sometimes has no pronoun prefix. In the following examples the pronoun-infix is in the 3rd person singular form, unless otherwise stated —

Intrs.	**šuqa** dis'ilimi	*the cloak became wet*
Trs 1.	**in**ɛ ja šuqa d'esilimi	*he wet my cloak*
Trs 2	**in**ɛ ja šuqa d'a silimi	*he wet my cloak for me*
	(1st pers sg. pronoun-infix)	
Cs.	u'ŋɛ gu imo nokər ja šuqa d'e'əsiluma	*you made your servant wet my cloak*; or
	u'ŋɛ gu imo nokər ja šuqa d'a asiluma	*you made your servant wet my cloak (for me)*
	(1st sg pronoun-infix)	

In the Transitive 2 and the Causative the vowel is markedly long and may be diphthongized There is probably also a change in tone between the vowels of Trs 1 and Trs. 2 and Cs. Neither I nor my informants could decide

2 I will again only briefly refer to a number of Intransitive

verbs which add, or may add, a theme (apparently -ʲa-) to the root when the subject is plural —

du sas Pres. Base du š- with sg or pl. subj.
duwašɛ.as Pres Base duwašač- with pl. subj. only,

both meaning *to come out, emerge*, etc.

ine du šaei	*he is coming out*
u ɛ du'ša n *or* duwašača'n	*they are coming out*
taswi'r šu'a d'usila	*the photograph has come out well*
taswi'riŋ šu'a d'usitsa *or* duwaša bitsa	*the photos have come out well*

Other such verbs are :—

ga'rtsas	*to run*	ga rtsimi	*he ran*
		(ga'rtsuman	*they ran*)
ga rč'æi.as	,,	ga rčaman	*they ran*
huru'tas	*to sit*	huru'timi	*he sat*
		(huru'tuman	*they sat*)
huruč'æi.as	,,	huručaman	*they sat*

In the two preceding verbs the form with the -ʲa- theme is usually only employed in the past tenses (plural), where it ordinarily displaces the simple form

guyas ‖ giyæi.as	*to fall, plunge*, etc.
*-uyas with *h* or *x* subject buyas with *y* subject	*to become dry*
*-uyæi.as with *h* or *x* subject pl. buyæi.as with *y* subject pl	*to become dry*

h, *x*, and *y* refer to different categories or "genders" of nouns. An asterisk indicates that the verb is preceded by a pronoun-prefix.

I can quote one Transitive verb, more will probably be discovered, where a -ʲa- theme appears when the object is y plural —

pusa s pus'u'yas	with *y* sg. object
*-pfusas	with *h* or *x* obj. sg or pl.
puš'æi.as	with *y* pl. obj.

All meaning *to tie up*.

Thus :—

balda pus'ɛ, *or* pus'u	*tie up the load*
hayur ipfus	*tie up the horse*
kursimuts upfus	*tie up the chairs*
baldaŋ (*y* pl) puš'a	*tie up the loads*
šiqa (*y* pl) puš'a	*tie up the grass*

3. I now pass to phenomena which require less technical knowledge to make them fully intelligible.

Burushaski has a system of depreciatory or contemptuous expression which in certain circumstances is applied to many of the commonest objects of daily life

The depreciatory effect is produced by attaching a qualificatory word to the ordinary word denoting the object Where the meaning is unmistakable the qualificatory word is sometimes substituted for the standard word This qualificatory word is sometimes the name—

(*a*) of a particular part of, or of a small quantity of the object,

(*b*) of a small or inferior form of it,

(*c*) of a small or inferior object made of, or associated with it. Sometimes it is merely—

(*d*) a more or less general word denoting smallness in quantity or size.

The following are a few out of a large number of available examples, falling roughly under the four above headings. (The suffix **-an**, **-n**, denotes "one", "a")

	Simple word	*Depreciatory term*	*Meaning of qualificatory word.*
(*a*)	**huˑčo** *soft leather boot*	**hučo iltumal**	*lit* "ear", secondarily "side piece of boot"
	sap *horse-shoe*	**sapɛ muˑš-an**	*an end, an edge*
	ɣaš'il (*fire*)*wood*	**ɣašiˑlɛ jučo r-an**	*a shaving*
	žu *warp yarn*	**žu.ə ɣay-an**	*one long thread of yarn*
	ɣ'eˑiŋ *grapes*	**ɣe iŋɛ čhu-an**	*a bunch*
		ɣeˑiŋɛ pfulpful-an	*a berry*
(*b*)	**hay'ur** *horse*	**hay'ur budo ku-an**	*a small pony*
	ts.hi r *she-goat*	**ts.hi rɛ duw-an**	*a kid*
	ha *house*	**ha duku ri**	*shelter, hut*
		ha guti	*hut*
	bir'anč *mulberries*	**biranč mayəro ti**	*unripe mulberries*
(*c*)	**gap** *hide*	**gapɛ ašk'i ltər**	*thong for fastening yoke to shaft of plough*
	pf'ata *bowl*	**pfata čuk'uˑli**	*fragment of bowl*
	p'ači *cotton cloth*	**pači.ɛ gak'aˑy,**	*patch, old scrap*
		pači.ɛ tat'ay	*ditto slightly larger*
	bat *skin, leather*	**batɛ čhaya (lukan)**	*patch*
		batɛ bərp'i t (lukan)	*strap*
	sap *horse-shoe*	**sapɛ g'ili-an**	*a nail, peg*

There are not many examples of this type.

Simple word.	*Depreciatory term.*	*Meaning of qualificatory word*
(*d*) šʌpˈɪk *bread*	šʌpˈɪk pfuˑk-ʌn	*a tiny piece*
	šʌpˈɪk lʌp-ʌn	*a mouthful*
	šʌpˈɪk čuruˑk-ʌn	*a broken-off piece*
ts.hil *water*	ts.hɪl thɪˑš-ʌn	*a little (liquid)*
dɛl *oil*	dɛl yʌšaˑ-n	*a little*
	dɛl yu w-ʌn	*a tear*

With words denoting cloth, or articles of cloth, the terms luq *scrap*, bud'ul *rag*, are commonly used.

These depreciatory expressions have different values according to the context in which they are used —

1 When used of a personal possession they minimize the value of the article and indicate humility, or the absence of self-magnification, on the part of the speaker. So one may say —

ye·ŋɛ pfulpfulʌn goˑr dɪtsa ba	*I have brought you some grapes* (" *a grape berry* ")
buˑyomuts aˑlta mʌnɪ.ɛn	*There have become two little bunches,* i e *I have got a couple of stacks* (aˑlta hu rṣæɪnts) *of cut crops ready for threshing*
sərmutsʌn pfʌlo sɛnʌs æɪp ɪts.hæɪ baˑn ; kuˑto.ʌn pfʌlo seɪba n	*They reckon it reprehensible to say* " (*I have*) *a sack of grain* ", *they say* " (*I have*) *a small bag of grain* "

2 They may be used of another person's things with the effect of insulting or depreciating him :—

bˈɛsɛ gusɛ dukuˑrɪ.ulo huruˑta ?	*Why have you taken up your abode in this hovel ?*
ja ha kɛ uˑŋɛ dukuˑrɪ hʌna ?	*Are my house and your hovel one and the same thing ?*

They are thus used when expressing dissatisfaction with a gift and the giver :—

Q. thʌmɛ hʌldˈɛnʌn guwæya ?	*Has the king given you a (he-) goat ?*
A bɛsʌnɛ hʌldɛn ? bɪˑške usko ayunæɪ	(*Yes but*) *what sort of a goat ? He has given me three hairs* (i e. *a goat in very poor condition*)
bɪrʌnčɛ muːnʌn ačhˈɪ bæi	*He has given me a* " *stump* " *of a mulberry tree*

3. These uses are straightforward, the subtlety to which I have referred appears in the next, in which by depreciating the object the owner or giver is exalted; the implication being that while, e.g the coat is a perfectly good coat and to the recipient a glory, to the giver it is a mere scrap of cloth or a tattered old garment Or, the rôles being reversed, the full meal offered to the guest is to him merely a mouthful of bread or a cup of tea Again, out of courtesy to the recipient the giver will represent his gift as small and unworthy Thus I say to a superior —

hu·čo ɪ·ltumʌl ʌčhɪ. *Give me a side of a boot*, ɪ e *give me a pair of boots.*

and the giver will say as he gives them —

ɪ·ltumʌlɪŋ bitsʌŋ. gutsɛ yʌški kɛ ap'ɪ.ɛn. *They are (a) mere (set of) bootsides They are not worthy of you*

guwʌtʌtum mɛnʌn jo. *Give me a set of old clothes off your person.*

ko·tɛ bud'ul lukʌn ʌčhɪ. gʌka yʌn bila, da u·ŋər bɛsʌn? *Give me a rag of a coat. It's a mere old scrap, and so what is it to you?*

'aya Gɪltər nɪč'ʌm "hu čotsɛ wʌščər gʌpɛ pfo·lčo lukʌn bi kɛ", nusɛn da·ræɪ. Ju ju, lukʌn tɪ ko mɪy'uwɪn. *My father was going to Gilgit, and saying "if there is a little scrap of hide to apply to my boots", he has sent me (to you) Many salams! Give us a bit*

ja gʌp guyʌm seɪba bɛsʌnɛ gʌp? pɪso k lukʌn bɪlum. ʌkhu·rumʌn ʌškɪ·ltər bɪlum. *You say I gave you hide What sort of hide (was it)? It was only a little calf-skin A little bit of thong like this*

bʌtɪŋ thu rʌn a r thɪ l 'ɛtɪ.a. *Will you be so good as to sprinkle out (with the fingers) a little dusting-flour for me?* ɪ e *will you give me some flour?*

Here "**bʌtɪŋ**", "**thu rʌn**" and "**thɪ l**" are all in their different ways diminutives

This conception of depreciation is carried over into the sphere of the verbs. Thus one says —

hučo ulta. *Put on the boots* (u-, 3rd pl pn pf agreeing with **hu·čo**)

This is normal and grammatically correct, but may be regarded as honorific to the boots Or one may say —

hu čo ɪlta (ɪ-, 3rd sg. pn pf)

This is humiliating to the boots, but honorific to the person addressed. Doing honour to another person and humiliating the boots one says:—

gusɛ bu·t ču.k ɛtɪ. *Put on this boot*

To a person of distinction a would-be host says :—

ja ha·lər čhʌm mʌnɛ ! go·r ča ı o·čʌm. *Enter my house* (i.e *Do me the honour of entering my house*) *I'll make them make tea for you* (i e. *I'll entertain you to a meal*).

On the other hand, however —

ya šk ısʌn 'e·ts.huyʌsər xe.a·lʌtɛ uxʌtʌtum gutɛ seiba n : "mi ha·lər čhʌm me·ıma ?" *With the intention of not taking an unworthy person (into one's house) they say from their lips* (lit *mouth*) . *" Will you do me the honour of entering our house ? "*

4 The last phenomenon to which I will here call attention is the existence of an indefinite number of verbal compounds (an adjective or noun plus an auxiliary verb) of which the meaning is modified by alteration in the vowel of the first component. The variants from the standard are in the nature of diminutives.

As a typical example the following may be given —

Normal.	*Variant.*
šʌr ɛtʌs *to roll out (dough)*	**šı r ɛtʌs** *to roll out a small quantity thin, with quick short motion.*
	ša r ɛtʌs *to roll out larger (?) quantity slowly*

This represents, I think, the commonest series of vowels, and in it the ı· vowel seems to point to a diminishment in the action of the verb with regard either to the thing acted on or the means employed, or in what results from the action The **a** vowel may also denote some quantitative reduction, but seems frequently to indicate slow motion

There seemed to me to be a difference in the tone of the vowels, the tone of the norm being normal, that of the ı high, that of the **a·** low [1] The effect of the variations may be intensified by further lengthening those vowels Many of the first components may also be reduplicated, giving probably the sense of repetition or continuance of the action

In some cases, where the vowel of the norm is **-ʌ-**, there are diminutives in **o** or **u·**

When the vowel of the norm is **ı** or **u** the diminutives are obtained by simply lengthening and lowering the tone of those vowels Frequently where the norm has **-ı-** there is a diminutive also with **-ʌ-**, and where the norm has **-u-** there is a diminutive with **-ı-**.

[1] In the following examples a line above a vowel denotes a high tone, and a line below a vowel a low tone

It will be evident that it is impossible from the vowel of any isolated form to say whether it is a normal or a diminutive.

The following are a few miscellaneous examples. I cannot in all cases given the precise meaning of the diminutives, either *vis-à-vis* the norm or *vis-à-vis* each other —

ṭhʌm thʌm ɛtʌs *to sweep up*	thɪ m thɪ·m ɛ. thɪthɪ m ɛ.	*to sweep up a small quantity*
	tha m ɛ.	*to sweep up a small quantity, or slowly*
xʌlʌt ɛtʌs xʌlaxʌlʌt ɛ.	xɪ·lɪxɪlɪ t ɛ.	*to work round a little with one finger*
to work round with the hands dough or porridge in a vessel	xʌl'a t ɛ.	*ditto, a few times, slowly.*
dʌŋ ɛtʌs *to make hard, to cook*	dɪ ŋ ɛtʌs da·ŋ mʌnɪ bi	*it has become a little hardened, slightly cooked.*
lʌš ɛtʌs lʌlʌš ɛ. *to lick*	lɪ š ɛtʌs lɪl'ɪ š ɛ. la š ɛ.	

bu·šɪ mʌmu še·ʌstsɛ at'a·yæya ba; sʌlʌt la š ɛtʌstsɛ da·yæya ba.
I'm not worried at the cat's drinking the milk. I'm annoyed at its (way of) slowly licking its moustache.

This may be said when a new man receives an official appointment: "I am not concerned about Smith's taking bribes I can't stand his putting on airs"

(There is uncertainty regarding the exact meaning of **da·yæya ba.** It was explained as meaning "I am afraid of". I have not, I think, met it elsewhere It is probably related to **a·yæya ba,** "I regard as," "consider.")

šʌq ɛtʌs *to comb*	šɪq ɛ. šɪš'ɪq ɛ.	*to comb with short quick movements*
	ša.q ɛ. šaša q ɛ.	*ditto, with long slow movements*

Examples of other vowel patterns are :—

lu k ɛtʌs *to put a mouthful into one's mouth*	li k ɛ. lu k ɛ.

thi l ɛtʌs	thʌl ɛ.
to sprinkle or flick, flour, sugar, etc., with the fingers	thi:l ɛ. tha:l ɛ.
ʂuk ɛtʌs, ʂušuk ɛ. *to sup*	ši·k ɛ., ʂiʂi·k ɛ. šu.k ɛ., šuʂu·k ɛ.
thər ɛtʌs, thʌthər ɛ. *to undo, untie*	thir ɛ. thor ɛ. tho.r ɛ., thotho·r ɛ. tha:r ɛ.

tho.r and tha.r are polite words:

hʌyurɛ gʌšk tho:r ɛ. *Would you be so good as to take the trouble to undo the horse's rope*

tha.r ɛčʌm. *I'll undo it with pleasure; it's no trouble*

la š ɛtʌs	loš ɛ. lol'o·š ɛ.
to smear plaster over	lu.š ɛ. lulu·š ɛ.

ga l lu.š mʌnimi. *The wound re-opened (sloughed?)*

This vowel-variation is applied in other cases besides the verbal compounds which have just been considered —

ts.hilɛ thi·šʌn *a little water*	thi:šan, th'ʌšʌn, th'a·šʌn *a very little*
lukʌn *a little*	lu kʌn, li kʌn *a very little, rather little*
kʌmʌn *a little*	ka mʌn ,, ,,
sʌŋ mʌnimi *it became light, day dawned*	sīŋ mʌnimi, sa ŋ ,, si ŋ ,, sisa·ŋ ,, *first peep of dawn (?)*
yʌški *worthy*	ya:ški (*so little worthy as to be*) *unworthy*

by further
may also
con-

Lengthening of the vowel in ordinary verbal forms introduces an element of doubt or uncertainty —

ʌkhi s'ɛnimi *he said so (in the ordinary, positive way)*

ʌkhi s'ɛ·nɪmɪ *he said so (unemphatically, not clearly)*, or *he said something to that effect*, or *the statement he made was doubtfully true*

sɛna b'æyʌm *I had said*

s'ɛ·na bæyʌm *perhaps I had said (something like that)*

bɪtʌn muwʌšča n seɪba n *(people) say they are going to make the "bitan" dance*

bɪtʌn muwʌšča n s'e ɪba·n. be·yʌm *(people) say they are . . , etc. But I don't know.*

ʌkhɪ ɛt'ʌm *he had done so*

ʌkhi 'ɛ.tʌm *he had perhaps done so*

In adjectives and nouns it reduces the original significance of the word .—

šon	*blind*	šo:n	*somewhat blind*
ɣ'ā́yu	*lame*	ɣʌɣ'u·	*lamish*
ɣūt	*deaf*	ɣu.t	*deafish*
hum'ʌlkum	*quickly*	hum'a lkum	*a little quickly*
ɣʌl'ɪs	*ill*	ɣʌlɪ_s	*slightly indisposed*
jʌtʌn bæi	*he is old*	ja tʌn bæɪ	*he is oldish*
gʌt	*(knot), enmity, grudge*	ja ka ga_t bɪla	*he has a slight enmity, grudge, against me.*

The use of these "jotɪŋ bərɪŋ", "little words," received or improvized, may be applied to various practical ends The following "true story" is related —

Fifty Levies went to Chitrāl with Wazīr Humāyūn Big. The men, by the time they had arrived at Drāsan, had become very hungry. They poured into the houses and gobbled up everything that came to hand The people of Drāsan came to the Wazir and complained with tears "Your Levies have emptied out all the flour in our houses and have left us nothing"

The Wazir was very angry and assembled the Levies and told them off Then Khujunoy Deru, speaking all in "small words", made the Wazir laugh and turned away his wrath He spoke on this wise "O Wazir, may we be your sacrifice! We went into the house of an old woman, and on looking we saw that there was a very little flour in a corner (of a sack or bin) Scraping it together we worked it round into dough and popped it into our mouths and so saved our lives."

This in ordinary language would run —

Wa Wazi·ɪɛ n'ʌzər! Mi but čh'ʌmɪnɛ nimi mʌn hin jʌt gus'ʌnmo ha·lər nɪm'ɛ·n bər'e·yɛn kɛ y'u·ki.ʌnʊlo th'urʌn dʌɣ'o·ʌŋ bitsʊm. I·kɛ thʌm thʌm nɛ, x'ʌlaxʌl'ʌt nɛ, dʌŋ nɛ, lu k nɛ, ji d'ɛspʌsumʌn.

What he actually said, no doubt in a small and pathetic voice, was :

"Wa Wɪzi·ɪɛ nʌzɪr! Mi but čh'imɪnɛ nimi mʌn, hɪn jət gus'ʌnmo ha·lər nɪmi n, biri·ʌn kɛ y'ɪ:kɪ.ʌnʊlo th'ɪ·rʌn b'i·tiʊ bɪtsʊm. I·kɛ thɪ·m thɪ m nɛ, xi·lixili·t nɛ, di·ŋ nɛ, li·k nɛ, ji d'ɛspʌsumʌn."

Zur Schrift und Sprache der Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumente

Von Heinrich Lüders

Die Ausgabe der von Sir Aurel Stein in Ostturkestan gefundenen Dokumente in Kharoṣṭhī-Schrift ist eine Leistung, die jedem, der sich mit ihr beschaftigt, ehrliche Bewunderung abnotigen muss. Allerdings wird es noch langer Arbeit bedurfen, ehe diese sprachlich wie sachlich gleich wichtigen Urkunden dem vollen Verstandnis erschlossen sind Vielleicht werden auch die folgenden Bemerkungen als ein kleiner Beitrag zu diesem Ende von Interesse sein

Fur *lpa*, bzw *lpi*, werden in der Schrifttafel XIV unter Nr. 219–221 drei Zeichen gegeben Von dem ersten wird S 316 gesagt, dass es zweifelhaft ware, ob es sich irgendwo in den Dokumenten fande, wenn auch *lpi* ahnlich geschrieben in [*ka*]*lpitamti* in 141 vorkomme. Da keine Reproduktion von 141 vorliegt, vermag ich uber die Form des Buchstabens nichts zu sagen, Zweifel an der Lesung scheinen mir aber nicht ungerechtfertigt Eine Form von der Wurzel *klp* kommt sonst nirgends in den Dokumenten vor, und das Tafelchen ist offenbar so stark beschadigt, dass sich der Inhalt der ersten Zeile, in der angeblich [*ka*]*lpitamti* steht, nicht feststellen lasst Dies Zeichen muss daher unberucksichtigt bleiben

Das zweite Zeichen erscheint nach den Herausgebern ohne den *i*-Strich in *alpa* 468, *śilpa* 355, mit dem *i*-Strich in *śilpṇa* 217. Ausdrucklich wird auch im Index bemerkt, dass dieses Zeichen in 415 in dem Namen *lpaṇga* verwendet ist Nach dem transkribierten Texte kommt es ausserdem in *alpa* 634, 764, *jalpiti* 255 (?), 399, *jalpidemi* 106, *jalpita* 524, 566, 594, 764. *jalpitamti* 413, 351, *jalpidavya* 358 vor

Viel haufiger ist das dritte Zeichen, das in der Ausgabe mit *lṕa* umschrieben ist[1] Die Herausgeber haben S 318 die Wahl dieser Umschrift naher begrundet Sie gehen von dem Zeichen 244 aus, das in der Ausgabe durch *sṕa* wiedergegeben ist Nachtraglich sind die Herausgeber aber zu der Uberzeugung gekommen, dass das Zeichen besser durch *sva* umschrieben sein wurde, wobei *v́* als Reprasentant des labialen Halbvokals aufzufassen ware Dann heisst es weiter, dass derselbe Laut („ the same sound “) haufig in Verbindung mit *l*, z B *lṕi* (lies *lṕa*) 221 und selten in Verbindung mit *s*, z B *sṕa* 238, erscheine

[1] In der Tafel ist es durch ein Versehen mit *lpi* umschrieben, in dem Zeichen fehlt der *i*-Strich

Allein das ist eine *petitio principii*. zunächst lässt sich doch nur sagen, dass das subskribierte Zeichen in Verbindung mit *s*, *ṣ* und *l* die gleiche Form hat. Allerdings darf nicht übersehen werden, dass das Zeichen, wie es unter 221 in der von Rapson gezeichneten Schrifttafel erscheint, keineswegs die typische Gestalt zeigt Ich habe sämtliche in der Ausgabe und in Stein's *Ancient Khotan* veröffentlichten Reproduktionen von Dokumenten daraufhin durchgesehen und in keinem einzigen Falle die Form der Schrifttafel gefunden. Zunächst ist die Schleife an der linken Seite der Vertikale im allgemeinen schmaler als in der Zeichnung, bisweilen fehlt sie ganz, so in *lṗṛpeya* 1, *lṗṛpe* 17, *lṗṛpeya* 20, *lṗṛpe* 32 (sämtlich Tafel I) Sie ist also offenbar garnicht beabsichtigt, sondern entsteht rein zufällig, wenn die Feder vom Ende der Vertikale des *la* wieder hochgezogen wird, um den Haken zu bilden, und nicht genau der Vertikale folgt Das ist aber nur eine kleine Verschiedenheit, auf die ich keinen Wert legen möchte. Wichtiger ist, dass der Haken in allen Fällen viel weiter heruntergezogen wird als in Rapson's Zeichnung und häufig noch einen Schwung nach links zeigt, der bisweilen an die Vertikale heranreicht; vgl ausser den angeführten Beispielen *lṗṛpeya* 164 (Taf III), *lṗṛmsu* 164 (Taf III), *palṗṛ* 165 Z 7 (Taf III), *lṗṛpaṅga* 571 (Taf IX) usw. Dadurch gewinnt das Zeichen ein wesentlich anderes Aussehen als in der Schrifttafel Das gleiche gilt aber auch für die durch *ṣṗa* und *ṣṗa* umschriebenen Zeichen. Auch hier gibt die Zeichnung der Schrifttafel ein nicht ganz richtiges Bild, denn auch in diesen Ligaturen wird der Haken stets nach unten und meistens dann noch nach links gezogen, vgl *ṣṗora* 165 Z 7 (Taf III), *tamaṣṗa* 571 (Taf IX), 580 (Taf X), 581 (Taf X), *aṛṣṗa* 581 (Taf X) Vom rein palaeographischen Standpunkt aus würde sich also gegen die Auffassung der *l*-Verbindung als *lṗa* oder *lva* kaum etwas einwenden lassen. In einer so kursiven Schrift, wie es die Kharosthī ist, besteht aber stets eine starke Neigung zur Anähnlichung ursprünglich verschiedener Formen, und meines Erachtens können daher insbesondere bei Ligaturen Schlüsse auf den Lautwert aus der ausseren Gestalt des Zeichens nur dann als gültig angesehen werden, wenn sie sich auch sprachlich rechtfertigen lassen Das trifft aber in diesem Falle nicht zu; die Lesung der Ligatur als *lṗa* oder *lva* scheint mir im Gegenteil zu sprachlich unmöglichen Formen zu führen

Nun begegnet uns die Ligatur allerdings fast ausschliesslich in Fremdnamen, über deren sprachliche Form sich von vorneherein nichts sagen lässt. Glücklicherweise erscheint sie aber auch in ein

paar Wortern, die aus dem Sanskrit stammen und daher einen Ruckschluss auf den Lautwert des Zeichens ermoglichen,und bisweilen lasst sich ein solcher Schluss auch aus Doppelschreibungen von Fremdwortern ziehen In dem Vertreter von sk *kalyāna* wird das *lya* meistens in der gewohnlichen Form geschrieben, so in *kalyanakari mitra* 499, 612, und in den Namen *kalyanadhaṁa* 123, 560, 597, 601, 611, 618, gen *kalyanadhaṁaṣa* 477, 619, 762, 763, und gen *gunakalyanaṣa* 311 In 605 aber lesen die Herausgeber *kalṕanadhaṁa*, in 536 *kalṕanadhaṁaṣa*, in 756 *gunakalṕanaṣa*, in 175 den Namen *kalṕana*[1] Sie sehen es als zweifellos an, dass hier der Wechsel eines *v*-Lautes mit *y* vorliege, wie er auch sonst im Prakrit vorkommt. Dass unter gewissen Bedingungen, die sich, nebenbei bemerkt, viel genauer feststellen lassen als es bisher geschehen ist, *v* fur *y* eintreten konnte, ist unbestreitbar, dass aber *kalyāna* jemals zu **kalvāna* geworden sein sollte, halte ich fur ausgeschlossen; es fehlt dafur an jeder Parallele. Wenn das fragliche Zeichen fur *lya* eintritt, so kann man daraus nur schliessen, dass es einen dem *lya* ahnlichen Lautwert haben muss, und da es im Grunde nur in Fremdwortern erscheint, so wird es nicht einfach eine andere Schreibung fur *lya* sein, sondern ein der Fremdsprache eigenes palatalisiertes *la*, das man gelegentlich auch in der Schreibung des Vertreters von sk *kalyāna* verwendete. Da das subskribierte Zeichen in der Ligatur nach den obigen Darlegungen offenbar eine kursive Form des *ya* ist, so mochte ich vorschlagen, die Ligatur in Uebereinstimmung mit der sonst von den Herausgebern gewahlten Umschrift modifizierter Zeichen durch *ĺya* wiederzugeben, obwohl ein mouilliertes *l̃* den Laut wohl genauer ausdrucken wurde

Anstatt des gewohnlichen *lihita* 649, *lhida* 144, 328, 437, 652, *lkhida* 331, 648, findet sich in 575 *ĺyhida* „geschrieben". Da das Auftreten eines Labials zwischen dem *l* und dem *i* naturlich unerklarlich ist, sind die Herausgeber gezwungen, das von ihnen angenommene *lṕhida* als einen Schreibfehler anzusehen Sobald wir in dem Zeichen ein palatalisiertes *l* sehen, bietet sich eine viel weniger gewaltsame Erklarung dar Es zeigt sich, dass das *ĺya* seine Hauptstelle in Verbindung mit *i* in den nicht-indischen Namen hat Im Index sind die mit *ĺi* beginnenden Namen leicht zu ubersehen Es sind, wenn man von Varianten in der Schreibung absieht, von *ĺipaae* bis *ĺivrasmaṣa* nicht weniger als 23 Dazu kommen mit in- oder auslautendem *ĺi* [*kaĺike*] 757, *kaĺiǵeya* 495, *kaĺiǵeyaṣa* 207,

[1] Ob in 351 *kal na* zu *kalyana* oder *kalṕana* herzustellen ist, ist ganz unsicher.

kalẏiǵeyena[1] 207; *kalẏita* 701, *kalẏiṣa* 666, *kalẏigamciyana* 164; *kolẏiǵe* 93; *kolẏisa, kolẏiṣa* 8, 15, 29 usw, *kolẏisaṣa, kolẏiṣaṣa* 29, 110, 130 usw, *kolẏiṣasya* 159, *kolẏisena* 20, 53 *tsulẏita* 74, *malẏiǵeya*[2] 237, *malẏiǵeyaṣa* 93, 277, *molẏina* 131, 482, 581, *sulẏita* 17, *aralẏi, aralẏiyaṣa* 573, *palẏiya* 596, *piṣalẏiyami* 122, *alalẏe* oder *amalẏe* 406 Dieses massenhafte Auftreten des Zeichens vor dem *i*-Vokal liefert, wie mir scheint, die Bestatigung, dass es ein palatalisiertes *l* ausdruckt, und wenn das *lẏi* gerade in den Fremdnamen so haufig ist, so durfen wir daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass diese Neigung zur Palatalisierung in der Fremdsprache, was immer sie gewesen sein mag, ihren Ursprung hatte

In den auf das Sanskrit zuruckgehenden Wortern wird im allgemeinen vor *i* das gewohnliche *l* geschrieben, so in den zahlreichen Formen von *likh* (im Index von *likhami* bis *likhidu* und von *lihati* bis *lihyati*, in den abgeleiteten Formen von *miskal, samkal* und *pamipālay*, in denen auf die Stammsilbe ein *i* folgt (im Index *mikalitavo, mikalisyati* und von *mikhalita* bis *mikhalisyati*, von *samgalitaǵa* bis *samgalidaiya*, von *pamipalitavo* bis *pamipalidavya*), ferner in *kamculi* 149, 318, *kamjuliyaṣa* 343, *pipali* 702, *śilipatam* 511, *priyasali*[3] 83, 140, *kamzavaliyana* 725,[4] ebenso vor dem epenthetischen *i* in *muli, muliyam, muliyamim muliyena* (Index) Sicherlich stammt aus dem Sanskrit auch *iyālidaio* mit den Nebenformen *vyalidavo, vyalidavya, vyalitaiya, iiyalidavo, iiyalitaio, iiyalidavya* (Index), ferner mit mehr oder minder Wahrscheinlichkeit *lisita* 52, *avalika* 575, *phalitaǵa* 214, *mahuli*[5] 528, *chaǵali paśu* 613, *khulimi* 349, und der Name *iiśaliae iiśaliyae* 722[6] Auch in Lehnwortern aus dem Iranischen wird immer *li* geschrieben, so in dem schon zur Aśoka-Zeit ins Indische aufgenommenen *liii* in *liiristarena, liristarena, liristaramim* (Index), in *mulima* (Index), das auf *μέδιμνος* zuruckgeht,[7] aber ebenso wie *satera, dralkhma* uber das Iranische hinuber

[1] Text *k lpiye vini*

[2] Text *malpigeyo*

[3] Offenbar sk *priyasyāla*, warum ist hier *i* im Auslaut eingetreten?

[4] Der erste Bestandteil des Wortes ist naturlich iranisch

[5] *Mahuli* kann aber nicht, wie im Index angegeben = sk *mahilā* sein, da dies ein aus *d* entstandenes *l* hat, das in der Sprache der Dokumente als *d* erscheinen musste, siehe Festschrift Wackernagel S 306 Auch die Identifizierung mit pali *mahallikā* ist den Lauten und der Bedeutung nach nicht befriedigend

[6] *Dalimi* 496 ist, wie im Index vermutet wird, wohl Schreibfehler fur *milimi*, ebenso *dilika* 510 = sk *tilikā* fur *didikā* Unklar ist *hali* 83, *livasa* 109, *paliyarnaǵa* (?) 318

[7] Thomas, Index

ubernommen ist, und wohl auch in *kaḷiharī* 709, *kāḷiharī* 399 [1] Es lasst sich naturlich nicht entscheiden, wie weit die Schreibungen in den echt indischen Wortern die wirkliche Aussprache wiedergeben, wie weit sie historisch sind Wenn aber, wie wir gesehen, die Neigung zur Palatalisierung des *l* vor *i* in der Fremdsprache bestand, so kann es nicht auffallen, wenn gelegentlich einmal ein *ḷiḷiḍa* erscheint

Ein zweites Beispiel fur *ḷiṃ* anstatt *li* in einem Prakritworte liefert 162 *ghiṃta khi* 3 *atrami prehidama paṃupaiarvarṣi ghṛta nasti śesa yo śesa hoati ahumno pamcama ṃarsa sarva galiṃti sarva gida Galiṃti* ist unverstandlich Ziehen wir in Betracht, dass der Schreiber noch an zwei andern Stellen Silben ausgelassen hat — er schreibt *namake gya* fur *namakero aogya* und *tamkami* fur *tamkalammi* — so durfen wir wohl annehmen, dass *galiṃti* fur *samgaliṃti*, das Gerundium [2] von *samgal* (sk *samkal*) verschrieben ist *Samgal* wird haufig von dem Einsammeln von Korn und Wein, die als Steuer abzuliefern sind, gebraucht Die Ausdrucksweise ist in dem ganzen Briefe nachlassig und unbeholfen, was der Schreiber sagen wollte, ist wohl „3 *khi* Schmelzbutter haben wir dorthin (zu euch) geschickt Von der vorjahrigen und der vorvorjahrigen Schmelzbutter ist nichts ruckstandig Was ruckstandig gewesen ist, das ist jetzt im funften Jahre alles eingesammelt und alles empfangen "

Ebenso begreiflich wie das Auftreten des *ḷiṃ* fur *li* in indischen Wortern ist umgekehrt aber auch die gelegentliche Schreibung *li* fur *ḷiṃ* in Fremdnamen, so in *lipe* 754 gegenuber dem ungemein haufigen *ḷiṃpe*, *ḷiṃpeya*, *livaiazma* 43 neben *ḷiṃpaiasma* 102, *ḷiṃvasnaṣa* 83, *lipu* 80, 558, *malina* [3] 409, *yalina* 754, *lalik* 701, *tsuǵeli* 642; *tsuǵaliya* 170, *tsoǵaliyaṣa* 93, *suǵeli* 650, *yili* 62, 259, 288, 701, *yilika* 642, *yiliyasa* 288 [4], *śimoliya* 185, *koliyamma* 152, *piṣaliyade* 64, 341, *piṣaliyamma* 291, *piṣali* 351 neben *piṣaliṃyami* 122 [5]

Das *ḷiṃ* findet sich nun aber nicht nur in Eigennamen, sondern

[1] Das Wort ist sicherlich im letzten Grunde eine Ableitung von sk *kalahakāra* „Streit machend ", das als *kalahāraa* auch ins Sakische ubernommen ist (Konow, *Saka Studies* 149) *Kaliharī* konnte wieder aus dem Sakischen zuruckentlehnt sein; das Auftreten des *i* bleibt in jedem Falle unerklart *Suliga* 661 „aus Suli stammend " ist als Fremdwort anzusehen

[2] Vgl *ṃaṃti* „gelesen habend " in 152, 725, und 376, wo der Text *vaṃti* bietet, *śrunuti* 341

[3] Nicht ganz sicher, vielleicht *malena*, vgl aber *molíṃna* 131, 482, 581

[4] Ein anderer Versuch, den Namen zu schreiben, ist offenbar *yuḷa* 80

[5] Dass das *i* in dem mit *ḷiṃ* beginnenden Namen sehr fluchtig gesprochen wurde, zeigt die schon erwahnte Schreibung *lpaṇḍa* 415 neben dem gewohnlichen *ḷiṃpaṇḍa* 571 usw.

auch in Appellativen, von denen wenigstens eins seiner Bedeutung nach hinreichend klar ist, das ist *palýi* Die Uberschrift des Tafelchens 207 lautet. [*ajhi*]*yama aváanammi ś*(*c*)*sa palýi*, „der restliche *palýi* in dem Dorfe Ajiyama“ [1] Es folgt eine allerdings nur sehr unvollstandig erhaltene Liste von Personennamen im Genitiv, hinter denen die verschiedenartigsten Gegenstande genannt sind, offenbar sind es die Sachen, die jene Leute abzuliefern haben Dann heisst es am Schluss zusammenfassend *p*(*i*)*mḍa śesa huda yam ca navaǵa yam ca poranaǵa ghrda khi 10 4 4 asam*[*kha*] *iajiya* [2] *1 kośava 4 2 akisdha 1 thavamnae 4 1 kamumta 10 4 2 goni 3 peda 3 pašu 1 masu milima 1 khi 4 1 pongoñena* [3] *amna milima 10 4 go 1*, „in summa ist der Ruckstand gewesen, sowohl der neue als auch der alte 18 *khi* Schmelzbutter, 1 *asamkharajiya* (?), 6 langhaarige Decken, 1 *akisdha*-Decke, 5 Stuck Tuch, 16 *kamumta*, 3 Sacke, 3 Korbe, 1 Schaf, 1 *milima* 5 *khi* Wein mit *pongoña*, 15 *milima* Korn, 1 Kuh‘ Mir scheint sich daraus deutlich zu ergeben, dass *palýi* die Steuer ist, die das Dorf an das konigliche Finanzamt abzuliefern hat Dazu stimmen die Angaben in 714, einem Briefe des *cozbo* Takra an *vasu* Opǵeya und Ñgaca *ahuno esa tsuǵeta atia visajidemi ajiyama aváanammi palýi dhaṁasa praceya yahi adchi purviǵa ajiyama aváanammi palýi cimtidaǵa ghrda paśava kośara arnavají thavastae rají nammatae cāmdri kammamtana amña maka oǵana croña amña sudae kamamta* [4] *yam ca amña palýi sarva spura aǵeta lijipeya tsuǵetasa ca hastammi carala iśa visajidavo* „jetzt habe ich Tsuǵeta dorthin (zu euch) geschickt wegen der gesetzlichen Steuer in dem Dorfe Ajiyama Wie von dort fruher die auf dem Dorf Ajiyama (liegende) Steuer festgesetzt ist, Schmelzbutter, Schafe, langhaarige Decken, *arnavají*-Decken, Teppiche, *rají*, Filzdecken,

[1] Im Text steht [*ajhi*]*yama* und *ś sa Ajhiyama* ist wahrscheinlich falsche Lesung, vielleicht Schreibfehler fur *ajiyama*, das sechsmal in den Texten erscheint

[2] So nach dem Index zu lesen

[3] Da die Zeichen fur *1* und *na* sich sehr ahnlich sehen, ist sicherlich statt des im Texte stehenden *pongoñe 1 pongoñena* zu lesen, vgl. *pongoñena milima 1 masu* in 574 (dreimal), *masu pongoñena pariatammi milima 1 khi 4, masu khi 4 pongoñena, khi 4 masu gida pongoñena, masu prahuda presidavya khi 3 pongoñena, masu pongoñena khi 3 prahuda anitama, masu nilhasta milima 1 khi 4 pongoñena, masu pongoñena khi 10 2 anitamti* in 637 *Pongoña* ist offenbar eine Weiterbildung von *ponga*, das in 225, wiederum in Verbindung mit *masu* erscheint, *iśa pir ci ginidemi masu ponga 2* Der in der Ausgabe S 314, Anm 2 vermutete Zusammenhang von *ponga* mit dem Namen *ponaja* besteht auf keinen Fall, auch mit *ponla* (oder *protsa*) in 317 hangt das Wort kaum zusammen *Ponga* scheint ein bestimmter Behalter fur Wein zu sein, *pongoña* ist vielleicht alles was zur Aufbewahrung des Weins in einem solchen gehort, das Suffix erinnert auffallig an das sakische Suffix *-ūña*, *-auña*

[4] Ausgabe: *suda elamamta*

cāmdri kammamtana,[1] ferner *maḱa, oǵana, croṁa*, ferner *sudae kamaṃta*, und was es sonst an Steuern gibt, alles das ist vollständig in der Obhut des *aǵeta* Lýipeya und des Tsuǵeta schleunigst hierher zu schicken" Auf diese Steuerabgabe von Ajıyama geht ferner 275 *yahi purvika adehı ajiyama aváanamm samvatsarı palýi cımtıtaǵa vıśatı matra varsa hutamtı eda palýi atremı achımnıdetha yahı eda kılamudra atra eśatı pratha eda palýi ımade pravamnaǵa prahıdama tena pravamnaǵena eda palýi cavala lepata yatma aǵetaṣa ca cavala sarva spara — ıśa vıṣajıdavo*, „wie früher vor dort (bei euch) die jährliche auf dem Dorf Ajıyama (liegende) Steuer vor zwanzig Jahren[2] festgesetzt ist, diese Steuer habt ihr gerade dort ausgesetzt Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort ankommen wird, diese Steuer[3] Wir haben von hier eine Anweisung geschickt Auf diese Anweisung hin ist diese Steuer schleunigst (in der Obhut)[4] von Lepata und des *yatma aǵeta* schleunigst ganz und vollständig hierher zu senden."

Eine Reihe von Dokumenten betrifft den *palýi* in dem Dorfe Peta. 165 ist ein Brief des *ogu* Kırtıśaña an den *cozbo* Kranaya und den *sothamgha* Lýipeya Nach den einleitenden Floskeln schreibt er: *avı peta aváanamm palýi paruvarsı śesa yam ca ımavarṣı palýi taha ṣarva spora tommıhı ṣadha ıśa vıṣajıdavo yatı tade purıma pacıma vıṣajısyatu pamthamm paıaṣa bhavısyatı tuo sothamga lýipeya tanu gothade vyosıśaṣı*, „weiter der Rest der vorjährigen auf dem Dorfe Peta (liegenden) Steuer und was die diesjährige Steuer ist, sind ganz und vollständig sofort zusammen hierher zu schicken Wenn davon (etwas) vorher (und etwas) nachher geschickt werden sollte (und) es unterwegs geraubt werden wird, so wirst du, der *sothaṃga* Lýipeya, (es) aus der eigenen Farm bezahlen" Es folgen Bemerkungen über den Ankauf von Schmelzbutter und die Mahnung, den *palýi* der *veǵa kılmı* Frauen, der in Korn besteht,[5] vollständig zu schicken. Dann

[1] *Camdrı kamamta* auch 272, vielleicht Silber-Arbeiten Das *na* hinter *kaṃmaṃta*- weiss ich nicht zu erklären

[2] Die Worte *vısatımatra varsa hutamtı* sind doch eher zu *cımtıtaǵa* zu ziehen als zu *achımnıdetha*, da nicht anzunehmen ist, dass das Dorf zwanzig Jahre lang keine Steuer entrichtet haben sollte.

[3] Hinter *palýi* scheint etwas ausgelassen zu sein

[4] Hinter *aǵetaṣa ca* ist wohl *hastaṃmı* weggefallen Auch die Wiederholung von *carala* beweist, dass der Brief nachlässig geschrieben ist

[5] Von dem *veǵa kılmı strıyana palýi* wird auch in 211 gesprochen. *veǵa kılme strıyana palýi na anısyaṃtı*, und weiter in 714 *avı veǵa kılme strıyana palýi spura pruchıdavo* Von dem *veǵa kılme dhaña*, von dem auch die Entrichtung des *palýi* abhängt, ist in 481 die Rede Der Ausdruck *veǵa kılme* erfordert eine besondere Untersuchung

fahrt der Schreiber fort · *aṁ palýi uta teneva ṣadha iśa viṣajitavo ma imaṁ tomgana parıde uta vithsyatu taṣa uta praceya raya saksı lıhıdaǵa krıdaǵa lıustaramm anatılekha atra gada tahı cozbo kranayaṣa lıhamı eda kaıyamı tuo cita kartaıya esa lýipeya na cita kareti*, „ auch das Steuer-Kamel ist mit diesem zusammen hierher zu schicken Auf keinen Fall soll seitens der *tomgas* (die Sendung des) Kamel(s) verzogert werden In betreff dieses Kamels ist ein Konigszeugen-Dokument angefertigt worden In ausfuhrlicher Darstellung ist ein Befehlsschreiben dorthin (zu euch) abgegangen Ich schreibe dir, dem *cozbo* Kranaya Um diese Angelegenheit musst du dich kummern Dieser Lýipeya kummert sich nicht (darum) " Das Steuer-Kamel ist offenbar eine Zusatzsteuer fur das Dorf Peta Die Angabe, dass in betreff dieses Kamels ein *raya salsı lıhıdaǵa* gemacht ist, lasst darauf schliessen, dass uber die Verpflichtung dieses Kamel zu liefern, zwischen der koniglichen Regierung und den ortlichen Behorden Meinungsverschiedenheiten bestanden Das „ Konigszeugen-Dokument " wird doch wahrscheinlich ein Dokument sein, in dem die Aussagen von Zeugen zu gunsten der koniglichen Anspruche protokolliert waren

Wenn uns auch der in 165 erwahnte *anatılekha* nicht erhalten ist, so haben wir doch in 42 einen *kılamudıa*, in dem praktisch dieselbe Forderung gestellt wird *yahı puriika adehı peta aʻanamm samvatsari palýi cimdıtaǵa paı uıaısı palýi suǵnutana anada pıcaıida yahı eda kılamudra atıa eśati pratha eda palýi[ya] praceya vasu lýipeya [pıa] davo saıia spara caıala aǵıta samǵapeyaṣa hastam iśa viṣayidaıo yahı puriika adehı peta aʻanamm samvatsarı palýi uta cimdıtaǵa se uta na vrdhaǵa na kriśaǵa syatı teneıa palýiyena sadha uta iśa viṣayidavo śesa palýi syatı spara viṣayidavo grıda palýi puıa caıala prahadaıo*, , wie fruher von dort (bei euch) die jahrliche auf dem Dorfe Peta liegende Steuer festgesetzt ist, (in der Hohe) ist die vorjahrige Steuer dem Suǵnuta [1] zu ubergeben Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, ist wegen dieser Steuer der *vasu* Lýipeya zu befragen (?) [2] Sie ist ganz und vollstandig schleunigst in der Obhut des *aǵıta* Samǵapeya hierher zu schicken Wie fruher ist von dort (bei euch) als eine jahrliche auf dem Dorfe Peta (liegende) Steuer ein Kamel festgesetzt Sollte dies Kamel nicht alt (und) nicht mager

[1] Der Plural *suǵnutana* ist auffallig *Anada* verstehe ich in diesem Zusammenhange nicht

[2] Die in der Ausgabe vorgeschlagene Ergänzung zu *prochidavo* ist nicht ganz sicher

sein, so ist das Kamel zusammen mit jener Steuer hierher zu schicken. Sollte ein Steuerrest sein, so ist er vollstandig zu schicken. Die Schmelzbuttersteuer ist schleunigst zuerst zu senden "

Wahrscheinlich bestand die Verpflichtung jahrlich ein Kamel als Steuer zu liefern auch fur andere Dorfer In dem koniglichen Briefe 70, der nach der Aufschrift *traṣa aʼvanammi* eine Angelegenheit des Dorfes Trasa betrifft, lesen wir *yahi purvika adehi malbhayaṣa vamti*[1] *cauravarsi palʼi vithidaǵa vuǵacaṣa*[2] *vamti cauia uta vithidae yahi eda kilamudra atra eśati pratha eda palʼi keti vithidaǵa syati dhaciyaṣa hastami iśa viṣajidavo* „die wie fruher von dort (bei euch festgesetzte) Steuer ist vier Jahre lang bei Malbhaya zuruckgehalten worden Bei Vuǵaca sind vier Kamele zuruckgehalten worden Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, ist diese Steuer, soviel (davon) zuruckgehalten sein sollte, in der Obhut Dhaciyas hierher zu schicken." Es liegt jedenfalls die Vermutung nahe, dass die Zuruckhaltung der vier Kamele mit der vier Jahre langen Zuruckhaltung der Steuer in Zusammenhang steht

Ich habe *palʼidhaña* oben in 714 durch „gesetzliche Steuer" wiedergegeben, der Ausdruck scheint dem *deyyadhamma* nachgebildet zu sein, das im Pali im Sinne von religioser Gabe verwendet wird Dass *palʼidhaña* jedenfalls die konkrete Steuer bezeichnet, geht deutlich aus 164 hervor, einem Privatbriefe des Lʼimsu an seinen Vater, den *cozbo* Lʼipeya, wo von der Einsammlung und Absendung des *palʼidhaña* die Rede ist *avi ca ahono iśa peta aʼvanemciye palʼidhaña prace sutha vihedemti paruvarsi paǵo pake palʼi kida avi kilʼigameiyana palʼi prace vihedemti yati eta lekha atra eśati cavala palʼidhaña iśa iisarjidavya yo puna amña adehi rajade samarena tsamghina kvemamdhina palʼidhaña iśa mama prochamti avaśa caiala samghalidavya iśa prahadavya avi ca avaśa paǵo iśa iisarjidavya,* „und ferner Jetzt drangen sie hier[3] die Einwohner des Dorfes Peta sehr wegen der gesetzlichen Steuer Fur das vorige Jahr hat Paǵo die *pake*-Steuer entrichtet Auch wegen der Steuer der Kilʼigamciyas drangen sie Wenn dieser Brief dort (bei euch) eintreffen wird, ist schleunigst die gesetzliche Steuer hierher zu schicken. Da sie hier ferner die andere von dort, von der Provinz (zu entrichtende) gesetzliche *samarena-*, *tsamghina-*, *kvemaṃdhina*-Steuer von mir fordern, so ist sie auf jeden Fall

[1] Text hier und nachher *amti*
[2] Text *vaǵacasa*
[3] Der Brief scheint aus der Hauptstadt geschrieben zu sein

schleunigst einzusammeln (und) hierher zu senden Auch ist auf jeden Fall Pugo hierher zu schicken." Auch in 211, einem Privatbrief, kann *palŷidhaṁa* nur etwas wie „ gesetzliche Steuer " bedeuten *tanu gothade palŷidhaṁa achinaṣi amñesa palŷi na praǵaḍa nikhaleṣi — tuo atra triti mahatva ṣi avaǵajena imade hemamtammi palŷi praceya lekha iiṣaji(de)mi triti bhagade eka bhaga na palŷi iśa viṣaideṣi yati ahuno bhuya eda palŷi na spora iśa anisyamti nacirena tuo ima varsa vasammi iśa agamisyaṣi*, „ die gesetzliche Steuer von dem eigenen Gute enthaltst du vor, die Steuer der andern gibst du nicht offen heraus Du bist dort der dritte hohe Beamte Bei Gelegenheit habe ich von hier im Winter wegen der Steuer einen Brief geschickt, du hast die Steuer auch nicht zu einem Teil vom dritten Teil [1] hierher geschickt Wenn sie jetzt fernerhin diese Steuer nicht schleunigst hierher bringen, wirst du in kurzem in diesem *varsavasa* hierher kommen " Dass zwischen *palŷidhaṁa* und dem einfachen *palŷi* kaum zu scheiden ist, zeigt auch der Vergleich von 714 *palŷidhaṁaṣa pricha hoti*, „ es findet Einforderung der gesetzlichen Steuer statt ", mit 725 *avi kamzavaliyana palŷiyasa anada pricha ganana kartavo spura iśa iiṣaidavo* „ auch ist die . . Einforderung und Zahlung der Steuer von Dingen, die an die Schatzbeamten zu liefern sind, zu machen (und sie) ist vollstandig hierher zu schicken "

Von *palŷi* ist in den Dokumenten noch ofter die Rede, ich kann hier aber nicht auf die verschiedenen Arten des *palŷi* eingehen, da dafür zunachst die Bedeutung von Ausdrucken wie *kilmeciya, samarena* (?), *tsamgina, loyimamdhina* usw klargestellt werden musste Auch das Verhaltnis, von *palŷi* zu *harga* und *śuka* soll hier nicht behandelt werden Schon aus dem Angefuhrten scheint mir zur Genuge hervorzugehen, dass *palŷi* die von einzelnen Personen wie von der Provinz, dem Dorf und anderen staatlichen Verbanden an die konigliche Regierung in Naturalien zu entrichtende Steuer ist Hochstens in 450 konnte an eine Abgabe an eine Privatperson gedacht werden. Da schreibt Lŷipana an ein Ehepaar, Kroae und Luǵaya, nach den einleitenden Floskeln *avi ca vasamtammi atra krisivatra karamnae ma imci avakāśa karisyatu ahuno caturtha iarsa huda mahi palŷi achinaṣi yo tahi atra gotha bhumaksitra taha vikrinamnae parihara*

[1] *Triti bhagade ela bhaga* scheint ein idiomatischer Ausdruck fur „ wenig " zu sein Ein ahnlicher Ausdruck findet sich in dem gleichen Zusammenhang in 315 *yatha purvika adehi tsamgina palŷi cimdidaǵa taha ardhade ardha na anemti iśa bahu dharamnaǵa huamti*, „ Wie fruher ist von dort die *tsamgina*-Steuer festgesetzt Sie bringen nicht die Halfte von der Halfte Sie sind hier viel schuldig "

oḍidemi tahi samadue bharyae putra dhidarehi iśa agamdavo iśa kriṣivatra kartavo mahi palýi sudha rotamna aii curaña ṣa[1] *iśa amdavo aṃña palýi mahi na kicamaǵa*, „und ferner im Fruhjahr soll keineswegs Erlaubnis gegeben werden, dort (bei euch) das Land zu bestellen Jetzt ist es das vierte Jahr gewesen, dass du mir die Steuer (*oder* meine Steuer) vorenthaltst (Was) die Kuhfarm (betrifft und) das Ackerland, die du dort hast, so habe ich (dir) freigestellt (sie) zu verkaufen Du musst mit deiner Mutter, deiner Frau und deinen Sohnen und Tochtern hierher kommen Hier ist das Land zu bestellen Mir ist als Steuer nur Krapp[2] und auch *curaña* hierher zu schicken, andere Steuer brauche ich nicht" Es ist aber sehr wohl moglich, dass auch hier *palýi* in dem gewohnlichen Sinne gemeint ist, indem Lýipana die zu liefernden Dinge als *palýi* bezeichnet, weil er sie selbst an das konigliche Steueramt abzuliefern hat, jedenfalls haben Krapp und *curaña*, ofter *curoña*, *croña*, einen Platz in den koniglichen Steuerlisten, siehe 357, 387, 714 usw

Mit der richtigen Lesung und der Feststellung der Bedeutung scheint mir auch die Ableitung von *palýi* gegeben zu sein es wird nichts weiter sein als sk *bali*, „Steuer, Abgabe" Da in den Dokumenten ofter eine anlautende Media durch die Tenuis wiedergegeben wird,[3] macht die Identifizierung von *palýi* und *bali* im Grunde keine Schwierigkeit Jene Schreibungen treten aber doch immer nur sporadisch auf, wahrend in *palýi* das *p* ebenso ausnahmslos erscheint wie das *lý* Das lasst doch darauf schliessen, dass man sich des indischen Ursprungs des Wortes nicht mehr bewusst war, und ich mochte es nicht fur unmoglich halten, dass *bali* in der bereits zu *palýi* veranderten Gestalt aus einer Sprache wie etwa dem Tocharischen, wo *b* zu *p* werden musste und wahrscheinlich auch das *l* vor *i* palatalisiert wurde, entlehnt worden ist

Das zweite Wort, in dem ein *lý* vor *i* erscheint, ist *vyalýi*, das offenbar mit *vyala* oder *iiyala* zusammenhangt, da beide Beiworter von *uta* „Kamel", sind[4] In 437 wird beurkundet, dass Kompala und sein Sohn Sūgiya ein *kuḍi* Madchen fur 45 verkauft haben Die

[1] Text *curaña*

[2] So nach Burrow, *BSOS* 7, 787

[3] Z B *kañi dramgaṃmi*, *tamḍa*, *tita*, *tiiaṣe*, *tivira*, *tosa*, *trakhma*, *traṃghami*, *tritha*, *poǵa* usw

[4] In 703 wird *viyala* ohne deutliche Beziehung auf ein Kamel gebraucht *iśa śramaṃna anaṃdaṣenasya viyala krita atra gachanae*, es hindert aber nichts auch hier zu übersetzen „hier hat er ein *iiyala*-Kamel des *śramana* Anamdaṣena gekauft, um dorthin zu gehen".

Kaufer haben aber nicht die ganze Summe gezahlt *taha eta kompala sugïya ṣa ca ducapariśa muliyami viyala uta 1 paḍichitamti tade śesa muli 3 vithitaǵa huati* „dieser Kompala und Sugïya haben ein *viyala*-Kamel im Werte von 42 erhalten, der von dieser (Kaufsumme verbleibende) Rest im Werte von 3 ist vorlaufig nicht bezahlt worden" 590 ist ein Kaufvertrag uber eine Frau Lýipaae Ein gewisser Śāmcā hat sie an den Schreiber Ramsonka verkauft. *tivira ramṣonkasa parıde stri lýipaae muli śāmcā giḍa eka uta viyala caparisa mulıyena paḍichita bhiti uta akra trisa mulıyena tavastaǵa 1 hasta 10 2 bhiti tavastaǵa hasta 10 1 amña sutra muli giḍa 4 4 ṣarva pimda muli hoti 20 20 20 20 10 4 4,* „von dem Schreiber Ramsonka hat Śāmcā als Preis der Frau Lýipaae erhalten ein *viyala*-Kamel im Werte von 40 ein zweites Kamel, (namlich ein) *akra* (!), im Werte von 30, einen 12 Ellen langen Teppich, einen zweiten 11 Ellen langen Teppich Ferner hat er als *sutra*-Preis 8 erhalten Der ganze Kaufpreis betragt in summa 98" Ich bin uberzeugt dass das unverstandliche *akra* nur ein Schreiberversehen fur *akıatsa* oder *amkratsa* ist, das in den Dokumenten ofter als Beiwort von *uta* auftritt In 569 wird als Zahlung fur ein Ziehkind ein *akratsa*-Kamel angegeben (*kuṭhaksıraṣa uta akratsa ditaǵa*) Nach 195 haben eine Anzahl von Leuten, die gemeinsam ein Opfer veranstaltet haben, von *vasu* Opǵeya ein *amkratsa*-Kamel fur dieses Opfer geholt (*vasu opǵeyaṣa paride uta 1 amkratsa yamñami nitamti*) 330 ist eine Urkunde in betreff von *akratsa*-Kamelen (*akratsa utana prace*), in 383 einer Aufstellung der lebenden und der toten Kamele der koniglichen Stuterei, wird auch ein *amkratsa* erwahnt, ebenso in der durch Bruch verstummelten Tafel 428 (*uta akıa*) und in 163, wo der Zusammenhang nicht klar ist Den Beweis fur die Richtigkeit der Verbesserung von *akra* zu *akratsa* scheint mir vor allem 592 zu liefern Es ist ein Vertrag zwischen Pulnamto und dem Schreiber Ramsonka uber den Kauf eines *kuḍi*-Madchens Der Preis, den Pulnamto empfangt, ist auf ein *akratsa*-Kamel und eine Khotan-Decke festgesetzt, wobei das *akratsa*-Kamel genau so wie in 590 mit 30 bewertet wird (*muli uta 1 akratsa trisa mulıyena pulnamto paḍichida amña anǵa muli khotani kojaıa 1*) Vergleicht man die Preisangaben in 437, 590 und 592, so ergiebt sich dass ein *viyala*-Kamel um ein Drittel teurer war als ein *amkıatsa*-Kamel und zum teil noch hoher bewertet wurde

Anderseits ist ein *viyala*-Kamel etwas weniger wert als eine vierjahrige Kamelstute, wie 420 zeigt *koraıa kamyaka aṇi-śaraspaṣa vyala uta 1 dharanaǵa huati yam kala aṇi-śaraspa ichita maramnaya*

tam kalammı arı-śaraspa kamjake śvasu śarıyae hastammı krıta uta pruchamnae ahuno kamjaka uthıta śarıya śrıvammaṣa ca catwarsı utı 1 vyosıta tena kamramna utvaravarsı dıtaǵa prace puṅǵetsa[1] *1 arohaǵa mulı 4 2 kamjaka patama nıta,* „ *korara* Kamjaka war Ehrwurden Śaraspa ein *vyala*-Kamel schuldig Als Ehrwurden Śaraspa sterben wollte, da hat Ehrwurden Śaraspa es in die Hand (seiner) Schwester Śarıyae gelegt, das Kamel bei Kamjaka einzufordern Jetzt ist Kamjaka vor Gericht erschienen Er hat eine vierjahrige Kamelstute an Śarıyae und Śrıvamma ausgeliefert Aus diesem Grunde, weil er ein im besseren[2] Alter stehendes (Tier) gegeben hat, hat Kamjaka ein *puṅǵetsa* als den ubersteigenden Preis von 6 wieder herausbekommen "

Ein *puṅǵetsa* muss wiederum eine Art von Kamel sein. In 561 heisst es, dass nach dem Urteilsspruch des Richters in einer Diebstahlsangelegenheit *jımoyaṣa dazasya parıde amkratsa puṅǵetsa odarasya ca ndavya huatı.* Ich kann dem Text einen Sinn allerdings nur abgewinnen, wenn statt *odarasya ca* vielmehr *odara sa ca* zu lesen ist „ von dem Sklaven Jımoya waren ein *amkratsa*, ein *puṅǵetsa* (und) ein *odara* wegzuholen " Das ist nicht geschehen *puṅǵetsa odara atremı vithdae,* „ der *puṅǵetsa* (und) der *odara* sind dort (bei euch) zuruckgehalten worden " Um einen ahnlichen Fall handelt es sich in 359. Da klagt eine Person, deren Name verloren ist, dass ihm im konıglichen Gerichte durch Gerichtsbeschluss zwei *puṅǵetsa*-Kamele als Busse von seiten des Pǵına zugesprochen seien Von denen sei ein Kamel gegeben worden, das zweite Kamel sei nicht gegeben worden *pǵınaṣa parıde puṅǵetsa uta 2 vyochımndae tade eka uta dıta bıtı uta na denatı* In 401 handelt es sich um einen Streit um die Miete fur ein Kamel, als Miete fur dieses Kamel war ein *puṅǵetsa* zu liefern *eda utaṣa parıkre puṅǵetsa ndavo* 526 berichtet von der Aussage eines gewissen Suǵnuta *suǵnuta vımĩavetı yatha edaṣa kuhanıyammı kalu kuvaya amna gida puṅǵetsa utena eda uta na vıṣayeṣı,* „ Suǵnuta zeigt an, dass *kalu* Kuvaya in Kuhanıya von ihm Korn fur ein *puṅǵetsa*-Kamel gekauft hat Dieses Kamel schickst du nicht[3] Mit derselben Sache beschaftigt sich noch ausfuhrlicher der Brief 530 *ahuno iśa suǵnuta vımĩaıetı yatha edaṣa kuvayena amna gida*

[1] Text hier und stets *puṅǵebha* mit *puṅǵetsa* in der Note Ich halte *puṅǵetsa* im Hinblick auf *amkratsa* fur die wahrscheinlichere Lesung

[2] Ich nehme an, dass *utvara* fur *uttara* steht

[3] Es ist nicht klar, wer der Angeredete ist Hinter *na* ist ein Stuck von der Tafel abgebrochen und daher vielleicht etwas von dem Texte weggefallen

iśa kuhaniyaṇımi milima 3 puṅǵetsa uta muḷı abhisamitamti tade uvadae bahu varsa hutamti na denatı, „jetzt zeigt Suǵnuta hier an, dass Kuvaya hier in Kuhaniya von ihm 3 *milima* Korn gekauft hat Sie haben sich uber ein *puṅǵetsa*-Kamel als Preis geeinigt. Seitdem sind viele Jahre vergangen, es ist nicht gegeben worden". Es muss auffallen, dass ein so geringer Wert wie 3 *milima* Korn hier einem Kamel gleichgesetzt sind, aber es steht damit im Einklang, dass in 420 ein *puṅǵetsa*-Kamel auch nur mit 6 bewertet ist. Wir konnen daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass *puṅǵetsa* der Ausdruck fur ein ganz junges Kamel ist, und dafur spricht auch eine weitere Bemerkung in 530 Nachdem dort befohlen ist, die Sache zu untersuchen, heisst es *bhudartha eva haksatı uta vaısaǵa nacimtı dadavo*[1] *athava amna ayoǵena dadavo*, „sollte es sich in Wahrheit so verhalten, so ist ein jahriges Kamel . . zu geben[2] oder es ist Korn mit Zinsen zu geben" Da das jahrige Kamel bestimmt ist, auch den Schaden zu ersetzen, der durch die jahrelange Nichtbezahlung des *puṅǵetsa* entstanden ist, so muss es mehr wert sein als ein *puṅǵetsa*[3]

Wir konnen also gewissermassen eine Preisliste fur Kamele aufstellen 1) *catuvarsı uti* 46–48, 2) *ıvyala* 40–42, 3) *amkratsa* 30, 4) *varsaǵa*, 5) *puṅǵetsa 3 milima–6*[4] Da ferner gesagt ist, dass ein *vıyala*-Kamel an Jahren hinter einer vierjahrigen Stute und ebenso ein *puṅǵetsa* hinter einem jahrigen Kamel zuruckstehe, so wird es wahrscheinlich, dass die drei unbekannten Ausdrucke *viyala*, *amkratsa* und *puṅǵetsa* sich auf verschiedene Altersklassen beziehen Ich mochte auch annehmen, dass *vıyala* ebenso wie sicherlich *amkratsa* und *pungetsa* aus der Fremdsprache stammen, uber deren Natur wir vorlaufig nichts wissen Jedenfalls kann ich der S 318 geausserten Ansicht der Herausgeber, dass *vyala*, *ıvyala* mit sk *vyāda*, *vyāla*, zusammenhange, nicht beipflichten Dagegen spricht die Bedeutung, denn das Sanskrit Wort dient im allgemeinen nur zur Bezeichnung von Raubtieren und Schlangen, und wenn es im Sinne von „tuckisch, boshaft" auch von einem Elefanten gebraucht wird, so kann, wie der Zusammenhang zeigt, in den Dokumenten doch unmoglich von

[1] Text *ıarsaǵana cimtidadaıo*, mit der Bemerkung, dass fur *cim* auch *roı*, *dhim* oder *rdhı* gelesen werden kann

[2] *Nacimtı* oder, wie die Silben sonst zu lesen sind, verstehe ich nicht Moglich ist es naturlich auch, dass *varsaǵana* zusammengehort und ein *cimtı* (?) von den jahrigen gemeint ist.

[3] Die in 383 dreimal wiederkehrenden Worte *taya* (*tayā*) *dhıtu puṅǵetsa* verstehe ich nicht

[4] Es kommen aber auch abweichende Preisangaben vor So wird im 571 von einem zweijährigen Kamel, das 50 wert war, gesprochen (*uta 1 duvarsaǵa paṃcaśa mulıyena*)

„ tuckischen " Kamelen die Rede sein. Ausserdem konnte *vyāda*, *vyāla* in dem Prakrit der Dokumente nur als **vyaḍa*, **ivyaḍa* erscheinen, da hier altes *ḍ* niemals als *l* auftritt

Zu *vyala* gehort nun als Femininum *vyalÿi*, das sich in 594 und 546 findet Der Text von 594 ist ganz fragmentarisch Nach dem Satze *aii vasamtamma utaṣa karamna taha vamti jalpita*, „ ferner im Fruhjahr hat er mit dir wegen des Kameles gesprochen ", sind nur noch die Worte erhalten *avaśa ah(u)no i[cha] vuta vyalÿi*, aus denen sich nicht viel entnehmen lasst, zumal anstatt *icha* auch *iśa* oder *iḍha* gelesen werden kann Nur soviel ist klar, dass *vyalÿi* sich auf ein Kamel bezieht Leider ergibt sich auch aus 546 nicht viel mehr Der *śramana* Dhaṁapriya schreibt *maha uti dii vyalÿi 1 vuǵeyaṣa gothadarana pairde niydavo huati*, „ ich hatte von den Leuten auf der Kuhfarm des Vuǵeya zwei Kamele, eine *vyalÿi* zu holen." Im folgenden ist aber immer nur von einer Kamelstute (*uti*), die Dhaṁapriya von dem Sohne des Vuǵeya erhalten hat, die Rede, und es lasst sich nicht entscheiden, ob damit eine der beiden nicht naher bezeichneten Stuten oder die *vyalÿi* gemeint ist Wahrscheinlich findet sich *vyalÿi* ein drittes Mal in 341 *aii ca atra rayaka khula uta yo trevarsa yam ca tade a[thaiars] [ǵa] ede uta sothaṃga kolÿisa calmasaṣa ca hastami iśa iṣayidavo ekadaśi masasya daśamma pisali-(yamma) samǵa(lidavo)* [1] *— hotu yo [nu da iyalÿa iyala] utae na* [2] *imci iśa iṣayidavo pisaliyade prathama [ ] iśa iimĩatilekha prahadavo ede śrunii pisaliyade iśa iiṣayi(da)vo* [1] Statt *vyalÿa vyala* wird *vyalÿi vyala* zu lesen sein „ und ferner Die Kamele des koniglichen Gestutes dort (bei euch), die dreijahrigen und die in hoheren Jahren sind (?) [3] als diese, diese Kamele sind in der Obhut des *sothamga* Kolÿisa und des Calmasa hierher zu schicken Sie sind am zehnten des elften Monats in Pisaliya zu sammeln [4] . die *vyalÿi* und *vyala* Kamele sind keineswegs hierher zu schicken Von Pisaliya ist zuerst ein Brief mit der Anzeige hierher zu senden Diese (Kamele) sind (erst), nachdem man (die Antwort) gehort hat, von Pisaliya hierher zu schicken " Bei der Unsicherheit der Textuberlieferung lasst sich vorlaufig auch aus dieser Stelle kaum etwas Genaueres uber *vyalÿi* erschliessen

Das Auftreten des *lÿ* ist nicht auf die Stellung vor *i* beschrankt ,

[1] Die Erganzungen stammen von mir

[2] Text *uta e na*

[3] *Athaiars* . *ǵa* ist unsicher Das *tade* lasst darauf schliessen, dass ein Wort mit komparativer Bedeutung wie etwa **ajhiiarsaǵa* oder **utaravarsaǵa* folgte

[4] Die auf eine Lucke folgenden Worte *hotu yo nu da* verstehe ich nicht

lý findet sich auch vor *a*, *e* und *o*, und zwar wiederum am haufigsten in Fremdnamen *alýaya* 9, 370, 575, 709, *alýayaṣa*, *alýayena* 214, *alýaṣena* 684, *kılýaǵı* 348, *kılýaǵıya* 322, *kılýaǵıyaṣa* 216, 322, 348, *kılýaǵıṣa* 36, *kılýama* 246, *kolýaya*[1] 701, *kolýaraṣa* 701; *pulýa* 37 *lýaka* 701, *lýakdha* 701, *sṕalýayaṣa*[2] 579, *ṣṕalýaya*[3] 709, *sṕalýaya* 506, *solýaka*[4] 701, *calýeya* 596, *kalýotsa*[5] 585. Ein paarmal erscheint *lý* vor *a* und *o* auch in Appellativen, aber abgesehen von dem oben behandelten *kalýana* nur in Wortern, die nicht oder wenigstens nicht direckt aus dem Indischen stammen.

In 151 findet sich funfmal *ǵılýamyaṣa*, *gılýamyaṣa* oder *ǵılýaṃya*, *gılýaṃya paśava* (oder *paśu*) Da der Ausdruck mit *ghrıtaṣa* oder *ghrıta paśava* (oder *paśu*), *ghrıtı paśava* (oder *paśu*), *palýı paśava* (oder *paśu*) in derselben Tafel auf einer Stufe steht, scheint er eine besondere Art von Schafen zu bezeichnen

In 318 wird in einer Liste von gestohlenen Dingen zweimal ein *lýokmana* genannt *samımna cıtraǵa lýokmana* und *suýna kırta lýokmana*. Von den Beiwortern ist vorlaufig nur *cıtraǵa* klar, da aber *lýokmana* zwischen *kamculı* „Jacke“ und *prahunı* „Gewand“ eingeordnet ist, wird es vermutlich ein Kleidungsstuck bezeichnen

Vollig unklar ist *sulýaǵamdha* in dem Satze *avaśa sulýaǵamdha prahadaıo*, mit dem der Brief 127 schliesst Der eigentliche Inhalt des Briefes ist verloren und es bietet sich daher kein Anhaltspunkt fur die Bestimmung der Bedeutung des Wortes dar

Besser steht es in dieser Beziehung um *sılýoka*, *sılýoǵa*, das in den Dokumenten ofter erscheint In dem zum teil schon oben behandelten konıglichen Schreiben 359 heisst es *avı garahatı yatha edaṣa ıśa rayadvaramm sılýoka lıhıtaǵa pǵınaṣa parıde punǵetsa uta 2 vyochımnidae tade eka uta drta bitı uta na denatı atra (sa)muha anada pruchıdaıo yatha sılýoǵamm lıhıdaǵa ımthuamı ahono yatha dhaṁena vıbhaśıo*[6] *na (ım)cı tatra aṁñatha kartaıo* „ferner klagt er, dass ihm hier im konıglichen Gerichte ein *sılýoka* geschrieben ist es sind (ihm) zwei *punǵetsa*-Kamele (als Busse) von seiten des Pǵına zugesprochen worden Von diesen ist ein Kamel gegeben worden, das andere wird nicht gegeben. Dort (bei euch) ist in Anwesenheit die Sache zu untersuchen Wie in dem *sılýoǵa* geschrieben ist, genau so ist jetzt nach dem Gesetze zu entscheiden, nichts ist in dieser

[1] Text *kolayṕa* (Druckfehler)
[2] Vielleicht *spalýyaṣa*
[3] Im Index *svalṕaya*
[4] Oder *soluka*, wie im Text
[5] Oder *kalýatsa*.
[6] Schreibfehler fur *vıbhaśrdavo*

Sache abzuandern " Hier ist *silʹjoka, silʹjoǵa* deutlich ein Schriftstuck, das das Urteil des Gerichtshofes enthalt Dieselbe Bedeutung hat *silʹjoka* in 312 *ahuno iśa jihmaya garahatı yatha edaṣa catata ayaṣa ca parıde mamnuśa kamkı parıkraya vyochimnidaǵa ṣilʹjoka lihidaǵa kitae*, „ jetzt klagt hier Jihmaya, dass ihm der Lohn fur den Mann Kamki von seiten des Catata und des Aya zugesprochen worden ist Es ist ein geschriebenes *silʹjoka* gemacht worden " Es folgen die gleichen Weisungen fur die weitere Behandlung der Angelegenheit wie in 359 Auch in 561 bezieht sich die Bemerkung *silʹjoka lihidaǵa kidae* auf das Urteil, das der *kitsayntsa* Luthu und der *cozbo* Kamci in dem Prozess des Sunamda wegen gewisser gestohlener Sachen gesprochen haben, und auch hier wieder wird fur die weitere Behandlung der Sache bestimmt, die Entscheidung nach dem fruheren Spruche, wie das *silʹjoka* geschrieben ist, zu treffen . *yatha kitsayntsa luthu cozbo kamci ṣa ca hastama vyochimnidaǵa silʹjoka lihidaǵa syatı tena vidhanena ya(tha) dhaṁ(e)na nice kartavo.* In 729, wo nur der Schluss des koniglichen Schreibens erhalten ist, ist in die Phrase noch *hasta lekha*, offenbar „ handschriftlich " eingefugt . *yatha silʹjoǵa hasta lekha lihidaǵa siyatı tena vidhanena nice kartavo*

Dass das *silʹjoǵa* aber nicht unbedingt den Urteilsspruch enthalten muss, geht aus 492 hervor *śavathena saksiyena rayakadhaṁena pruchidavo atra na paribujhśatu saksiyena śavathena matralekhami lihidavo ṣa ca silʹjoǵena hastagada iśa visaṇidavo*, „ (die Sache) ist mit Eid und Zeugenvernehmung nach dem koniglichen Recht zu untersuchen Sollte sie dort (bei euch) nicht klar gestellt werden, ist es mit der Zeugenvernehmung und dem Eid in einen *matra*-Brief [1] zu schreiben und dieser mit dem *silʹjoǵa* in Obhut hierher zu schicken " Da es sich hier um den Fall handelt, dass kein Urteil gefallt wird, so kann *silʹjoǵa* hier wohl nur das Protokoll der Verhandlung sein Und das Gleiche gilt auch fur 471, wo die Auseinandersetzung eines Streitfalls, von der nur die Halfte erhalten und die daher schwer verstandlich ist, mit den Worten schliesst : *eda prace vistarena silʹjoǵa lihidaǵa rayadvaramni prahadavo ede vevatuǵa hastagada rayadvarammi visaṇidavo*, „ wegen dieser Sache ist ein ausfuhrlich geschriebenes *silʹjoǵa* an den koniglichen Gerichtshof zu senden Diese Prozessierenden sind in Obhut an den koniglichen Gerichtshof zu senden "

[1] *Matra* ist wohl so viel wie *mantra*, ein *matralekha* wäre also ein benachrichtigender Brief Die Lesung ist aber nicht sicher , es kann auch *maha* gelesen werden.

Silẏoǵa hat aber eine noch allgemeinere Bedeutung In 140 handelt es sich um Korn, das Kupsimta, dem Schreiber des Briefes, gehort und sich zum teil in andern Handen befindet *yo tade aṃnade nikhastaǵa amñesa ditaya sarva silẏoǵamma kritaǵa*, „ was von diesem Korn abgeliefert, andern gegeben ist, das ist alles in ein *silẏoǵa* gemacht ". Der Ausdruck *silẏoǵamma kritaǵa* kann hier kaum etwas anderes bedeuten als „ in einer Liste urkundlich aufgezeichnet ". Im Sinne einer urkundlichen Liste wird *silẏoǵa* auch in 470 gebraucht, wo aber im Einzelnen Unklarheiten bleiben *ahuno śa yapgu vimñaveti yatha paruvarsami esa uta nikhalida asya ima varsami ganana katvetha silẏoǵa lihitaǵa katvetha eda silẏoǵa śa a*[*nida huda*], „ jetzt zeigt Yapgu hier an, dass er im vorigen Jahr ein Kamel herausgegeben hat Dieses habt ihr in diesem Jahre mitgezahlt [1] Ihr habt ein geschriebenes *ṣilẏoǵa* gemacht Dies *silẏoǵa* ist hierher gebracht worden " [2]

Neben *silẏoǵa*, *silẏoka* findet sich einmal, in 582, auch *ṣulǵa* Die Tafel enthalt einen Kaufvertrag uber einen Acker Wegen dieses Ackers ist spater ein Streit entstanden, und die Entscheidung in dem deswegen gefuhrten Prozesse ist als Nachschrift dem Vertrage angefugt In dieser Nachschrift steht der Satz *eta sulǵa lihidaǵa pramana huda*, „ dieses geschriebene *sulǵa* ist gultig gewesen " Mit dem *sulǵa* ist offenbar die Kaufurkunde gemeint, und *ṣulǵa* kann daher nur als eine nachlassige Schreibung fur *silẏoga* angesehen werden

Die Bedeutung von *silẏoǵa* ist somit „ urkundliches Schriftstuck ", und ich mochte glauben, dass das Wort nichts weiter als sk. *śloka* ist Das mag in anbetracht der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit sehr kuhn erscheinen, wenn auch innerhalb des Sanskrit die Bedeutungen von *śloka* „ Schall, Gerausch, Ruf, Ruhm, Strophe " recht weit auseinander gehen Formell wurde der Einschub des Teilvokals ohne weiteres begreiflich sein, da wir im Pali *siloka*, im Prakrit *siloga*, *siloa* haben Auch im Sakischen erscheint *śloka* als *śilo* Aber auch das auffallende linguale *s* und die Palatalisierung des *l* hat ihre Parallele in der Ārśi-Sprache Toch Gramm S 60 wird angegeben, dass sk *śloka* sieben mal als *ślok*, acht mal als *slyok* erscheint, allerdings immer in der Bedeutung „ Strophe " Dass zwischen diesem *slyok* und unserm *silẏoka* ein Zusammenhang besteht, scheint mir unverkennbar

[1] Die Übersetzung ist unsicher Statt *asya* kann *ana* gelesen werden *Katvetha* das nur hier vorkommt, scheint 2 Plur Praet von *kr* zu sein

[2] Die Lesung *anida huda* ist nicht sicher Der Schluss des Briefes fehlt

Der Palatalisierung des *l* vor *i* steht eine Palatalisierung des *n* vor *i* in den Fremdnamen zur Seite, so in *aṃcuñi*, *acuñiya*, *acuñiyaṣa*[1], *apñighade*, *apñiya*, *apñiyani*, *apñiyaṣa*[2]; *kuñita*, *kuñitaṣa*, *koñita*, *koñitaṣa*; *kuñisae*, *kriñilaṣa*, *ñimeyaṣa*; *señima*, *señiṃma*; *mañiǵeya* Dass das *i* sehr fluchtig gesprochen wurde, beweisen Nebenformen wie *mañǵeya*, *mañǵeyani*. In Wortern indischen Ursprungs und in iranischen Lehnwortern, auch in dem Ortsnamen *nina*, bleibt das *n* vor *i* unverandert,[3] und auch in Fremdnamen wird ofter *ni* geschrieben, siehe *anisisǵe*, *kenika*, *kenikaṣa*, *keniǵa*, *keniǵani*, *cinika*, *cinikani*, *cinikaṣa*, *ciniǵa*, *ciniya*, *naṃmasaniṣa*, *nivaǵaṣa*, *pamniyaṣa*, *panimcaade*, *panicanade*; *pumniyade*; *poniǵana*, *poniǵanaṣa*, *poniǵani*, *ponicǵa*, *bumni*, *bumniṃci*, *buṃniyaṃmi*, *maniǵi* Die Verteilung von *ñi* und *ni* ist also eine ganz ahnliche wie die von *lǰi* und *li*.

Zu der Palatalisierung von *l* und *n* vor *i* stimmt schliesslich auch der Vorschlag eines *y* vor anlautendem *i*, der, wie aus dem Index zu ersehen, in den Fremdnamen ausnahmslos zu Tage tritt und gelegentlich auch auf indische Worter ubertragen wird, so in *yima* 237 neben dem gewohnlichen *ima* *yiyo pravamnaǵa* 348, 416 neben *iyo pravamnaǵa* 655 usw. Der Ansatz eines palatalisierten *l* (*lǰa*) scheint mir danach nach allen Seiten gesichert zu sein

[Das Manuskript dieser Arbeit war vor Erscheinen des Aufsatzes von T Burrow, "Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣthī Documents from Chinese Turkestan," *JRAS.*, 1935, S. 667 ff. abgeschlossen.]

[1] In 327 in der Schreibung *acuñayaṣa*

[2] In 251 einmal auch *apñeyaṣa*

[3] Der Name *dhamñila* in 678 ist offenbar von *dhānya* abgeleitet, ein Bruder des Dhaṃñila heisst ebenda Dhaṃñapāla. Unklar ist vorlaufig *kriṣaǵa noñi* in 383.

Iranian Elements in Khowar

By G. Morgenstierne

KHOWAR, the predominant language of Chitral and of the adjacent parts of the Gilgit district, is characterized on the one hand by a tenacious preservation of ancient IA. sounds, forms, and words, and on the other hand by the existence of a remarkably large number of foreign elements. According to Sir George Grierson, Khowar "in some essential particulars agrees rather with the Ghalcha languages to the north" [1] And, drawing attention to the fact that the Chitral valley [2] was formerly inhabited by Kalashas, he expresses the opinion that the originally homogeneous Dardic population of Kafiristan, Chitral, and Gilgit "was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Khō invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north [of the Hindukush]" In whatever way one may be inclined to interpret the position there can be no doubt that Kho, when compared with the neighbouring Dardic dialects, presents many peculiarities which deserve our attention.

Among the words included in the list given by Sir George [3] in order to exemplify the difference between Kho and other Dard and Kafir languages some may be of IA origin But it is none the less remarkable that Kho. should differ so widely from its neighbours, even as regards a number of the most common words, e g such as denote parts of the body Thus, corresponding in most cases to words of IA origin in Shina and Kalasha, Kho has *yeč* 'eye', *ʌ'pʌq* 'mouth', *lə'gɪnɪ* 'tongue', *rɪ'gɪs* 'beard', *ča'mot* 'finger', *do'γūr* 'nail', *krəm*, *ʌrqa* 'back', *ʌs'qār* 'lung', *qhɔl* 'bone', *ɪs'kɪ* (*q* ?) 'heel', *ɪs'qɪ* 'jaw', *bḷḥq* 'pupil', *'zānū* 'knee', *bǎzu* 'arm' Some of these words come from Ir, others are of unknown origin [4]

The Ir. loanwords in Kho which form the subject of this article are very numerous They may roughly be divided into the following groups, which, as will be seen, cannot always be clearly distinguished.

I Loanwords from (Modern) Prs
II Loanwords from some Middle Ir language
III. Loanwords from the Pamir dialects
IV Loanwords from some undefinable or unknown Ir. source.

[1] *LSI*, VIII, 2, p 133
[2] Or, at any rate, Lower Chitral
[3] Loc. cit
[4] Cf also, for instance, *ɪ̄n* 'wine', *'rēnɪ* 'dog', *ɪs'kīm* 'silk', etc.

I

The first group is by far the largest one, but also the least interesting from the linguistic point of view. Most of the Prs, or Ar-Prs., loan-words in Kho. belong to that well-known host of "Islamic" words which has swept victoriously over half of Asia. They need not detain us here. But there are a few which present phonetic or semantic peculiarities of some sort and which call for some brief remarks.

It is noteworthy that in some words Prs voiceless plosives have been rendered by Kho. aspirates Thus *phōst* 'skin', *khām* 'palate', *ba'than* 'native country'.[1] A secondary aspiration appears also in some Kho words of IA. origin, for instance in *phān* 'palm of the hand' But in Badakhshi Prs there is a tendency towards the aspiration of voiceless plosives, and it is possible that this is the reason why Kho has chosen the aspirate in some cases We may compare the situation in Ossetic, which possesses two series of voiceless plosives, and may employ either of them to present foreign ones

Ba'than is remarkable also on account of its *b* corresponding to Prs. *w* This word cannot have been borrowed before the Kho change of *v-* > *b-*, and I can find no reason why the *w-* was not retained, just as in *waxt*, *wazīr*, etc

A curious form is *sabli'kī* 'a kind of horse fodder, lucerne' It is evidently borrowed from Prs cf *šaftal*, *šautal* 'lucerne'; but the exact form from which it is derived is unknown [2] But there must be some connection between the Kho form and 'Sanskrit' *sai-pi-li-k'ie* (< *səl-b'ji-liək-ka*) given by Li Shi Chen [3]

gurzen 'garden', which from Kho has penetrated into Kal. and Pal, is possibly a cross between **gurzēl*, **gulzēr* < Prs *gulzār* and Prs. *gulšan*

The "*imāla*",[4] which has been assumed for the hypothetical Prs. dialect-form **gulzēr*, appears also in other Kho words Thus we find *ke'lēč* (Kal *ku'l'ač*) 'fathom' < Prs *qūlāč*, *pe'lēsk* 'rug' < Prs. *palās*, *nə'wěs* 'grandchild' < Prs *nawāsa*, *kiteb*, *kitep* (Werchikwar *kitēp*, Yidgha *ketiu*), but also *kitāb* 'book' < Prs *kitāb*, *šēxik*

[1] In *phi'rān* 'shirt' < Prs *pīrahan* the aspiration has been transposed The origin of *phiruāl*, *piluāl* 'trousers' is unknown to me. It rhymes with Prs *šarwāl* < *šalwār*

[2] Palola (Dardic dial in Chitral) *sabṛīki* probably comes from Kho Another kind of lucerne is called *šau'thāl* in Pal, *šau'tal* in Gawai-Bati, and *šax'thal* in Kalasha.

[3] *Vide* Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p 214.

[4] Cf. Horn, *Gr Ir Ph*, i, 2, 33

(O'Brien) 'powder horn' < Prs. *šāx(ak)* Cf. also Munji *rikēb* 'stirrup' < Prs *rikēb = rikāb*

Kho. *nivēšik* 'to write' agrees with the common E Prs. form which has introduced the *š* of the preterite into the present stem. But I am unable to trace the exact source of such forms as *riwis* 'rhubarb' Prs *rīwās*, Psht *rawāš*, *naxoi* 'pea'. Prs. *nuxŭd*, *γalwanǰ* 'kite' Prs *γalēwāǰ*, etc, *aŋgăh* 'awake' Prs *āgāh* 'aware'; *γuzār* 'footstep, trace' Prs *guδār* 'passage' *krenǰ* (Kal. *krīn*) 'wrinkle' corresponds to Prs *gurinǰ*, but a *k* is attested in Bal *kirišk*, Kurd *kurišk* < **kurinčk*

A further form peculiar to Kho (and the adjoining Werchikwar) is *tu'vek* 'gun, musket'. Prs. *tufung*, *tufak* [1]

Finally it may be mentioned that Kho has borrowed from Prs. a few words which I have not come across in any of the neighbouring languages Thus, e g. *gudāz* 'trouble, grief' and *iškălĭ* 'excuse', probably from Prs. *šikāl* 'cunning, deceit', cf. *šikālīš* 'care, roguery'.

Iškālī also exemplifies the tendency to render Prs *si-*, *su-* + a consonant by Kho *is-*. Thus *iske'na* 'awl', *iškama* 'belly', *išpēl* 'whistling',[2] *istōr* 'horse', *istiγīn* 'sprouts' (Psht *tēγūna*), if from Prs *sutēγ* 'straight'. The same tendency prevails in the development of IA words in Kho and it is impossible to decide whether the initial *ist-*, etc, in the loanwords is of Kho or of dialectical Prs origin

As regards *istōr* it is possible that it has not been borrowed from Modern Prs., where the word is hardly ever used, but from middle Ir, cf e g N W. Turfan Phl *'stwr*.

This leads us on to the next group of loanwords

II

In an earlier publication [3] I have tried to show that Kho contains a number of other "Middle-Ir" loanwords It is, however, impossible to draw a clear line between words of Middle E Ir origin and such as may have been borrowed from one of the Pamir dialects at an earlier stage of development But, at any rate, some of the Kho. words of

[1] The distribution of the words for 'gun' *miltiq*, *bandūq*, and the various forms assumed by *tufang* in Ir and IA would require a special study Here it suffices to note that *tuvek* must have come from the north-west The Dard dialects of the Kunar valley have forms borrowed through Psht *t/tōpak* Most Pamir dialects (and Ormuri) have the Turki word *miltiq*, or they employ the old local word for 'bow' with a new meaning

[2] But Kal *šišpfē* 'whistling'; *išpfē'ti*, Kati *špā* 'flute' are genuine

[3] Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p 75 f

" Middle-Ir " appearance probably come from a language of civilization and not from a neighbouring local dialect

Among the most important of the words dealt with are *harēn* ' mirror ' < **āδēn*, *čaxur* ' spinning-wheel ' Sogd *čaxr* ' wheel ', etc , *nimēž* (Kati *nəmoč*) ' prayer ' Phl. *namāč*, Kurd. *nimēž*, etc. ; *žār* ' poison ' N W Phl *žahr*, Kurd *žār*, *duwarth* [1] ' door '. Old Pers *duvarθi-* ' portico ' ; *γrānu* ' pregnant ' [2] : Sogd. *γirān* ' heavy '. Also *xatan* ' house, room " must be an early loanword from Ir , cf Gabri *xada* ' house ', and Slav *xata* ' hut ' which is probably also borrowed from Ir [3]

On the other hand, it is very doubtful if *čhat*, *čat* (Kal. *ṣhat*) ' lake ' can have been borrowed from Ir (Av *čāt-* ' well '), as suggested loc. cit.

But there are some other words which are certainly of early (W. or E) Ir origin Thus we find *ro'či* ' a fast ' Prs *rōza*, Psht *rōža*, Brahui loanword *rōča*, *anič* ' forehead ' cf Bal *anīšay* < **ānīčaka* [4], *ča'tīr* ' tent ' (borr from Kho into Kal and Yd) Prs. *čādar*, *-ir*, *girwa'lōy* ' peach ' from an earlier form of Prs *gurdālū* with substitution of *rw* for **rδ* [5], *-žeri* (in *pušı-žeri* ' kitten ') < -**čiθriya-*, cf Av *ažı-čiθra-*, *vəhrkō-č°* ' descended from a snake, a wolf ', *taparzīng* ' battle-axe ' Prs *tabar-zīn(g)*, Wkh *təpār*, etc , **božik* ' to play (chess, etc.) ' [6] Prs *bāzam*, *bāxtan*, *-γōn* ' like, resembling ' Sogd *γōn* ' manner, kind ', cf Pashai *gōni* ' like ', Hurkin (N E Caucasian) *-γuna* ' like ' Also the interesting word *'droxvm* ' silver ' must have passed through Middle Ir on its way from Greek to Kho

It is also tempting to derive Kho *pax'turi* ' the sunny side of a valley or a hill ' from Av , Phl *apāxtar(a-)* ' northern ' with *u* from unstressed *a* (cf *asur* ' he is ' < **ăsati*) and a secondary suffix. In Upper Chitral the earliest known home of the Khōs, the sunny side of the valley would be the north-western, in Mastuj the northern one.

[1] Kal *durwat*, *durgaṭ* may be adaptations of the Kho word

[2] It is noteworthy that the native IA word *gar'b'īn* is used about animals, while the foreign and nobler one is reserved for human beings

[3] This derivation is rejected by Meillet (*BSL* , 28, p 133), who does not, of course, know the Kho and Gabri forms It is not necessary to assume, with Jokl (*WuS* , 12, p 66) that *xata* has passed through an Ugrian language with *x-* < *k-* Cf also Yidgha-Munji *xeyo* ' wall ' ?

[4] *Vide NTS* , 5, p 40

[5] Ir *δ* becomes *r* in Kho But in the group **rδ* this treatment was excluded

[6] Pres 1 pl *bāʃisi*, pret 3 pl *bōžitani*, etc A different word is *božik* ' to divide ' of IA origin

A much more doubtful case is *toxmiran* which O'Brien and also my Kalasha informant give as the Kho word for daughter-in-law It has a decidedly Ir appearance, and one could easily imagine a Middle Ir **tōxmē-δān* denoting the daughter-in-law as the continuer of the family lineage, the " receptaculum seminis "

But Colonel Lorimer, who has kindly undertaken to ascertain the exact meaning of the word for me in Gilgit, informs me that it does *not* mean daughter-in-law, but " is a term used of two sets of parents-in-law *vis-à-vis* each other, and is used by them as a term of address to each other " This seems to upset the otherwise plausible derivation of *toxmiran*

It is perhaps conceivable that the meaning given by Lorimer is, after all, a secondary one If the word did originally denote the daughter-in-law, it may have got its sphere of meaning extended so as to include her parents, and subsequently have lost its primary signification and have been restricted to its present use.

We do not know from which Middle Ir. dialect or dialects Kho. may have borrowed. There exists, however, possibly one indication regarding the source of some of the words mentioned above. The Kalasha name for the Khōs is *Pātu*, which can be derived from **Pārtaw* and may originally have been applied to a group of Parthians who found their way to Chitral and established their rule among the native tribes of the country.

III

From early times down to the present day the inhabitants of Chitral have been in constant and close contact with the Ir. tribes to the north and west, and their dialects have been influenced by Kho This is especially the case with Yidgha, which has been spoken in Chitral for many generations But Wakhi also, although being separated from Chitral [1] by a high range of mountains, has submitted to the influence of Kho to the extent of borrowing even some personal pronouns from this language [2]

But Kho , on its side, has not been averse to adopting a number of words from these numerically and culturally unimportant Ir. border tribes We do not know *how* the process of borrowing has taken place,

[1] The existence of recent Wakhi settlers in the Yarkhun valley does not alter the situation in this respect

[2] Cf Rep Afgh , p 79

but we must remember that the circumstances favour an extensive linguistic exchange. Small groups of settlers are constantly emigrating from one valley to another, peasants cross the passes to trade in the nearest bazaar or in search of temporary employment as labourers, shepherds meet in a friendly or unfriendly way on the grazing grounds in the mountains The village communities are small, and the local dialects have no great prestige The result is a lack of backbone, a linguistic lability which offers little resistance towards the introduction of foreign elements

But, even so, it is remarkable that Kho should have borrowed from Wakhi, or from an earlier form of that language, some of the most common words [1] Thus we find —

Kho *do'ɣ̌ūr* 'finger-nail' < Wkh *'dəgɛr*, *də'ɣ̌ər*, etc < **n(a)g-* (cf Capus' Wkh *hindiger*') < **nak-* with Wkh *k* < *x*

Kho *ri'gis* 'beard' < Wkh *regiš*, *iəɣ̌īš* < **fia-gaiša-* (acc to Skold)

Kho *isprū* 'fruit-blossom' < **sprŭɣ* Wkh *spraɣ*, *sprəɣ̌* Cf also Kho *iš'prenžik*, *ispiɛnǰik* 'to blossom' < Ir **sprenǰa(ya)-*, cf Sogd *'spiɣ-* 'to blossom', Sak *haspalǰs-* (caus)

Kho *ispiāsh*, *isprāzg* 'ceiling' < **spārsk* (?), Wkh *si'pask*, Shgh *s'pāšc* 'rafter

Kho *sonthu* 'raven' < Wkh *šond*, cf Oss *sunt*

Kho *pāz* 'breast' < Wkh *pūz*, Sar *puz*, etc

Kho *roxnī* 'embers' < Wkh *rəxnī(g)* 'fire'.

Kho. *ɣarik*, *yerik* 'to turn (into)', etc < Wkh *ɣ̌īr-* 'to turn round'

Kho *pot* 'polo-ball' < Wkh *tup* 'playing ball'

Kho. *sa'puk* 'hoof' (Werch *sapa*) Wkh has the Prs loanword *sum*, but there may have existed an earlier genuine Wkh form with the characteristic Wkh change of *f* > *p* (cf Av *safa-*)

Kho *wāru* 'rain', *zomēik* 'to yawn', *sarēik* 'to appear, seem' correspond to Wkh *wūr zim* 'yawn', *suδuy-* 'to appear', but these words may have been borrowed by Kho from some other Ir dialect (cf Oss *zambin* 'to yawn')

And in the case of Kho *xēl* (Kal *khel*) 'perspiration', *an'dāu* 'fever', *wāɣ* 'price, money' Wkh *ǰil*, *andav*, *waɣ*, which can scarcely be genuine Wkh forms, it is equally possible that both languages have borrowed from a common Ir source Nor is it certain that Wkh *kiržepč*, *kižipči* 'magpie' is the form from which Kho. *kisipi* has been borrowed. Cf Shgh *kiǰēpc*, Werchikwar *yašep*, etc

[1] Cf Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p 76

The following words, which are common to Kho. and Wkh, have an Ir appearance, but they have not been traced in any other Ir language and their origin is therefore uncertain Kho *ɯ'xār* Wkh *wa'xār* 'ladder', Kho *bɪz'bār* 'eagle, kite' Wkh *bɪspur* (**bɪz* (?) + *par* ?), Kho *saɯ'gūr* (Kal *saŋgr'ūr'ɪ*) 'guts, entrails' Wkh *ʂəŋgər*, Kho *jɔx, zɔx* 'thorn, bramble' Wkh *zax, zaǩ*.

On the other hand, the vocalism and also the isolated position of the Wkh word render it probable that Wkh *turt* 'ford' is borrowed from Kho *thūrt* Kho *našk* 'beak' corresponds to Wkh. *nučk*, Sar *nusk*, but can scarcely be separated from Gawar-Bati *nasuk*, Dameli *nas*, Pashai *nosuk, nāšuk*

It is surprising that Kho should have borrowed any words from Yidgha, the dialect of a small and unimportant border-community Yet this seems to be the case, although the situation is considerably obscured by the circumstance that Yd has evidently borrowed many words of Ir origin from Kho, and it is often difficult to distinguish such words from those which may have been adopted into Kho from Yd.

The following are the most probable examples of Kho borrowing from Yd, or an older form of that dialect —

Kho *hʌ'dām* 'limb, body' Yd *hadame* < Av *handāman-*, with regular change of *nd* < *d* *h-* appears in Yd without any regard to etymology

Kho *γēɪk, γēɪm* 'to spin' Yd *γīum*, with regular loss of intervocalic *v/w* Cf. Munji *γīwum*, Wkh *žup-*, Sgl *ynw-, yēv-* < **gaip-*.

Kho *wraznī* (also Pal) 'pillow' Yd *virzane* < **varznaɪ* < **barznɪka-* But Kho *wɯzɪdīnɪ* 'bolster' < **varz(d)nī* is an earlier loanword and is probably in its turn the source of Yd *vrazɪ'dɪne*

Kho *xu'rī* 'wild rose' Yd *axɪīo* < **ā-xarɪtā-* (?), cf Prs *xār*, etc.

Kho *peʒemɪk* 'to entrust' Yd *pɪžaɪn-*, Munji *pəǰōn-* < **patiǰamaya-*

Kho *šūnǰ* 'needle' Yd *šɪnǰo, šunǰo* < **šūžno*, cf Mj *šɪžno* The Kho word can scarcely be connected with Kal *suš, sužīk*, etc

Kho *frōš* 'muzzle, lip of an animal' Yd *fruše* < Av *fraša-* 'forwards' + *-ka-* It is not certain that the Kho word is borrowed from Yd

Kho *drēɪk* 'to pour out, sow, throw, shave' · Yd. *drī-* with the same varieties of meaning The word is also found in Munji and must be Ir. (**han-drāwaya-* ?).

Kho. *vrenǰērik* 'to fry'. Yd *vroč-* (for *-vrəǰ-* < **vrinǰ-* ?). Cf. Bal. *briǰag*.

Kho. *ǰu-saxa* 'a period of two years'. Only given by a Yidgha as the translation of his own *loh-saxa* If correct °*saxa* < **saxw-* may be connected with Ir. *sak-* to pass the time, *vide* Alphab List, s v *šoxč-*

Kho *triṣpōγ* 'dandelion' cf. Yd. *tɪ ɪšp* 'sour'.

Kho *ro'mēn* (O'Brien *ro'mēnhū*) 'aspen' Yd *ra'mɛno* Also in Mj. and therefore scarcely of Kho origin

Kho. *uṣturik* 'to flee, run, jump' Yd *ustušč-* 'to jump'. Apparently the original Yd present stem was **ustuɪ-*, **ustur-*, or **uštur-*, *ustušč-* being the ancient past stem

Kho. *au'zɛtu* 'heifer (two years old)' Probably < early Yd **avzēθo* < **abɪ-* (or **upa-*)*-ząθyā-*, cf *vəzaǩo* 'pregnant animal' < **upa-*(?) *ząθyā-*, *pəzɛǩɪ* 'male sheep one to two years old' < **patɪząθyaka-*.

Kho *cərəx* 'spark' corresponds to Yd *cərox*, but similar forms are found also in other Ir languages Yd. *γɛrnānu* 'whirlpool, eddy' is borrowed from Kho *γernānu*, *γerdānu* (Kal. *ger'dhan* fr Kho), in its turn a loanword from Ir., cf. Prs *gɪrdāb*, Sgl *γərδāv* and especially Wazirı Psht *γɪīmbaɪ* < **gartāna-* ?

The nature of the relationship between Kho *ɪwīs* 'bridle', *žɪrγēik* 'to lament, cry', *sayūrǰ* 'large hawk',[1] *wāγ* 'price', and Yd. *yuwīz*, *žɪrīγ-* *šayūrš*, *hūγ*[2] is unknown Kho *trus'nɪ* 'thirsty' is probably a loanword from Ir, but Yd *trušne*[3] is borrowed from, and not the source of, the Kho word I do not know whether Kho *tresna'γulɪ* 'thyme' is of Ir origin Also Yd *tanou* 'rope' (Biddulph) is probably borrowed from Kho *tanau* < Ir, cf Prs *tanūdan* 'to twist'

Finally we may mention that Kho *nōl* 'rushes' is derived from Skr *nada-* and not borrowed from Munji *nəl*.

The third Ir Pamir language bordering upon Chitral is Sanglechi-Ishkashmi The strongest evidence of its influence upon Kho. is Kho *wāɪz* 'above' Sgl *vərāz* (< **varz-* < **barz-*). Kho *u'sanu* 'whetstone', *dumɪk* 'to card wool', *γərdɪk* 'to turn round' remind us of Sgl. *vəsīn* (< **avəsån*), *dəmb-*, *γort-* 'to walk about' (early loanword from Phl). But it is by no means certain that the Kho. words

[1] Palola loanword *šayūrž*

[2] Cf above, p 662.

[3] Also Yd *tɪšno*, etc., of Prs origin.

come from Sgl Cf. e.g Yd *afsɛno*, Prs *afsān* 'whetstone', Yd *lıb-* < **dumb-* 'to card', etc

If Kho *a'drax* 'hillside, forest' is connected with Ishk *alax*, *ḍlax* 'hill' (< **ardaxa-*) the borrowing must have taken place at an early date Kal *adrakh*, Pal *adrax* 'hillside' may easily be loanwords from Kho., from which these languages have borrowed very freely

Kho. *čıd'īn* 'brass kettle' (> Kal *čı'dhın*) recalls Ishk. *čudan*; but both words are probably of Prs origin, cf *čaudan*, *čū*° 'cast metal'. *čə'dān* 'kettle' is found also in Yazghulami Finally may be mentioned the very remote possibility of the curious Kho word *γə̄'l̥ī* 'hare' having been borrowed from a lost (or not recorded) Sgl **γōl̥ī* < **gaušya-* '(long-) eared' But what about Kal *g'āva'rīak*, *gāva'ṛīak* 'hare'?

IV

While the Dardic languages south of Kho contain a number of loanwords from Psht, such words are extremely rare in Kho. It is not till quite recently that the two languages have come into contact, Kho. expanding towards the south and Psht towards the north in the Kunar valley and Dir

But there are many words in Kho which have a general E.Ir appearance, or which agree more or less with forms found in several Pamir dialects Such words will be found in the following Alphabetical List (cf s vv *copik*, *lašt*, *menū*, *muryulūm*, *pālum*, *rošt*, *šoxčik*, *sā*, *sapik*, *wōr*, *werkhū*, *wrazun*, *xāl*, *(a)xomik*, *xora*, *zāγ*, *zērč*) which includes also, for the sake of reference, all the words mentioned above, and a number of doubtful loanwords, or such as could not easily be fitted into the groups dealt with above There are many other Kho words which contain un-Indian sounds, but which have not been found either in Iranian, Turkish, or Burushaski But there is always the possibility of new words having been created within Kho itself at a time when foreign sounds had already been adopted into the phonetic system of the language Cf e g *γot* 'dumb' and *daq* 'boy', which at the same time contain cerebrals and the un-Indian sounds *γ* and *q*. In Psht and Bal words of a similar mixed type are quite numerous

At any rate, I hope that the list, in spite of its shortcomings and its inconclusiveness, may give some impression of the extent to which Kho has been subject to Ir influence, and that other scholars may be able to trace the source and history of many words which I have had

to leave unexplained I need not add that my Kho material is by no means exhaustive.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IRANIAN WORDS IN KHOWAR

ārā'rōγ 'eructation' With a kind of reduplication from Prs *āɪōγ* ?
Yd *ara'rōγ* is borrowed from Kho

anič 'forehead', v p. 660

andāu 'fever', v p 662

angā(h) 'awake', v. p 659.

anzēɪk 'to send', < Ir **han-zaya-*, cf Av *zā(y)-* 'mittere' ?

ʌnzōxt (Lor) 'waste, desolate'. Of Ir appearance, but without any known connection Sgl *zenz- zŭγθ* 'to lift, seize', etc, cannot be compared

ɪs'kīm 'silk', v p 657

is'kena 'awl', v p 659

u'sanu 'whetstone', v p 664

ɪskūrdɪ 'short' Cf Kurd *kŭrd* (v Bartholomae *ZDMG*, 50, 702) ?

ɪsprū 'blossom', *isprenǰɪk, išp°* 'to blossom', v. p. 662

ɪsprāsk 'ceiling', v p 662

ʌs'gār 'lungs', cf Prs *šaxār*

ɪstărɪ 'star' Prob IA, cf Ashkun *ɪs'ta*, etc

ɪstōr 'horse', v p 659

ɪškālɪ 'excuse', v p 659.

ɪškama 'belly' v p 659

išmarēɪk 'to count'

ɪšpēl 'whistling', v p 659

ustɪrɪk 'to flee, spring' v p. 664.

awərĭk, aurīk 'to ride' Cf Av. *bar-*, Yaghn. *voríàkɪ* 'to ride'.

ɪvĭs 'bridle', v p 664.

u'xār 'ladder', v p 663

a'xrānu 'stable', < **āxur-δān-* ?

'ăyukun 'egg', < **ā(w)yak*, cf. Prs *xāya*, etc But *-un* ?

au'zɛtu 'heifer', v p 664

bo'γūzu 'frog' Cf Prs *baɜaγ, ɜa°*, etc, Av *ɪazaγa-*. With transposition, cf Munji *wuyzəγa*.

brōnsk, bron 'meadow', Kal *brunz*, Pal *brhūnzv*, Dam *brās*. Poss < **mranz* < Ir **marza-* But Av *marəza-* 'border country'

bōsk 'thick'. Cf Wkh *bāǰ*, Sgl *vəzōk*, etc. ?

basōγ, bās stream divided into many rivulets'. Yd (*yâuγo*) *baxšvγo* id.

ba'than 'country', v p 658

bɪz'bār 'eagle', v p 663

**božık* ' to play ', v p 660
copik ' to gather, pick ' Wkh *čup-*, Sar *cev-*, Yd *čūv-*
cərəx ' spark ', v p 664.
čōık, čhōık ' to be frozen ' Pres **č(h)āiman* Prob from Prs. *čā(h)īdan* ' to feel cold ', cf Munjı *čiy-*
čı'dhīn ' brass pot ', v p 665
čārwelu ' headman of several villages ', *čărbū* ' village headman ': Prs *čarbū* ' fatness ' (cf Oss *bàstɣ-soi* ' the fat of the land, a prominent man ').
čhat ' lake ', v. p. 660
ča'tīr ' tent ', v p 660
čaxur ' spinning wheel ', v. p 660.
do'γūr ' finger nail ', v p 662
dumık ' to card wool ', v p 664
drēık ' to pour out ', etc , v p. 663.
droxvm ' silver ', v p 660.
drazēık ' to load up ' (> Kal. of Urtsun *drāz-*). Ir. *darz-* ' to wrap up, to load ', cf. Sar *δerz-* ' to load ' and Et. Voc Psht s.v. *lēžəl.*
duwarth ' door ', v p 660.
frosk ' right, true ' Ir ?
frōš ' muzzle ', v p 663
frıžēık ' to sniff ' Cf Wkh *ferx-* ' to sneeze ' ?
gu'dāz ' trouble ', v. p 659.
gırwalōγ ' peach ', v p 660
gurzen ' garden ', v. p. 658.
γērık ' to spin ', v. p 663
γəčū ' leather ' Ir ? But cf Gawar-Bati *gucı*, Dam. *gōči*, Waig *guči*, Kal (Leitner) *gao*
γāl ' polo ' (Kal *gāl*). Prs *γāl* ' rolling ', *γālūk* ' playing ball '. Dialect form < **gart-* ?
γəlēik ' to curl ' Prs *γulāla* ' curls ', but no corresponding verb
γalwanʃ ' kite ', v p 659
γōḷī ' hare ', v p 665
γān ' wooden trough ', Ir ?
γōn ' like ', v p 660
γarık ' to turn (into) ', v p 662
γărı ' upland pasture ' Av *gaırı-* ' mountain ', etc ?
γruc ' a bunch of grapes ' Prob IA. in spite of the *γ-*. Cf Gawar-Bati *urūs*, Pal *grūc*, Dam *gu'rus, g^{u}ruc*, Psht of Dir *gurūr* ' strawberry ' Kal *ruc* ' bunch of grapes ' < Kho

γərdɪk ‘ to turn round ’, v p. 664.
γrānu ‘ pregnant ’, v p 660
γer'nānu ‘ eddy ’, v. p 664
γuzār ‘ footsteps ’, v p 659.
hʌ'dām ‘ limbs, body ’, v p 663.
ha'rēn ‘ mirror ’, v p. 660
horsk ‘ straight, true ’ (Dam *ōska* ‘ truth ’) < Ir. **urzk*, cf. Yd. *urzuγ*, etc. Kal *'ūǰuk* is IA.
ke'leč ‘ fathom ’, v p 658
krenǰ ‘ wrinkle ’, v p 659
kar'vas ‘ cotton ’ (Kal *kra'vas*). Borrowed from Prs. *karvās*, °*wās* (in its turn from Ind), and again borrowed from Kho into Yd
kušk(*onūl*) ‘ armpit Cf Prs. *kaš* ?
kɪsipɪ ‘ magpie ’, v p 662
kɪtep ‘ book ’, v p 658
ko'vōr ‘ pigeon ’ Prob IA , cf Kal *ko'hōl-* (Kal. u *ko'hōr*) But Waig. *kupto*, Gawar-Bati *kōpota* are perhaps early Ir. loanwords
khām ‘ palate ’, v p 658.
khoɔ'gor ‘ sword ’ Prs. *axangal*, Sogd *xnγr*, Yd *xu'gor*, Ar *xanǰar* (< Prs)
lašt ‘ plain, steppe , Kal *lhast*, Pal *lªhāsṭ* ‘ plain, flat ’. From an Ir. *l-* dialect, cf Prs *dašt* ?
me'nū ‘ guest < **mēmn-*, cf Prs *mɪhmān*, etc ?
muryulūm ‘ down of birds , ‘ wool of ibex ’. Wkh *margɪlam* ‘ goat's wool ’.
nɪmēž ‘ prayer ’, v. p 660
nask ‘ beak ’, v p 663
nə'wɛs ‘ grandchild ’, v p 658
nivēšɪk ‘ to write , v p 659
naxoɪ ‘ pea ’, v p. 659.
pālvm (Kal. *pāl'ɪm*) ‘ soft, smooth ’ Wkh *pal(a)m* ‘ soft, smooth, fine powder ’, Yd *polǝm* ‘ soft, smooth, fine ’, Sgl. *pâδm*. Also Prs *palm* ‘ dust ’ from an *l-* dialect ?
pe'lēsk ‘ rug ’, v p 658 Cf Shughni *pa'lās*
pulungustu ‘ finger-ring ’ Wkh *pl̥ongošt*, but Yd *pargušče* (< **paraŋ-guštī°*) Not found in Prs
posp ‘ wool ’ Probably an early loanword from Ir. *pašm* Found in most Dardic dialects , Kal. *pas*, Bashk *pʌm*. Gawar-Bati *pōm*, etc
pot ‘ polo ball ’, v p 662
paxturɪ ‘ sunny side ’, v p 660.

pāz 'breast', v. p. 662

peže̞mık 'to entrust', v p 663.

phı'rān 'shirt', v p 658

phirwāl 'trousers', v. p 658.

phōst 'skin', v. p 658.

roči 'fast', v p 660

rı'gıs 'beard', v p 662

rūm 'tail' Acc to Turner (*Nep Dict*, s v *dumsı*) early loanword from Prs In that case the only Kho word with *r-* < Ir. *δ-*. The long *ū* would be difficult to explain Probably IA. = Skr. *lūma-*.

ro'me̞n 'aspen', v p. 664

ronzık, ranzuman 'to shiver' (Kal *ronz-*, Dam *rāz-*) Probably Ir. *ranz-* < **ra-rz-*, cf Prs *larzīdan*, Psht. *rēẓdēdəl*, etc. Welsh Gypsy *rızer-* < **ırz-* ?

ıošt 'daylight' Wkh *rəšt* 'day', Sgl *rašt* 'dawn'.

rıwıš 'rhubarb', v p 659.

roxcık 'to leave behind' Ir ?

roxnī 'embers', v p 662

sa'puk 'hoof', v p 662

sor 'head' The *o* indicates a rather early borrowing Yd. *soro* 'ear of corn' from Kho

sarēık 'to appear', v p 662

srūng 'horn' Cross between **śrıng* (< *śṛıgá-*) and Av *srū-* ? The modern Pamir dialects all have *š* < *sr*, for instance Yd. *šū*

-saxa, v p 664.

sauzēık 'to sew, prepare' Ir ?

sa'yūrǰ 'hawk', v. p 664

šūnǰ 'needle', v p 663

šınǰūr 'jujube-tree' Prs *sınǰıd* Yd *səzīyo*, Munji *sǰıà* Anc loanword from Ir (with *s-ǰ* > *š-ǰ*) or vice versa ?

šēxē (O'Brien) stumbling' Cf Prs *šaxīdan*, Yd *s"uxuy-* 'to stumble'.

šēxık 'horn', v p 658

šoxčık, šaxčumān, šoxs- (O'Brien, Ganǰ-ı-Pukhto) 'to pass, cross a pass, to forgive', in the G-ı-P 'to pass' (about the time). Kal *šaxsım* from Kho, Sgl *šəxs-*, Wkh *šōxs-* 'to pass'. Probably < **saxša-* from Ir *sak-* 'to pass (the time)'.

sā 'black' Wkh *šīu* Sgl *šūı* Ir ?

sablīkı 'lucerne', v p 658

saṅgūr ‘ guts ’, v p. 663.
sonthu ‘ raven ’, v p. 662.
ṣa'pɪk ‘ bread ’. Wkh. *xapɪk*, Shgh *šapɪk*, etc , v Rep. Lingu. Miss. Afgh , p 77.
tanau ‘ rope ’, v. p 664.
toṅk ‘ shallow ’ Prs *tunuk*, etc Also Kho *toṅuk* ‘ thin, delicate ’, etc.
ta'pār-zīṅg ‘ battle-axe ’, v p. 660
trus'nɪ ‘ thirsty ’, v p. 664.
trɪṣpōγ ‘ dandelion ’, v. p 664
tu'vek ‘ gun ’, v. p 659
toxmɪran ‘ daughter-in-law ’ (? ?), v. p 661
wā ‘ again, Prs *bāz* ’ Prs *wā* is used only as a verbal prefix
we- ‘ without ’ < Ir **(a)βē-*, Prs *bē* *we-tatu* ‘ fatherless ’, *we-xāl* ‘ tasteless ’, *wē-soru* ‘ widow ’
wāγ ‘ price ’, v pp 662, 664.
wāru ‘ rain ’, v p 662.
wōr ‘ smell ’ (> Pal *ōr*) < **βōδ*, cf. Wkh *vūl*, Werchikw loan-word *vēri*.
werkhū ‘ lamb ’, *werkhālu* ‘ ram, three years old ’. Scarcely borrowed from Ir , Wkh. *wūrk*, etc.
warūm ‘ felt, numda ’ ; *warāṅk* ‘ posteen ’ , *ša warunɪ* ‘ siāh-pōš ’ Ir. ?
wrenʃēik ‘ to fry ’, v p 664
wārz ‘ above ’, v. p 664
warzɪdīnɪ ‘ bolster ’, v. p. 663
wraznī ‘ pillow ’, v p 663
wrazun ‘ wing ’ (Kal. *bazūr-gundɪ*) , *varāznēn lo* (Kal. *wrazan-lōu*) ‘ flying squirrel ’ , *pɔstwrazun*, *poz'wāzur*, *postw°* (Kal *pōzwrazan*) ‘ bat ’. Cf. Yd. *varzeγo*, Munji *vozərgo*, Psht. *wazar*, etc
we-soru ‘ widow ’ (> Yd. *wâsərwo*) Ir. **βē-sar* ‘ headless ’, cf. Kal. *a-ṣɪsa* ‘ widow, *bē-sar* ’.
wezen ‘ evening ’ < **uz-ayana-*, cf Av. *uzayara-*, *uzayeirina-*, Yd. *ɪziane*.
'xacvm ‘ owner ’. Ir ? ?
xāl (Kal *khal'*, Yd *xāl* from Kho) ‘ taste ’. < Ir. **xʷāl* < *xwāδ*, Prs *xɪwāī*
xēl ‘ sweat ’, v p. 662 (Pash of Kurangal *hē'lē* from Psht.).
xomɪk, *axomɪk*, *xwamɪk* ‘ to descend ’. Wkh. *ǎam-*, cf. Sar. *ǎāvs-*, Yd. *xafs-*, Prs *xambānīdan* ‘ to bend ’, etc.
xēr ‘ stench ’. Ir ?
xora ‘ mill ’ Cf Sgl. *xuδārɪ*. Yd. *xīrγo*, etc

xūr 'other'. Ir. ?

xu'rī 'wild rose', v. p. 663.

xēšēik 'to entreat' Ir ?

xašk 'soft'. Ir. ?

xošp 'dream'. Prs *xusp* 'asleep' But *š* ?

xatan 'house', v p 660.

xausık, xowsık 'to request'. Ir, cf Arm. *xawsım* 'I say' ? ?

xu'šān 'happy' (Kal *xo'šān*, Dam *kho'šan*, Bashgalı *kušān* from Kho). Cf Sogd. °*xwašant* (*'γwš'nt*) ? Or Prs *xušnān* ?

xo'yānu 'belly' Ir ?

xaž'gūm 'carrot', Katı (Chıtral) *gaž'gūm* **gaǰ*(*a*)*k*(+ *ūm*) of IA orıgın, but perhaps ınfluenced ın the endıng by Sgl, Prs. *šalγăm* 'turnıp'

yōrmān 'woe, *aımān*' (ın poetıc formula) Early loanword from Prs. *ērmān* wıth Kho *ē-* > *yo-* (cf *yo'mun* 'wınter')

yūrān Bıdd., *yurān* O'Brıen 'year', *yerwān* Bıdd 'solstıce' Connectıon wıth Av *yār-* 'year' ıs very ımprobable

yozun(*u*) 'yoke < Mıddle Ir **yōzan* = Skr *yojana-* ?

zōık 'to agree to' Ir ?

zāγ 'fat, grease Yazghulami *zēγ* 'lıquıd fat', Psht *γōz* 'fat of the kıdneys' (and Oss *ɣa*(*n*)*z* marrow' ?)

zo'mēik 'to yawn', v p 662.

zāru 'old' Prs *zar* 'old man', Yd *zōr*

zērč 'yellow' Ir **zert* + *č*, cf Seıstanı *zerča* or *zardı* 'rust dısease of wheat'. Shgh *zereč* 'rust' Kho *zērbalı* 'yellow rose' < **zērd-walī* ?

žār 'poison', v p 660

-žeri 'young anımal, v p 660.

žıryēik 'to lament', v. p 664[1]

[1] Also the other Dardıc languages contaın some early Ir loanwords I have mentıoned Shına, etc, *gušpūr* 'prınce', Rep, p 76 Others are e g Kal *pareč* (Dam *parēčı*) 'sıeve' Parachı *paričōn*, Kal *sa'vēu*, °*ēlas* 'small flat basket', *sohōla* 'bıg, deep basket' < **sapat-* Prs *sapad*, etc, *zhānıyak* 'chıld-bearıng' Av. *ząθya-*, Gawar-Barı *zātak*, Bashkarık *ǰātak* 'boy(s)' Phl *zātak*, Dameli *rōpak* 'fox' (or IA ?); Ashkun *butə'mī* 'almond' Prs *bādām*, etc, Palola *bēıngala* 'tomato, egg-plant', Kohıstanı Shına *bhatıngar* Prs *badıngān* < IA (through Ir. ?).

The History of *p* in Kanarese

By A N Narasimhia

THE change of *p*, initial and intervocalic, to *h* in Kanarese was noticed by Western scholars early. Caldwell [1] says "the initial *p* of nearly all the words—whether they are pure Dravidian or Sanskrit derivatives—changes to *h*" A more careful study of this change of *p* to *h* was made by Kittel in his Grammar [2] He points out that initial *p* was changed to *h* in Kēśirāja's time (1260) optionally But he has not given evidence from the inscriptions to show when *p* changed to *h*

Below are summarized the results of an analysis of the inscriptional forms given in the appendix to this article

Initial *p*-

Initial *p*- was maintained till the end of the ninth century In the sixth and seventh centuries the following words appear —

paḷi (= NK *haḷi*) *pārvarumān* (*hāiruvarannu*), *pālum* (*hālū*), *pāvu* (*hāvu*), *pin* (*himde*), *puṟagum* (*hiṟi*), *pulla* (*hullannu*), *puḻu* (*hulu*), *pūni* (*hūnu*), *peṟan* (*hera, hora*) *perjediya* (*hejjede*), *peḻcuge* (*heccu*), *periyā* (*hiriya*), *pēḻda* (*heḷida*), *pokka* (*hokka*), *pogeiōgi* (*hogahōgi*), *pomgol-* (*homgol-*), *podeda* (*hodeda*), *poṟagu* (*horagu*)

So, too, in the eighth and ninth centuries (see Appendix).

Forms with *h-* < *p-* appear first in the tenth century The *h*-forms are more common in prose, especially where the boundaries of lands granted to *mathas* and temples are described , in verse very few *h*- forms occur

[1] CDG , pp 156 and 157

[The following abbreviations are used in this article —

CDG = R Caldwell *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*
EC = *Epigraphia Carnatica*
EI = *Epigraphia Indica*
KBB = *Karnāṭaka Bhasā Bhūsana*
KG = F Kittel *Grammar of the Kanarese Language*
KSS = *Karnāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana*
KVV = *Kaiṇāṭaka Kāvyāvalōkana*
MK = Middle or Mediaeval Kannaḍa.
NK = New (Modern) Kannada
OK = Old Kannada
S = Sūtra]

[2] KG , Sections 64, 184, 223, 224, 370

In the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries *h-* forms are more frequent than *p-* even in verse, they are even more numerous in prose

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries very few forms with *p-* are found, and in the seventeenth century *p-* occurs only in verse

Already in the thirteenth century this *h-* < *p-* was itself beginning to disappear in A D. 1219 we find *ogu* (= *hogu*), *odar* (= *hodar*), EI. v, p 261

To-day in the colloquial speech of the uneducated, *h-* < *p-* has practically disappeared before vowels of all qualities The uneducated, trying to speak well, often insert an *h-* when it is not etymologically required

Intervocalic *-p-*

Primitive Kanarese possessed no *-p-*, only *-pp-* Dravidian **-p-* had already become *-v-* This is seen even where *-p-* was the initial of the second member of a compound as early as the seventh century · *edevidiyal, Edevoḷalnādu, pogevōgi, mūvetmūra, mamguvōl, bittavōl, salvavōl*

This *-pp-* was, like other double consonants, shortened to *-p-* after a long vowel, or in the terminational element of polysyllabic words or even in dissyllabic forms of certain auxiliary verbs and pronouns.

In the seventh century the causative suffix appears with *-p-* (< *-pp-*) in *kalupe*, and as an auxiliary verb *apār* appears beside *ăppār*.

This *-p-*, like initial *p-*, became *h* in the tenth century · *hōhan* (A.D 910) After a short vowel in a termination *nadahidar* (A D 1004).

The change affects *-p-* of Sanskrit loanwords *nṛham* (A D 1382) < *nṛpam*

The inscriptions have the following examples of *-h-* < *-p-* < *-pp-* · 1004 nadahidar sattarendu, EC i 46, 1172 ulihim, EI xv, Madagihal, 1175 alihidade, EC i, 65, 1182 hōha (48). EI xiv, Kurugod, 1218 hōharu appa, EC iv, Hg 23, 1223 hōharu (6), EC. vii, Sk. 175; 1229 aluhidava (12), EC iv, Gu 19, 1282 appa (19), EC. ii, 334, 1295 kondamtaha (11), EC iv, Yl 44, 1300 baharu (37), EC. iii, TN 98, ilihikottu (27), baha (35), 1317 alihida (26), hōharu (30), EC. iv, Ch. 116; 1368 hōharu (31), baheu (25), ullamtaha (19), EC. ii, 344, bahevu (16), EC iii, Nj 117, 1370 iharu (15), hōharu (16), EC. iv, Ch 97, 1376 hōhāga (8), EC. vii, Sk 57, 1390 hōharu, EC i, 39, 1391 hōharu, EC iv, Yd 1; 1932 appudakke

(21), EC vii, Sh 11 , 1406 alupidavam, EC iii, Sr 105 , 1409 bahevu (79), antaha, EC ii, 255 , aha, EC vii, Sh 70 , 1431 bahiri (53). EC vii, Sh 71 , 1437 hōharu, EC iii, Ml 4 , 1444 hōhanu (11, 12, 13), EC iv, Yd. 7 , 1477 hōharu (28), bahiri (20), EC iii, Md 77 , 1484 hōharu (18), baheu (21), EC iv, Ng 59 , 1500 hōharu, EC ii, 395 , 1500 hōguvaru, EC. ii, 340 , 1517 hōharu (10, 11) EC iii, My 5 , 1539 bahevu (7), EC ii, 225 , bahenu (13), EC ii 224 , 1544 appa (12), hōvaru (35), EC i, 10 , 1550 bahadu (15), hōharu (19), EC. iii, My 50 , 1557 hōha (38), EC vii, Hg 9 , 1564 kaluhi (8), yihan (14), EC. iv, Yl. 29 , 1576 bahiri, EC iv, Yd 59 , 1620 alupidavanu (13), EC. iii, My. 17 ; 1645 yiha, EC iv, Ch. 124 , 1663 bahiri (53), EC iii, My 13 , 1670 bahiri (20), EC iv, 1 and 9, 119 1672 bahudu, EC vii, Sk 215 ; 1678 baha (25) EC iii, Sr 94 , 1593 Yihadu, EC i, 11 , 1753 yiha, EC iv, Ch 128

Further, the pronominal forms of OK *antappa, intappa, entappa* have become *antaha, intaha, entaha* in MK. , in NK *anthă, inthă, enthă.*

Survival of *p*- Forms

Many words are still used both in literary composition and colloquial speech with an initial *p*- A few of them are loanwords · *pakka* ' a side ', *pagadi* ' tribute, tax ', *paccadi* ' a kind of pickle ', *patti* ' a squared rafter ', *pattu* ' hold, seizure ', *patte* ' the rind or bark of trees ', *paduvalu* ' the west ', *padde* ' maturity ', *palaka* ' practice, habit ', *padu* ' experiencing ', *pāpa* ' a small child ' *pālu* ' a share ', *pedasu* ' hardness ', *pottare* ' a hole in the trunk of a tree ', *pōkari* ' a profligate ', *pōti* ' joining ', *pōnisu* ' to string together ', *pōlu* ' wasting '

In some cases *p*- and *h*- forms are both found in use, but differentiated in meaning —

A *From the same Root*

pālu s.n ' ruined place ' used in proverbs which retain archaic forms ; *hālu* vb ' to be spoiled, to ruin

pettu s.n. ' a blow ' , vb ' to beat as with a hammer ' , *hettu* vb ' to thrust (with the penis) ', perhaps to avoid the use of the expression which had acquired a vulgar meaning, *pettu* was borrowed from the literary language in the meaning of ' a blow ' and ' to beat '.

B. *From different Roots*

hāl ' milk ', *pāl* ' a share ' , *hādu* ' to sing ' and ' a song ', *pādu* ' difficulty experienced ' , *hurudu* ' rivalry ', *purudu* ' the pollution after the birth of a child ' . *hōlu* ' to resemble ', *pōlu* ' waste '.

Evidence from Literature

Grammars · There are four grammars of the ancient Kanarese language But in a book on rhetoric, A D. 877, *Kavirājamārga*, the portion relating to grammar is comparatively small In the part on rhetoric we find no *h-* initial or otherwise in the pure Kanarese word

I, 1045 *Karnātakalāvyāvalōkana* is in verse There is no *h-* at all

II, 1045 *Karnāṭakabhāsābhūsana* by Nāgavarmma includes *h-* in the alphabet (KBB 6) In Sūtra 115, he says "pē hōva '— that $p > h$ often initially and intervocalically, as the examples he gives prove , *palage* > *halage* , *kāpu* > *kāhu*

III, 1260 *Śabdamanidarpana* by Kēśirāja He includes *h-* in his account of the alphabet (SMD , S 33) In S 159, he states that single *p* of pure Kanarese words often changes to *h* and that such a change is beautiful (*sundaram*), but he definitely points out that long *p* (*-pp-*) does not become *-h-* and says that it is *dustara* or difficult Examples given are *upparam, kappuram, tappu, bippandam, muppu, muppuri, soppu, heppu* But in S 150 *-pp-* of the pronominal *antappa, intappa, entappa* are changed into a single *-h-*, i e *antaha, intaha*, and *entaha*

Further, in sūtras 254, 258, and 292 he points out how Sanskrit loanwords with *p-* change to *h-* in Kanarese , *pisunam* > *hisunam*, *pāsa* > *hāsa*

The disappearance of *h-* initially is not unknown to him In S 271 he gives *himgu* > *ingu*, *hamsapinda* > *ancevindu* , *hamsa* > *amce*, *himgulikam* > *imgulikam*

Use of unnecessary *h-* was known to Keśirāja (Smd 269) *agni* > *haggi*

IV, 1604 *Karnātakaśabdānuśāsana* by Bhattākalamka

In S 6 he includes *h* in the Kanarese alphabet . in S 145 $p > h$ often, e g *pattike* > *hattige* , *pīvara* > *hīvara*, *gōpura* > *gōhura* In S 296, *Tihurāntakan* and *Gōhuram* with *-h-* are referred to as being correct In S 497, *appam* > *aham*, *appudu* > *ahudu* In S. 576 he states that *hu* (< *pu*) is to be affixed to *bā* ' to come ' to form verbal nouns.

Appendix

Eighth Century —726 punname, EC iii, Tn 1 , 740 puttade (21), EC. iii, My 55 , pōppandu (16), EC iii, My. 55 , 750 pin, EC. ii, 79 , pannīrvvarpārvvar, pattu, EC iv, 149 , 4 pervallame, EC iv, Hg 4 ,

776 paḷeya (66), EC Ng 85 , 800 pōḷdu, pōgı, periya ; ii, 35, 4 ; 800 perbaḷa, EC. ıv, Sr 160.

Nınth Century —810 pūsuvan (7), EC ıı, Nj 26 , 830 puttıda (5), EC. vıı, SK. 283 , 870 palaram (9), EC ıı, Nj 75 , 870 pārvvarumam (10), EC ıı, Nj 76 , 884 padınayduvarısadandu, EC. ıı, 394 , 888 padınentaneya (5), EC ı, 2 , peddoṛegareya (6), ponnum (14) , 890 pattugadyānada (8), EC ı, 3, 8 , 890 pervvayala (71), pērōnıe (73), pallame (74) , perolve (65), pervaḷtıya (75), perggollıya (76), EC ıv, Yd 80 , 898 Eḷecāga pallıya (3), EC ıı, Nj 98

Tenth Century —900 puttegu (6) EC ıı, TM 115 , 907 Poḷalasetti (6), padınaydupananum (11), pattondıya (8), EC ıı, ND 14 , 910 lōkake hōhan, EC ıı, Sr 134 , 930 perggedegalum (6), paṛıdava (14), EC ıv, 149, 116 , 950 pandıyum (11), pırıya (12), EC ıı, Md. 41 , 972 punnameyum (7), pırıya Hoḷma (5), EC ıı, Nj 183 , 978 pırıdu (18), Perggadūrum (11), Peddoṛegare (13), EC ı, 4 , 960 puttıdom (15), puttıdar (6), EC ıı, Tn 69 , 982 peṛarorbbarum (41), pāṛuvallı (61), podısuva (6), pogaḷısu (3), EC ıı, 134 , 982 pogaḷısal (113), pēḷdapem (31), poṛage (80), pusıvude (45), pırıdīva, EC ıı, 133 , 985 perggaḍe (2), poge, EI. xvıı, p 170 , 995 pogaḷe, EC ıı, 121 , 1000 punname (7), Bıhagāmundana (9), Hañcadarmasettı (11), Bōkahallı (13), Hakādıvaḍı (14), Gōrahallı (15), EC ı, 5

Eleventh Century —1004 nadahıdaresattarendu (6), EC ı. 46 , 1007 ponnol (14), penadottı, palaram (22), EC ıı, Tn 44 , 1012 eraduhottına (30), pāyısıdam (11), EC ıı, Sr 140 , 1019 parbbı (14), halḷadı (29, 30), holakke (29), holada (31), hūdōmta (32), pūdōmta (40), puḍuke (16), EC vıı, Sk 125 , 1021 padıneydu kolaga (18), punusevaram (20), pūmbolanum (21), EC ıv, HG 16 , 1021, 1036 hadınentu (22), pūdōmta (23), EC vıı, Sk 126 , 1049 Hosanāda (28), ponnaṛakottu (31), EC ıv, Gu 93 , 1050 panneradam (9), EC ı, 30 , 1050, 1057 pervvayal (18), pōlıpare (16), pōgı (26), pogale negaḷutum (27), EC ıv, 149, 18 , 1058 Hāruvanahallı, Arakanahallı (12), Hennellūnabhūmı (21), kāmgonda hallıhamgalabāmı (26), hunıse (29), EC ı, 35 , 1060 Hulıyakeṛeya (11), Hegga nāleya (14), haduvanakolada (15), Heggeṛege (19), hallıya (21), hırıya (23), EC vıı, Sh 6 , 1063 paṛekāra (24), haṛekāra (25), hırıyakeṛeya (27), horavarıge (24), EC. vıı, Cı 18 , 1070 Mūdanahaduvana (6), Hosavallı (8), EC ı, 49 , 1070 Hosavallısıddhēśvara mahādēvargge, posavallı (6) EC ı, 50 , 1071 heggade (57), hesar (94), EI xv, p 337 , 1075 halla (46–51), hadada (52), hanneradu (54) , 1 hadınāṛu (55), halla (55), pūdōmta (53. 55), EI xv, p 96*e* , 1076 perggade (33), paḍuvarggam (24),

panneraḍu (30), Kōtehālasāvanta (35), hesara (38), EC. vii, HE 14, 1079 baraha (49), posavoḷala (33) EC iv, Ng 56; perggaḍegaḷa (29), 1085 poḷtirkkum (48), pēḷdu (59), poydam (59), harige (47), haṟige (51), Hennavurada (51), peṟe (44), EC vii, Sh. 10; 1087 hōda (24), EC iv, Yd 2, 1089 Hosavura (3), posavura (4), pērottimge (5), palaram (5), Hosavūra (6), EC vii Sk 298, 1095 hasuvum hāruvanam konda (58), EC i 57, Būvanahallıyam (9) EC iv, Kp 49, 1097 hoṟege (55), hērimge (55), honnam (56), pana, paduvalu, EI xvii, p 182, 1099 Panasōgenivāsi EC iv, Yd 24, 1100 pesarvvaḍedar (23), EC ii, 69

Twelfth Century—1104 puttı (20), hermmagal (39), EC vii, Sk 131, 1107 Hosavoḷal (4), Posavoḷala (5), Sōgepallı (5), EC iv, HG 107, 1107 hērimge (14), honna (15), hēr (17), Pānumgall (9), panav (15) pērin (17), EI xiii, p 12, 1110 hattu (33), and all the rest begin with *p*-, EI xv, 26 (Mutgi inscription), 1112 paduvalu (80), pom, ponna (83), pana (83), hōda (77), hola (77), halla (78), hattu (78), EI xiii, p 36 (Ittagi), 1113 pogaḷvudujanam (26), EC ii, 126, 1115 perggade (44), Hoyasalamahārāja (156), EC ii, 127, 1118 hārubageyam, EC ii, 125, 1120 hesarittu (11) hallı (11), Hoysala (5), EC iii, 32, 43, 1123 hadimūṟu kamcina holavigeya (54), polvavarār (17), Poysaladēvara piriyarasi (42), EC ii, 132, 1124 Hermmadigāvundana (3), EC iii, Nj 194, 1125 Halasige and palasige, EI xiii, p 298, 1135 hūvinatōtamum, EC ii, 384, 1144 hamdiyan (6), EC iii, Md 22, 1145 pō pō vādi pōgendu (148), EC ii 140, 1147 hoṟe, himgidudu, hāl, hom, pannirpuligeṟe, padedu, hattāṟ, hola, hāla, hoṟeya, halla, EI xvi, p 44, 1148 honnaḷakottu (18), baraha (2), EC iii, Nj 110, 1150 hanavinalekka (20), hermmagal (39), EC vii Sk 131, 1152 Tailaha, Hānumgall, pānumgall, EI xvi, p 36, 1159 haduvalu (62), hunıseya (62), hiriyaru (62), EC ii, 345, 1162 halgalam (31), hōheyam (32), hūn (33), and the rest are all *p*-, EI xviii, p 212, 1163 Hullarājam (108), Heggaḍekōrayyanum (103), EC ii, 64, 1172 Hemmadi (12), Ulihim (32), hiridum (82, 94) (in verse), both *p* and *h* in prose, EI xv, Madagihāl, 1175 Hoysana (4), Biluhunādu (7), alihidade (16), hōharu (19), EC i, 65, 1175 Hūvinapadage (3), himdegade (3), honnabeddaleya (4), EC ii, 242, 1179 hōdabatteya (43), hulumādiya (43), Hiriyadēvarabettakkam (44), haduvalu, hiriya, halla (44), EC ii, 397, Hoysalana (32), Tōrahanam (33), Tōrapa (63), hiriya (67, 71, 73), hola (73), paduva (71), EI xix, p 226, 1180 poy, pesaran (4), Hānamgallu (17), Hoysalavīraballāla (19), Kāluhallı (22), EC iii Tn 106, 1182 piriya (36), paduval

(40, 47, 48), pū (40), hāhe (40), hiriya (44), hōha (48), EI xiv (Kurugōḍ), 1184 pāsuge, pērimge, hāla, hāsuge, hana, EI xvii, p. 189, 1195 puttidam (7), pididam (16), pimgugum (32), hanamūru (56), EC ii, 335, 1199 hattigālegadol (14), EC iv, Ng 47; perar, 1200 hōgalu (11), halli (11), himde (11), EC iv, Kp 47

Thirteenth Century—1203 hore (46), hasumbe (47), Hotteyya (43), perggere (41), hola (48), huttida (48), EC vii, Sh 88, 1204 pēridodam (52), pērim (54), otherwise all *h*-, EI xiii, p 16, 1206 hana (16), hiriya (13), hokkade (28), EC ii, 333 1210 Huligere (13), hitu (13), paduva, padeda (40), EI xix 194, 1213 Harahondanamaga (3), Kondahōhali (4), EC iii, Ml 37, 1214 perggade (12), heggade (14), EC vii, Sk 243, 1217 haduvanahuniseya, EC ii, 170, 1218 rāhuta, hōharu, appa (20), EC iv, Hg 23, 1218 hesara (49), Hadavalagoggi (21), pusi (9), EC vii, Sh 5, 1223 hadinārāneya (2) halli (4), hōhāga (6), halaram (6), EC vii Sk 175, 1229 hōdaru (13) Heriyanāda (8), aluhidava (12), EC iv Gu 19, 1235 hesarimdam (37), hōda (41), pesarvetta, pokkade (17) EC iii, Md 121, 1246 Hiriyabettadi (2), EC ii, 165, 1255 hōgi huttida, EC i 6, Hoysana appa, aha, 1276 samanvitavaha (for appa) (13), EC iii, Md 70, Sthāvaravaha (15), EC iii, Md 70, 1282 hoiagāgi (26), appa (19) EC ii, 334, 1285 baluhimde (12), Hoyisala (8) Haradayya (26), EC iii, Md 62, 1290 hallada (20), hērobbe (22), EC iii, Tn 27, 1295 Homma (11), Kondamtaha (11), EC iv Yl 44 (for appa), 1300 baharu (37), EC iii, Tn. 98, ilihikottu (27) baha (35) (for barppa), honnonu, EC iii, Tn 98

Fourteenth Century—1317 alihida (26) hōharu (30) EC iv, Ch. 116, 1325 hattu (10), Hosahalli (10), hadinaidu (22), 1348 Hānagallimge (4), EC i, 63, 1360 hōgi (3) Hulukōda Chikkannayya (3), EC i, 67, 1368 hōharu (31), honnimge (25) baheu (20), ullamtaha (19) (for appa), hadimentu (13), EC ii, 344, bahevu (26) EC iii, Nj 117, 1370 iharu (15), hōharu (16) EC iv, Ch 97, 1376 hāyidu (8), hōhāga (8), EC vii, Sk 57 1377 bimnaham (20), EC vii, Sk 35, for vijñāpana, 1382 nipam and nipham (king), pogalgu (14), EC iii Nj 21, 1382, 1390 halla (7), halli (8), hariva (8), pesaramttu (23), hunisedalu (25), hōharu, hamdiya (31), EC i, 39 1391 hottina (6), hōharu, EC iv, Yd 1, 1392 excepting appudakke every *p*- and *-p-* is *h*- and *-h-*, EC iii, Ml 47, 1400 ahudu (21) EC vii Sh 11

Fifteenth Century—1406 halli (7), alupidavam (13) EC iii Sr 105, 1409 bahevu (79), homna (78), asādhāranavamtaha, EC ii 253, abhivṛddhigal aha hāge (27), EC vii, Sh 70, 1431 anubhavisi, bahiri

(53), EC vii, Sh 71 , 1437 hōharu, EC iii, Ml. 4 , 1444 hōhanu (11, 12, 13). EC iv, Yd. 7 , 1477 hōharu (26), bahiri (20), EC iii, Md. 77 ; 1484 hōharu (18), baheu (21), EC iv, Ng 59 1500 hōharu EC ii, 395 , 1500 hōguvaru, EC ii, 340 . all *h-* and *-h-* except in verse

Sixteenth Century—1509 sahōdararaha (10), EC ii, 228 , 1513 hāge (25), EC iii, Gu 3 , 1517 hōharu (10 and 11), EC iii, My 5 , 1539 bahevu (7), EC ii, 225 . 1539 bahenu (13), EC. ii, 224 , 1539 adahāgiralāgi (7), adahanu (8), EC ii. 224 , 1544 homnu (28), Hanasōge (27), halaru (33), Hosahalli (27), appa (12), Hosagadde (54), hōvaru (35), EC i, 10 . 1550 bahadu (15), hōharu (19). EC iii, My. 50 , 1557 yī hattanada (10) (for pattanada), hosa (38), EC. vii, Hl 9 , 1564 bimnaha (8), kaluhi (8), yihari (14), EC iv Yl 29 , 1569 aḍahu (10), EC iv, Hg. 41 , 1576 bahiri (30), EC iv. Yd 59

Seventeenth Century—1620 aḷupidavan (13), EC iii, My 17 , 1634 adahu (18), adavakotaimtavaru (40), hōharu (49), EC ii, 352 . adahina (23), adava (24), EC ii, 250 1645 Haradanahaḷḷiyalu yiha, EC iv, Ch. 124 , 1650 hākiyiruvadu, EC iv, Yd 40 , 1654 Verse portion pasivamte (11), pesaran (15), posatu (14). irppudu (13). pēḷdan (35) , Prose portion hūvādiganige (77), hola (90). Hosahaḷḷi (80), EC iv, Yl 1 , 1663 baharī (53) and all *h-*, EC iii, My. 13 , 1670 bahiri (20), EC iv, Hb 119 , 1672 undu bahudu, EC vii, Sk 213 , 1673 nityotsaha (4) EC ii. 390 , 1678 nadedubaha (25) and all *h-*, EC iii, Sr. 94 , 1693 yihadu, EC. i, 11.

Eighteenth Century—1753 samudradalliyiha (5), EC. iv, Ch. 128 , 1775 pra-u-da pratāpa, EC. iv, Yl. 4 , 1782 prahuda pratāpa, EC i, 12, 13, 14 , 1800 praudapratāpa. EC iii, Sr 8, and all *h-* in pure Kanarese words

Grammairiens tardifs et dialectes du prākrit

By Luigia Nitti

Sir George Grierson, en reprenant après Lassen l'étude de l'unique MS du *Prākṛtakalpataru* de Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa (No 1106 de la Bibliothèque de l India Office) et en le comparant au *Prākṛtasarvasva* de Mārkandeya, a reconnu l'existence d'un groupe de grammairiens prākrits, fidèles à l'enseignement de Vararuci pour ce qui concerne le prākrit principal, mais caractérisés en outre par le nombre beaucoup plus grand de dialectes qu'ils traitent Il les a nommés "grammairiens orientaux" et s'est efforcé pendant de longues années de divulguer leur doctrine et d'utiliser leurs données [1]

Mais l'intérêt éveillé par ces textes n'a pas été grand, les savants ont montré une certaine hostilité à l'égard des nouveaux venus. D'après eux l'essentiel de la grammaire prākrite se trouve en germe dans Vararuci et est pleinement développé par Hemacandra, l'un et l'autre bien connus et magnifiquement édités Mārkaṇḍeya et Rāmaśarman ne peuvent pas être antérieurs au XV^e^ siècle et le foisonnement des dialectes n'est que la preuve de leur époque tardive. Leur témoignage n'a donc aucune valeur et ne sert qu'à embrouiller davantage la question déjà si compliquée du prākrit et de ses subdivisions

Que Mārkandeya et Rāmaśarman soient récents, c'est un fait indiscutable, mais comme remarque Grierson: "A still later writer than Mārkandeya was Professor Pischel, and the same opponent who objects to the one will quote the other as infallible It is not a question of date but of sources and of critical acumen." [2]

Le prākrit n'était pas davantage parlé au temps de Hemacandra qu'à celui de Rāmaśarman et de Mārkandeya On peut donc admettre, en raisonnant *a priori*, c'est vrai, mais en se basant sur l'analogie de nombreux cas dans l'histoire de l Inde, que les grammairiens plus récents soient pour ainsi dire archaïsants et qu'ils nous transmettent le reflet d'une doctrine très ancienne, tandis que Hemacandra par exemple ait été de son temps un novateur

[1] *The Eastern School of Prākrit Grammarians and Paiśācī Prākrit*, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, pp 119–141, 'The Prākrit Vibhāsās," *JRAS*, 1918, pp 489–517, "The Apabhramsa Stabakas of Rāma Śarman (Tarkavāgīśa)," *IA*, li, 1922, pp 13–23, and 1923, pp 1–8, 187–191, "The Prākrit Dhātvādeśas according to the western and eastern schools of prakrit grammarians," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. viii, No 2 pp 77–170, "The Śaurasenī and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāma-Śarman (Tarkavāgīśa)," *IA*, lvi, 1927, and lvii, 1928, etc, etc.

[2] *The Eastern School of Prākrit Grammarians*, etc, p 122

Il est heureux que des faits viennent maintenant étayer cette hypothèse.

La théorie que l'ancienneté d'un grammairien est inversement proportionnelle au nombre de dialectes qu'il traite, remonte, comme la plupart des idées qui ont cours dans la philologie prākrite, à Ch Lassen " Ita ut—ainsi qu'il conclut après un long raisonnement—inter Prākriticae loquelae praeceptores is novissimus possit haberi, qui maximo dialectorum numero locum in commentariis suis concesserit." [1] Pischel a accepté cette doctrine sans discussion et s'en est même servi pour essayer de dater Kramadīśvara Kramadīśvara ne peut à son avis être plus ancien que Hemacandra *parce que* il " nomme " un plus grand nombre de dialectes [2]

Or cette théorie—généralisation hardie mais compréhensible à l'époque de Lassen—n'est plus guère acceptable

De son dernier voyage au Népal, M Sylvain Lévi a rapporté entre autres MSS, la photographie d'une grammaire prākrite écrite par Puruṣottama J'ai été chargée d'en assurer l'édition qui est maintenant prête et qui sera, j'espère, bientôt imprimée. Le dernier colophon du MS nous donne une date et nous permet donc de tenter l'identification de son auteur *iti purusottamadeviasya pariśācika-sūtram samāptam | sam* 385 *jepūlikhitam uttamaśrījñānena saptativar-sādhikavayasā.*

L'an 385 de l'ère népalaise correspond au 1265 A.D

Le grammairien et lexicographe sanskrit Puruṣottama pourrait donc être l'auteur de cette grammaire prākrite Il vivait au Bengale, ce qui rend compréhensible l'existence de ce MS à la Bibliothèque de Khatmandou, il était bouddhiste et le MS népalais débute par une invocation au Bouddha *namo buddhāya* La date de Puruṣottama est discutée Dans l'introduction au *Nānārthasangraha* il est expressément dit que Purusottama vivait au XIII[e] siècle [3] Rajendralal Mitra ainsi que Haraprasad Shastri [4] ont voulu situer Purusottama au X[e] ou XI[e] siècle, mais ceci semble impossible puisque un des ouvrages que Purusottama cite dans sa *Prayogaratnamālā* est le *Viśvaprakāśa* écrit en 1111 A D [5]

[1] *Institutiones linguae pracriticae*, Bonn, 1837, p 4

[2] " Fur ein jüngeres Alter dagegen spricht, dass Kī, wie die spateren Grammatiker, viel mehr Dialekte nennt als He," *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, p 41

[3] Cf la préface au *Trikāndaśesa* de Puruṣottama édité par C A Seelakkhandha, Bombay, 1916 p 5

[4] *Sahitya Parisat Patrikā*, vol 39, pp 1–6 (en bengali)

[5] Th Zachariae, *Citate in Kramadīśvara's Saṃkshiptasāra*, BB, v, 1880, note à la p 26.

Quelle que soit au juste l'identité de son auteur, il reste assuré que ce traité de grammaire prākrite écrit en 1265 connaît autant de dialectes qu'en connaît Mārkandeya et que, comme lui, il les répartit en quatre grands groupes *bhāsā*, *vibhāsā*, *apabhramśa* et *paiśācika*. Voici réhabilité le témoignage de Mārkandeya.

Mais il y a de plus Cette division en *bhāsā* et *vibhāsā* remonte plus loin, au *Nātyaśāstra* La nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage, qui comprendra quatre volumes, mais dont les deux premiers ont seuls paru jusqu'à présent, nous donne le texte au moins tel que Abhinavagupta l'a connu (XI^{e}-X^{e} siècle), sinon tel que Bharata l'a rédigé.[1] Or les prākrits admis dans les drames au temps d'Abhinava étaient beaucoup plus nombreux que ne le permet Hemacandra (1088–1172) et se repartissaient en *bhāsā* et *vibhāsā*, exactement comme chez Mārkandeya, Rāmaśarman et Purusottama Abhinava s'efforce même de définir ces deux termes (vol II, p 376) *bhāsā saṃskṛtāpabhramśaḥ | bhāṣāpabhramśas tu vibhāsā* "Une *bhāsā* est une corruption du sanskrit, une *vibhāsā* la corruption d'une *bhāsā*"

Les "grammairiens orientaux" en reprenant cette ancienne classification ont dû l'élargir, non pas—comme dit Jacobi [2]— "pour l'accorder avec les nouveaux systèmes de langues," mais simplement parce que leurs traités ne se bornaient plus à l'étude des prākrits dramatiques et que d'autres langues étaient nées à la littérature lyrique ou religieuse

Car, il n'est peut être pas inutile d'insister sur ce point, ce n'est pas l'observation directe de langues vivantes que nous transmettent les grammairiens prākrits de toutes les écoles, mais les règles nécessaires et suffisantes pour écrire des langues conventionnelles sinon artificielles La date de la rédaction d'un ouvrage grammatical n'a donc pas une grande importance et ne modifie pas nécessairement la valeur de son témoignage La seule chronologie qui puisse nous intéresser est pour ainsi dire relative et "intérieure" Ce sont les écoles et les sources qu'il faut limiter et étudier Un grammairien tardif comme Mārkandeya peut donc—ainsi que l'avait bien prévu Sir George Grierson—nous conserver le reflet d'une doctrine ancienne et traditionnelle.

[1] *Nātyaśāstra*, with the commentary of Abhinavagupta, ed by M Ramakrishna Kavi, in four volumes Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

[2] "Bhavisatta Kaha," von Dhanavala, *Abh der Kais Bayer Akad der Wiss. Philos -philol. und histor Klasse*, XXIX Bd, 4 Abh, p 70*

The Expressions for "The year consists of twelve months" and the like in Vedic Prose

By Hanns Oertel

§ 1. The sentence "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" may be rendered in Vedic prose in three different ways:—

A. The nominatival type *caturvinśatir ardhamāsāh samvatsarah* or, with resumptive pronoun (cf my *Syntax of Cases in the Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmanas*, 1, § 3, p 2, and §§ 8 f, pp 10 ff), *caturvinśatir ardhamāsāh sa samvatsarah*[1]

B. The genitival type *caturvinśatih samvatsarasyārdhamāsāh*

C. The adjectival type. *caturvinśatyardhamāsah samvatsarah.*

Note.—A compositional expression *caturvinśatih samvatsarārdhamāsāh* does not occur though it would be theoretically possible in view of instances like *sahasram harita ādityaraśmayah*[2] JUB 2 6. 10 parallel to *bahavo hy eta ādityasya raśmayah* JUB 2. 9 10, *saptiś ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāny ādityasya raśmayah* ŚB. 10 5 4 4.[3]

§ 2 I The Nominatival Type

(*a*) *dvādaśa māsāh samvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāh samvatsarah ŚB 6 2 1 28, 36, 6 2. 2 5, 12, 6 6. 1. 5, 14; 7 2 2 16, 7. 2. 4 4; 9, 16, 22, 7 3 1 47, 9. 2 3. 6; 9 3 1 1, 9 3 2 8, 9 3 3 13, 9 5 1. 38 10. 1 4. 8; 13 1. 2. 1, 13 3 3 8, 13 4 1 5, 13 5. 1 4, 13 5 3. 11, TS. 2 5 11 6, 5. 2 5 5, 5 4 7 6, 5 4 8 2, 6, 5 6 2. 2, 5 6. 7. 1, 3, 5 6 10 3, TB 3 8 1 1, 3 8 21. 1, 3 9 18 2, TĀ 2 8. 1; 5. 4. 10; 5. 6 2, MS 1 4 14 (64, 5–6), 1 5 6 (74, 16), 1 10. 5 (145, 14), 2 5 10 (61, 5–6), 3. 2 2 (16, 13), 3 2. 4 (21, 5–6), 3 2 5 (21, 13), 3 3 3 (35, 13–14), 3 4 1 (41, 8–9); 3. 4. 3 (48, 3), 3 4 6 (52, 15); 3 4 10 (57, 15), 3 8 10 (110, 15); 3. 10 2 (131,

[1] This sentence is not quotable but formed by analogy to *dvādaśa māsāh sa samvatsarah* (see below, § 2, *g*)

[2] The compound *ādityaraśmi-* is wanting in pw

[3] Cf also the compositional *dve vai purusakapāle* (read so with the MS O), KB 30 4 (143, 24 ed Lindner)

14); 4. 1 12 (15, 13), 4. 3. 2 (41, 4–5), 4. 4. 7 (58, 19), 4. 4. 9 (60, 17); 4. 5 7 (73, 13–14 and 74, 8), 4 6 6 (88, 12); 4 6 7 (89, 5–6); K 8. 8 (91, 13), 19. 11 (12, 20–21), 20. 3 (21, 2 and 14–15), 21 5 (42, 2 and 43, 10); 21. 11 (51, 12), 21 12 (52, 19), 23. 8 (84, 17). 26 1 (122, 1), 28 2 (154, 8), 29 8 (177, 20); 33. 4 (29, 8–9), 34. 9 (43, 4), 35 20 (67, 9); 36. 11 (77, 17), Kap 7. 2 (73, 15); 31. 1 (147, 8); 31 5 (152, 6 and 19), 31 20 (168, 24–169, 1 and 169, 11–12), 40 4 (228, 2–3), 44 2 (256, 22–23), PB 3 12 3, 4. 2 12, 4 4. 11 6 3. 3, 12 4 17, 14 1 10, 16 4 12, 13, 16 6 10; 18. 2 4, 18. 9 7; 21, 19 5 5, JB 1 27[1], 135 (Caland, § 31, p 37, 5, from bottom), 137, 179 (Caland § 63, p 70, 3), 206, 2 83 (Caland, § 130, p 146, 6), 91, 92, 93, 97, 107, 162 (bis); 163; 177, 183 (Caland, § 144, p 178, 4), 199, 225 (bis), 239; 364, 376, 380, 383, GB 1 4 19 (108, 3 ed Gaastra), Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orientalia*, vi 183, 1–2. 196, 23, 216, 16, 233, 11, 234, 23).—— *dvādaśa vai māsāh samvatsarah* AB 1 13 33, 1 28 41, 1 29 24, 2. 39 7, 6 19 7, KB 1 1 (2, 3), 7 10 (34, 9); 8. 1 (34, 16), 9. 2 (41, 21); 9. 4 (42, 16), 13 9 (61, 1), 14 1 (62, 3), 14. 2 (62, 17), 16. 11 (74, 5), 25 15 (119, 21), JB 2 362 (bis) ——*dvādaśa ha vai māsāh samvatsarah* GB 2 1 1 (144, 2), 2. 6 1 (244, 1)

(*b*) *trayodaśa māsāh samvatsarah*

trayodaśa māsāh samvatsarah ŚB 6 6 3. 16, 6 7 1 28, 7. 1. 1 32, 7 2 3 9, 8 6. 3 12, 9 1. 1 16, 9. 3 3 9; 13. 5 1 15, 13. 8 3. 7; TS. 5 6 7. 1, MS 1 11 8 (170, 1); 3. 4 2 (46, 19), K 14. 8 (207, 11–12), 21 5 (42, 11–43, 1), 34 9 (43, 5), Kap 31 20 (169, 2), Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 183, 3, 234, 24)

(*c*) *pañca* (etc) *rtavah samvatsarah*

pañca rtavah samvatsarah ŚB 6 3 1 25, 6. 5 1 12, 6 8. 1 15, 7 1. 1 32, 7 2 3 4, 9, 7 4 1 34; 8 6. 3. 12, 8 7 4. 9, 9. 2 1 10, 9 2 3 41, 9 4 2 24, 26, 9 4 4 14, JB 2 291, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 233, 11–12) ——*pañca vā rtavah samvatsarah* TB 2 7 10 2

ṣaḍ ṛtavah samvatsarah ŚB 6 3 2 10, 6 4 2 10, 6. 5 4 9, 6 7 1. 24; 27; 7 3 1 35, 12 2 2 18, 13 1 5 6, 13. 5 4. 28, 13. 8. 2. 6, TĀ 2 8 1, PB 19 18. 5, JB 2 420 (Caland, § 168, p 219, 1 from bottom) ——*saḍ vā rtavah samvatsarah* TS 5 2 6. 1,

[1] Passages from JB for which no references in parentheses are given are not yet published

5 4. 2 2, 5 6 7. 1, MS 1. 7. 3 (111, 19), 3 4 6 (52, 12–13); K 9. 1 (104, 11), 20. 4 (21, 20), 21 5 (42, 18, read so with the MSS St and W 1a and the Kap parallel instead of von Schroeder's *saḍ vā ṛtava rtavas samvatsarah*, cf K 22 6 [62, 18] where the MS. Ch wrongly reads *rtavas* twice), 22 6 (62, 18), Kap 8 4 (83, 7), 31 6 (152, 24); 31 20 (168, 22), 34 (176, 17), KB 15 2 (66, 1), 19. 7 (87, 1), 23 1 (102, 21), 26 16 (128, 20), 30. 10 (146, 11), JB. 2. 142; 199, 431 (Caland, § 169, p 229, 1–2), 3 61, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 196, 24)

sapta rtavah samvatsarah ŚB 6 6 1. 14, 6 6 2 7; 6. 8. 2 7, 7 3 2 9, 9 1 1 26, 9. 1 2 31; 9. 2 3 45

(*d*) *caturvinśatir ardhamāsāh samvatsarah*

caturvinśatir ardhamāsāh samvatsarah TS 5 1 8 5, 5 6. 7. 2, TĀ. 2 8 1, PB 4 4 1, 6 3 4, 14 1 11, 15 1 10, ṢB 3 1 21, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 233, 15–16) ——*caturvinśatir vā ardhamāsāh samvatsarah* MS 3 4 6 (52, 4, and 17).

(*e*) *dvau māsāv rtuh*

dvau hi māsāv rtuh ŚB 7. 4 2 29; 8 2. 1. 16, 8 3 2 5; 6; 8 4 2 14, 8 7 1 6 ——*dvau-dvau hi māsāv rtuh* PB 10 2. 8

(*f*) *trinśad rātrayo māsah*

trinśát-trinśad vái rátrayo máso, yó másah sá samvatsaráh MS. 1 10 8 (148, 8), K 36 2 (70, 6-7 where . *yo vai māsah* . .), contrast K 34 9 (43, 13) *trinśan māso rātrayah*, below § 3, II (Genitival Type), *f*.

With resumptive demonstrative pronoun —

(*g*) *dvādaśa māsāh sa samvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca rtavah sa samvatsarah TS 5. 6. 7. 2, 6. 3 7. 1.——*pañca rtavo dvādaśa māsā esa samvatsarah* MS 1. 7 3 (111, 14), 3 7. 2 (79, 7–8), 4 3 2 (41, 6) ——*dvādaśa māsāh pañca rtavah sa vai samvatsarah* PB 18 2 14; 18 4 11; 18 9. 5.——*pañca rtavo dvādaśa māsā esa vāva sa samvatsarah* K 9 1 (104, 6), Kap 8. 4 (83, 2) ——Similarly *sastíś ca ha vai trīni ca śatāny etac chatarudriyam* ŚB 9 1 1. 43 (s below § 6 in fine)

With resumptive *tāvān* —

(*h*) *dvādaśa māsās tāvān samvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāh pañca rtavas tāvān samvatsarah AB. 1. 16. 44.

§ 3. II. The Genitival Type

(*a*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya*

dvādaśa vai māsāḥ samvatsarasya ŚB. 1. 2. 5. 13 (= Kānva 2. 2. 3. 11), 1. 3. 5. 10; 11, 2. 2. 2 4 (= Kānva 1. 2. 2. 3), 3. 4. 4. 19, 3 6 4 23, 4 3 1. 5, 4 6. 1. 11; 5 2 1. 2, 5. 2 5. 15, 5. 3. 5. 5, 5. 4 5. 14, 20, 5. 5. 2 2, 5. 5 5. 7; 11 2 6. 11; 11 5. 4. 9.; 12 2. 1. 8, 12. 2. 2 6, 12 7 2 19, 14 2. 2. 12.——*dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya* ŚB. 11 6 3. 8, 12 2 3 6, 12 3. 2. 2; GB. 1. 5 5 (119, 5).——*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca rtavaḥ* ŚB. 8 4. 1 11–13 ——*tasya* (scil *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ* ŚB. 8 4 1 14 ——*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavaḥ* ŚB 8 4 1. 15, 16

(*b*) *trayodaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya*

trayodaśa vai māsāḥ samvatsarasya ŚB 3 6 4. 24; 14. 1 3. 27, 14. 3. 2 16, GB 1. 5 5 (119, 6) ——*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *trayodaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavaḥ* ŚB. 8 4 1. 17.

A combination of II (*a*) and (*b*) in —

dvādaśa vā vai trayodaśa vā samvatsarasya māsāḥ ŚB. 2 2 3 27 (= Kānva, 1 2 3 23), 5 4 5 23, 5. 5 5 19.

(c) *pañca* (etc) *rtavaḥ samvatsarasya*

traya rtavaḥ samvatsarasya ŚB 12 3. 2 1 ——*trayo vā rtavaḥ samvatsarasya* ŚB 3. 4 4. 17, 11 5 4 10, GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 1).

pañca rtavaḥ samvatsarasya ŚB 1 5 2 16; 1 7 2. 8; 2. 1. 1 12 (= Kānva 1 1 1 8), 3 1 4 20, 3 6. 4. 18, 11 7. 4. 4, 12. 2 2. 19, 12 3 2 1, 14. 1 2 14.——*pañca vā rtavaḥ samvatsarasya* ŚB. 3 1 3 17, 3 1 4 5; 3 3 3 5, 3 4 1. 14; 3 9 4. 11; 4. 1 1 16, 4. 5 5 12, 5 1 2 9, 14 1. 1 28 ——*tasya* (scil *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca rtavaḥ* ŚB 8 4 1. 11–13

sad ṛtavaḥ samvatsarasya ŚB 3 6 4 19, 12 3 2 1 ——*saḍ vā rtavaḥ samvatsarasya* ŚB 1 2 5. 12 (= Kānva 2 2 3 11), 2 2 2 3 (= Kānva 1 2 2 2), 3 4 4 18, 4 2 2 7, 4 4 5 18; 4 5 5 12, 5. 2 1 4, 11 5 4 7, 10, GB 1 5 5 (119 2–3) ——*sad eva rtavaḥ samvatsarasya* ŚB. 2 1 1 13 (bis, the Kānva parallel 1 1. 1 9 *sad vā rtavaḥ samvatsarasya* and *sad rtavaḥ samvatsarasya*), 4. 5 5 12 —— *tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sad rtavaḥ* ŚB 8 4. 1 14

sapta rtavaḥ samvatsarasya ŚB 12 3 2 1 ——*sapta vā rtavaḥ samvatsarasya* GB 1 5 5 (119, 4).——*tasya* (scil *samvatsarasya*) *trayodaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavaḥ* ŚB. 8 4 1 17 —— *tasya* (scil *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavaḥ* ŚB 8 4 1. 15, 16

(*d*) *caturvinśatiḥ samvatsarasyārdhamāsāḥ*

caturvinśatiḥ samvatsarasyārdhamāsāḥ K 21 5 (43, 4); 22. 1 (57, 16); 33. 2 (28, 3–4), 33 3 (29, 8); Kap 31. 20 (169, 5); PB 16 7. 5, 23. 21 3 ——*caturvinśatir vai samvatsarasyārdhamāsāḥ* ŚB. 2 2 2 5 (the Kānva parallel 1 2. 2 4 *caturvinśatir vā ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarasya*), 4 1 1 15, 4 6 1. 12, 5 4. 5 21; 11 5. 4 8; KB 9. 6 (44, 7), 19 8 (87, 7) ——*caturvinśatir ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarasya* GB. 1 5 5 (119, 7–8) ——*caturvinśatir vā ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarasya* ŚB. Kānva 1 2 2 4 (the Mādhyandina parallel 2 2. 2. 5 *caturvinśatir vai samvatsarasyārdhamāsāḥ*) ——*tasya* (scil *samvatsarasya*) *caturvinśatir ardhamāsāḥ* ŚB 8 4 1 18, 19; 21–24.

saḍvinśatir ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarasya GB 1 5 5 (119, 9) —— *tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *saḍvinśatir ardhamāsāḥ* ŚB 8. 4. 1. 25.

(*e*) *vinśatiśatam vai tor ahāni*

vinśatiśatam vā vai tor ahāni K 11. 7 (51, 23), 30, 10 (146, 4).

(*f*) *trinśan māsasya rātrayaḥ*

trinśan māsasya rātrayaḥ ŚB 9 1. 1 43, 10 4 2. 23, 24; AB. 3 41 2; JB. 2 109, 375, and so with *māsaḥ* genitive sg. to *mās*- K. 34 9 (43, 13) *trinśan māso rātrayaḥ*. For *trinsat-trinśad vai rātrayo māsaḥ* MS. 1 10 8 (148, 7), K 36 2 (70, 6–7) see above, § 2, I (Nominatival Type), *f*

(*g*) *dve samvatsarasyāhorātre*

dve vai samvatsarasyāhorātre ŚB 12 3 2 1 ——*dve ahorātre samvatsarasya* GB 1 5 5 (118, 14)

(*h*) *pañcadaśārdhamāsasya rātrayaḥ*

pañcadaśārdhamāsasya vai rātrayaḥ MS 1 7. 3 (111, 17); K. 9. 1 (104, 9), 21. 5 (43, 2), 33 8 (34, 22), 34 9 (43, 6–7); Kap. 8. 4 (83, 4–5), 31 20 (169, 3), PB 4 2 8 ——*pañcadaśa vā ardhamāsasya rātrayaḥ* ŚB 1 3 5 8, TS 2 5 8 3, 5 6 7 2, TB. 3. 3 7 1; 3 9. 11 2, JB 1 132, 2 109, 375, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, VI, 233, 10) ——*pañcadaśāpūryamānasyārdhamāsasya rātrayaḥ* JB. 1. 251 ——*pañcadaśāpochato*[1] (so and °*porchato*, °*poccato* the MSS.) *'rdhamāsasya rātrayaḥ* JB 1 251.

[1] The use of the present participle of the root *1 vas* + *apa* to designate the waning moon (= *apalsīyamāna-*, ŚB 10 4 2 17 *pañcadaśāpūryamānasya rūpāṇi pañcadaśāpalsīyamānasya*) is noteworthy and does not appear to occur elsewhere At Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient* VI, 133, 4, and 134, 11), *avāchannāparapalsa-* is used in this sense in contrast to *abhipūryamāna*[*paksa-*]

(*i*) *pañcadaśa pūrvapakṣāparapakṣayor ahāni*
pañcadaśa vai pūrvapakṣāparapayor ahāni KB. 3. 2. (9, 7–8)

(*j*) *aṣṭāvinśatiś ca śatāny aśītiś ca samvatsarasya pādāhāś ca pādarātrayaś*[1] *ca*
astāvinśatiś ca ha vai śatāny aśītiś ca samvatsarasya pādāhāś ca pādarātrayaś ca GB. 1 5. 5 (119, 17–120, 1).

(*k*) *caturdaśa ca śatāni catvārinśac ca samvatsarasyārdhāhāś cārdharātrayaś*[2] *ca*
caturdaśa ca ha vai śatāni catvārinśac ca samvatsarasyārdhāhāś cārdharātrayaś ca GB 1 5 5 (119, 14–15)

(*l*) *pañcadaśānām varsānām trīni ca śatāni sastiś ca paurṇamāsyāś cāmāvāsyāś ca*
tesām pañcadaśānām varsānām trīṇi ca śatāni (11 *trīni cawa śatāni*) *ṣaṣtiś ca paurnamāsyāś cāmāvāsyāś ca* ŚB 11 1 2 10; 11.

(*m*) *daśa ca sahasrāny astau ca śatāni samvatsarasya muhūrtāh*
daśa ca vai (GB *ca ha vai*) *sahasrāṇy astau ca śatāni samvatsarasya muhūrtāh* ŚB 12 3 2 5, GB 1 5 5 (120. 2–3).

(*n*) *sapta ca śatāni vinśatiś ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāni*
sapta ca vai śatāni vinśatiś ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāni ŚB 12. 3 2 4 ——*tasya vā etasya samvatsarasya prajāpateh sapta ca śatāni vinśatiś cāhorātrāni jyotīnsi* ŚB 10 4 2 2 (*prajāpateh* is apposition to *samvatsarasya* and *jyotīnsi* to *ahorātrāni*) ——*sapta ca vai vinśatiśatāni ca samvatsarasyāhorātrānām* KB 11 7 (52, 2) ——*sapta ca ha vai śatāni vinśatiś ca samvatsarasyāhāni ca rātrayaś ca* GB 1 5 5 (119, 12–13) ——*sapta ca vai śatāni vinśatiś ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāh* AĀ 3. 2 1 (133, 6 ed Keith) ——*saptavinśatiśatāni samvatsarasyāhorātrānām* ŚA 8 1 (312, 13–14 in Keith's ed of AĀ)

(*o*) *trīni ca śatāni sastiś ca samvatsarasya rātrayah*
trīni ca vai śatāni sastiś ca samvatsarasya rātrayah ŚB 11 1 2 10, 12 3 2 3.——*trīni ca vai śatāni sastiś ca samvatsarasyāhāni* ŚB 1 3. 5 9, 11 1 2. 11, 12 3 2 3 ——*trīni ca ha vai śatāni sastiś ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāni* GB 1 5 5 (119, 10–11) ——*sastiś ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāni samvatsarasya rātrayah* ŚB 10 4 3 13, 10 5 4. 10 ——*sastiś ca ha vai trīni ca śatāni samvatsarasyāhāni* ŚB 10. 4 3. 19; 10 5 4 10 ——*sastiś ca vai trīni ca śatāni samvatsarasyāhāni*

[1] The compounds *pādāha-* and *pādarātri-* are wanting in pw
[2] The compounds *ardhāha-* and *ardharātri-* are wanting in pw

K 33 2 (28, 5–6) ——*trīṇi vai sastiśatāni samvatsarasyāhnām* KB. 3 2 (9, 11–12), 11 7 (52, 1), 16. 9 (73, 13), 19 8 (87, 8)

(*p*) *tesām* (scil *samvatsarānām*) *sattrinśat pūrnamāsāh*

ye vai trayah samvatsarās tesām sattrinśat pūrnamāsā, yau dvau tayoś caturvinśatih MS 1 10 8 (148, 17–18), K. 36. 3 (70, 20–71, 1).

(*q*) *aparimitāh samvatsarasya rātrayah*

aparimitās (MS. *aparimitā vai*) *samvatsarasya rātrayah* MS. 1. 10. 7 (157, 3–4), K 36 11 (78, 10)

(*r*) *yāvanti* (*tāvanti*) *samvatsarasyāhāni*

tāvanti samvatsarasyāhāni ŚB 9 1 1 43, 9 3 3 18, MS 1. 7 3 (111, 17–18), K 9 1 (104, 9–10), Kap 8 4 (83 5–6), AB 4 12. 7, 9.——*tā yāvatīh samvatsarasya rātrayah* K 36. 2 (70, 9–10).——*tāvatīh samvatsarasya rātrayah* TS 2 5 8 3, MS 1. 10 8 (148, 10–11) ——*tāvatyah samvatsarasya rātrayah* PB 4. 2. 7, 9. 3. 6 ——*tāvatīs samvatsarasya rātrayah* JB. 2 163, 212, 375 —— *tāvatīr rto rātrayah* JB. 2 212 ——*etāvanti hi samvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* ŚB 7. 3. 1. 43 ——*etāvanti vai samvatsarasyāhorātrāni* MS 4. 5. 3 (67, 12–13).——*tāvanti samvatsarasyāhorātrāni* JB 2 238 (Caland, § 147, *b*, p 185, 14 from bottom), 240 ——*yāvanti vai samvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* ŚB. 6 2 2 29 ——*yāvanti samvatsarasyāhorātrāṇi* K. 15. 10 (217, 2), PB 18 11. 6 ——*tāvantas samvatsarasyāhorātrāh* JB. 2 204 ——*etāvanto hi samvatsarasya muhūrtāh* ŚB 10 4 3. 20.—— *tāvantah sahasrasamvatsarasya muhūrtāh* ŚB. 10 4. 4 2.——*etāvanto vai pañcānām samvatsarānām ahorātrā yāvatīr etā vistakā yāvān agnih samcitah* Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, VI, 239, 25)

(*s*) *kati samvatsarasyāhāni*

kati samvatsarasyātirātrāh ŚB 12 2 1 6 ——*kati te pitā samvatsarasyāhāny amanyata* ŚB 12 2 2 13, GB 1 4. 24 (111, 14–112, 1), JB 2 431 (Caland, § 169, p 228, 7 from bottom) ——*kati samvatsarasyāhāni parāñci* ŚB 12 2 3. 13, GB. 1. 4 16 (106, 10–11).

§ 4. III. The Adjectival Type

(*a*) *sadṛtuh*[1] *samvatsarah* KB 14. 1 (61, 12); 20. 3 (91, 1).

(*b*) *caturvinśatyardhamāsah*[1] *samvatsarah* ŚB 6 2. 1. 21; 10. 4 2 18; JB. 1 212, 2 4, 91 (bis), 92 (bis); 93 (ter); 97, 107;

[1] The adjectives *sadṛtu-* and *caturvinśatyardhamāsa-* are wanting in pw. Cf *śataśārada-* in the Mantra TS 5 7 2 4 (etc) *tesām ṛtūnām śataśāradānām.*

111; 119; 124 (Caland, § 137, p 162, 12), 127; 162 (bis); 163, 176; 177; 225 (bis); 239 (bis); 282, 285; 308, 349; 359; 375; 3. 173; JUB. 3 38 9.——*caturvinśatyardhamāso vai samvatsarah* JB. 2. 377, 380; 410 (Caland, § 167, p 218, 10 from bottom), 412; 435

§ 5. Summary

(*a*) Outside of JB the adjectival type[1] (above § 4) is very rare: *saḍrtu-* occurs twice in KB, *caturvinśatyardhamāsa-* twice in ŚB (once each in books vi and x). But in JB. the adjectival *caturvinśatyardhamāsas samvatsarah* is the only expression for "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" (thirty-six times in JB, and once in JUB)

(*b*) The nominatival *dvādaśa māsāh samvatsarah* and *trayodaśa māsāh samvatsarah* (above, § 2, *a* and *b*) is in ŚB. confined to books vi–x and xiii (eight times each in books vi and vii, once in book viii, seven times in book ix, once in book x, and five times in book xiii) In the remaining books ŚB. uses the genitival (above, § 3, *a* and *b*) *dvādaśa māsāh samvatsarasya, trayodaśa māsāh samvatsarasya, dvādaśa vā trayodaśa vā samvatsarasya māsāh* (three times in book i twice in book ii, three times in book iii, twice in book iv, nine times in book v, seven times in book viii, three times in book ix, five times in book xii, and three times in book xiv)[2] It is noteworthy that this genitival expression is not found in any of the other Brāhmaṇas, all of them, with the single exception of GB. 1 5 5 (119, 5 and 6), which depends on ŚB. 12 3 2 1 ff, use the nominatival expression (above, § 2, *a* and *b*); cf below, § 5, *c* in fine.

(*c*) The nominatival *pañca* (etc) *rtavah samvatsarah* (above, § 2, *c*) occurs in ŚB in books vi–ix and xiii (eleven times in book vi, six times in book vii, twice in book viii, eight times in book ix, and three times in book xiii), and strangely enough also once in book xii, which elsewhere (four times) has the genitival expression. In the remaining books ŚB uses the genitival (above, § 3, *c*) *pañca* (etc) *rtavah samvatsarasya* (three times in book i, four times in book ii,

[1] *Cf dvikapālam hi śirah*, ŚB 8 4 4 4

[2] Cf for a distantly similar contrast of nominative and genitive, JB 2 77 (*JAOS* xv, 240, 6), *katama ādityā iti, dvādaśa māsās samvatsara* (so all the MSS) *iti hovācaita ādityā, ete hīdam sarvam ādadānā yanti, tasmād ādityā iti*, but the parallels ŚB 11. 6 3. 8 and 14 6 9 6, *dvādaśa māsāh samvatsarasya* "'Who are the Ādityas?' 'The twelve months, the year (so JB, the twelve months of the year ŚB), these are the Ādityas.'"

nine times in book III, six times in book IV, twice in book V, four times in book VIII, three times in book XI, four times in book XII [but note once in this book the nominatival expression], and twice in book XIV). This genitival expression is foreign to all the other Brāhmanas (cf. above, § 5, *b* in fine), all of them, with the single exception of GB. 1. 5 5 (119, 2–3 and 4) which depends on ŚB 12 3 2 1 ff., use the nominatival expression (above, § 2, *c*)

(*d*) For "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" ŚB has only the genitival expression *caturviṁśatiḥ saṁvatsarasyārdhamāsāḥ* (once in book II, twice in book IV, once in book V, seven times in book VIII, and once in book XI) The absence of the nominatival expression in ŚB is due to the fact that books VI–X and XIII for which the nominatival construction is characteristic (above, § 5, *b* and *c*) have no occasion to express the thought.

Of the other Brāhmanas K (four times), Kap (once), KB (twice) and GB (twice) show the genitival expression only, while TS (twice), TĀ (once), MS (twice) and ṢB (once) know only the nominatival construction PB uses the nominatival expression once each in books IV, VI, XIV, and XV, but the genitival construction once each in books XVI and XXIII

(*e*) For "A season consists of two months" ŚB has the nominatival *dvau māsāv ṛtuḥ* six times (once in book VII, five times in book VIII, all books for which the nominatival construction is characteristic, see above, § 5, *b* and *c*) PB has it once (in book X) But K has the genitival *viṁśatiśatam ṛtor ahāni* (twice) "A season consists of 120 days"

(*f*) In general the genitival type (above, § 3, *a–s*) is far more frequent than the nominatival type (above, § 2. *a–f*), the latter is confined to the expressions *dvādaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ, trayodaśa māsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ, pañca* (etc) *ṛtavaḥ saṁvatsaraḥ, caturviṁśatir ardhamāsāḥ saṁvatsaraḥ dvau māsāv ṛtuḥ*, and (above, § 2, *f*) *triṁśad rātrayo māsaḥ*

§ 6 The same variation between nominative and genitive is found in the expressions for "The Agniṣṭoma consists of twelve Stotras" and "The night(-rite) consists of twelve Stotras We have, on the one hand, the genitival *dvādaśāgniṣṭomasya stotrāṇi* K 26 1 (122, 1), Kap 40 4 (228, 2); TB 1 2 2 1, JB 1 179 (Caland, § 63, p 70, 3), 206, and *dvādaśa vā agniṣṭomasya stotrāṇi dvādaśa*

rātreḥ JB 1. 206[1], on the other hand, the nominatival *dvādaśa stotrāny agnistomaḥ* PB 4 2 12, 6 3. 3, and *dvādaśa stotrāny agnistomo dvādaśa stotrāni rātrih* PB 9 1 24[2] Cf with resumptive pronoun, *sastiś ca ha vai trīni ca śatāny etac chatarudriyam* ŚB 9 1 1 43 "The Śatarudriya(-litany) consists of 360 (formulas)'

NOTE —For the sake of completeness I add the following genitival examples *pañcadaśānām u vai gāyatrīnām trīni ca śatāni sastiś cāksarāni* ŚB 1 3 5 9, *tesām* (scil *chandasām*) *tisraś cāśītayo 'ksarāni pañcacatvārimśac ca* ŚB 10 1 2 9, *tricāni tesām* (scil. *chandasām*) *sapta ca śatāni vimśatiś cāksarāni* ŚB 10 5. 4 7, *tāsām vā etāsām pañcānām vyāhrtīnām saptadaśāksarāni* ŚB 12 3 3 3. *tāsām* (scil *vyāhrtīnām*) *saptadaśāksarāni* ŚB 1 5 2 17, *yāvanti hi saptānām chandasām aksarāni tāvanty etasya sadrcasyāksarāni* ŚB 7 3 1 41, *tāsām* (scil *rcām*) *nava padāni* ŚB 6 4 2 5, *tasya* (scil. *sāmnah*) *trirvacana* ("when it is sung thrice") *ekavimśatih padāni* ŚB 3 1 20, *caturdaśa vā etāsām* (scil *grīvānām*) *karūkarāni* ŚB 12 2 4 10, *dvātrimśad vā etasya* (scil *anūkasya*) *karūkarāni trayodaśāgneś citipurīsāni* ŚB 7 1 1 32, 7 2 3 9, 8 6 3 12, 9 3 3 9, *sastiś ca trīni ca śatāny anyatarasyestakā abhavann evam anyatarasya* ŚB 10 4 2 4, *tisras-tisro 'śītaya ekaikasyestakā abhavan* ŚB 10 4 2 5, *catuścatvārimśam śatam ekaikasyestakā abhavan* ŚB 10 4 2 7[3]

[1] Cf for the genitival expression *tasya* (scil *atirātrasya*) *sastiś ca trīni ca śatāni stotrīyāh* K 33 2 (28, 5), *tesām u etesām caturnām ukthyānām sahasram stotriyāh* KB 21 5 (95, 21), *pañcadaśa hy asya* (scil *ukthyasya*) *stotrāni bhavanti pañcadaśa śastrāni* KB 24 9 (111, 12–13), *tayor etayoh pañcadaśasaptadaśayor dvātrimśat stotriyāh* ŚB 10 1 2 8, *tasya* (scil *stomasya*) *navatiśatam stotrīyāh* PB 16 1 8 *tasya* (scil *ekāhasya*) *dvisatāh stotrīyāh* PB 16 9 3, *tasyai* (scil *istch*) *pañcadasa sāmidhenyo bhavanti* ŚB 11 4 3 18, 13 4 1 13, 13 4 2 7, *tasyai* (scil *istch*) *saptadaśa sāmidhenyo bhavanti* ŚB 13 4 1 15, 13 4 2 9, 13, *navatisatam u ha vā agnistomasya stotriyāh* Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, VI, 234, 27)

[2] The MS has the locative *dvādaśāgnistome stotrāni* MS 4 5 4 (68, 7–8, where the MSS H and Bb read °*gnistome*, the other MSS °*gnistoma*), 4 5 7 (74, 9, where all MSS read °*gnistome*)

[3] Examples like *sastiś ca ha vai trīni ca śatāni purusasyāsthīni* and *sastiś ca ha trīni ca śatāni purusasya majjānah* ŚB 10 5 4 2, *trīni ca śatāni sastis ca purusasyāsthīni* and *trīni ca śatāni sastis ca purusasya majjānah* ŚB 12 3 2 3, *sapta ca śatāni vimśatiś ca purusasyāsthīni ca majjānas ca* ŚB 12 3 2 4 are logically different, for the human body consists (i e is wholly made up) not only of bones and marrow but of five elements (e g AB 2 14 7 = 6 29 4 *pañkto 'yam purusah pañcadhā vihito lomāni tvan mānsam asthi majjā*), it can therefore properly be said to contain bones and marrow, but not to consist of them.

Syntax of the Past Tense in Old Rājasthānī

By B S Pandit

Professor J Bloch in *L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, p. 271 f, has discussed the passage of the passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (based on the past participle of Sanskrit) into an active construction in which the verb agrees in number and gender with the logical subject It is obvious that during the course of this evolution there were periods of fluctuation An astonishing fluctuation is found in the Rājasthānī MS *Nala kī bāta* (R A S Todd Coll No 81), written at some date prior to A D 1806

Construction I

The past participle (past tense) agrees with the logical object which is in the direct case, the logical subject is in the instrumental in the singular (*-ai*), general oblique in the plural (*-ã*) Sometimes the gen obl is used also in the singular for the instrumental, and when this is the same in form as the direct, the process of confusion begins. There will thus be found confusions between Constructions I and VII

Subject in Instrumental	Object in Direct	Verb agrees with object	
bugalai	*doho*	*kahyo*	3*a* 2
tai	*kamtha*	*lādhyau*	27*b* 4
mhe	*bikho*	*hyo*	16*a* 5
ĩ	*māga*	*byāhī*	44*b* 11
telī [1]	*ātamā*	*jānī*	29*b* 5
Damatī [1]	*dohā*	*kahyā*	43*b* 8
Oblique plural			
guvālã	*doho*	*kahyo*	4*a* 7
sagalã	*bicāra*	*karyo*	6*b* 10

Construction II

The logical subject is in the instrumental, the logical object in the direct, the verb agrees in number and gender with the logical subject. This seems to have been the result of the construction with intransitive

[1] Direct, gen oblique and instrumental are identical in form

verbs together with the replacement of the use of the direct case by instrumental (originally in pronouns) and later by the coalescence in form of the direct and oblique Thus *rānī* can be in origin either direct or instrumental. There are, therefore, confusions of Constructions II and VIII.

Subject in Instrumental	Object in Direct.	Verb agrees with Subject.	
rãnī	*usāsa*	*nākhī*	19*b* 4
Damatī	*nīsāsa*	*nākhī*	37*a* 8

Construction III

The subject is in the instrumental, the object in the oblique, usually with the postposition *nẽ* or *na*, the verb agrees in number and gender with the object As has already been remarked, there is some difficulty in distinguishing whether the subject is in the instrumental or the direct Thus there is confusion between Constructions III and IV This construction has its origin in the loss of distinction between instrumental and general oblique The general oblique without postposition might be ambiguous since it might be either the logical object or the logical subject

Subject in Instrumental.	Object in Oblique + *nẽ*	Verb agrees with Object	
mhe	*tū nẽ*	*chodıyo*	23*b* 6
sahalyā	*kasīdā na*	*sarāyo*	26*a* 8
rājā [1]	*mānasā nẽ*	*bheyyā*	4*a* 9
rājā [1]	*rānī nẽ*	*uthāī*	19*b* 7

Construction IV

The subject is in the direct, the object in the oblique with *nẽ* (*na*); the verb agrees in number and gender with the object.

Subject in Direct	Object in Oblique + *nẽ*	Verb agrees with Object.	
so	*caravādārā na*	*māryā*	41*a* 4
so	*ghorā na*	*lulā kıyā*	41*a* 5

Construction V

The subject is in the direct, the object in the oblique with *nẽ*, the verb agrees in number and gender with the subject The old passive construction has here passed into the active

[1] Direct, gen oblique, and instrumental are identical in form

Subject in Direct	Object in Oblique + *nẽ*	Verb agrees with Subject.	
rājā	*u na*	*bulāyo*	41*a* 6
Nala	*Dholājī na*	*khīlāva chā*	47*b* 8
rājā	*rānī nẽ*	*kahyo*	26*a* 10
Damaṇtī	*Nala nẽ*	*pūchī*	14*b* 12

Construction VI

The Sanskrit type in which the subject is in the instrumental and the verb is the impersonal neuter singular survives in this The subject is either in the instrumental proper or the general oblique, the verb ends in -ī (< Skt -*itam*) In an isolated case (*tadako huvī* 35*a* 3) this impersonal construction has been extended to an intransitive verb, the subject being in the direct and the verb (apparently not agreeing in gender) being derived from an analogical formation from the Skt neuter impersonal past participle in -*itam*.

Subject in Instrumental	Verb is Old Neuter Singular	
mohe	*jānī*	45*a* 7
the	*bicārī*	48*b* 8
umarāvā	*kahī*	41*b* 11
sādhā	*kahī*	5*b* 6
Nala [1]	*kahī*	48*b* 8
Nala [1]	*jānī*	6*b* 13

Construction VII

Both subject and object are in the direct, the verb agrees in number and gender with the object

Subject in Direct	Object in Direct	Verb agrees with Object	
badhika	*jāla*	*nākhyo*	4*b* 11
badhika	*chala*	*karyo*	6*a* 7

Construction VIII

Both subject and object are in the direct, the verb agrees in number and gender with the subject

Subject in Direct.	Object in Direct	Verb agrees with Subject	
rājā	*thārī sūratī*	*kahyo*	12*b* 3

[1] Direct, oblique, and instrumental are identical in form

Construction IX

The subject is in the instrumental, the verb is in the masculine singular. This follows from the loss of the neuter gender The masculine has replaced the neuter, which here (*-ī* < *-itam*) seemed to be feminine

Subject in Instrumental.	Verb is Masculine Singular	
Damatī	*kahau*	27*b* 8
rāṇī	*kahyau*	28*b* 16

Vedico *yúḥ* "se ipsum"

By Vittore Pisani

M. BLOOMFIELD, cerca, nella Miscellanea in onore di Ernst Kuhn (*Aufsatze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte* . Monaco, 1916, p 211 sgg), di sostenere la sua proposta (*JAOS* , xxvii, p 72 sgg.), secondo cui *RV* , viii, 18, 13 dovrebbe leggersi

yó nah káç cid rírikṣati rakṣastvéna mártyah
suáih sá évai rirīṣṭāyur jánah

in luogo del tramandato *rirīṣīsta yúr* ; °*stă*° rappresenterebbe una contrazione di °*sta ā*°, e il Bloomfield traduce in conseguenza

" The mortal who with demonic practices desires to harm us
may that person by his own doings injure his life ! "

Non si può negar ragione al Bloomfield quando difende, per ragioni grammaticali (*rirīsīsta*, aoristo raddoppiato, è causativo) alle quali si possono aggiungere quelle testuali, la lezione tradizionale contro l'emendazione del Dizionario di Bohtlingk-Roth approvata da Oldenberg . *suaih sá évai rirīsīsta dvayúr jánah* , ma quanto egli dice a p 213 non mi pare bastante per dimostrare che ragioni metriche, e cioè il bisogno d'avere una fine di verso ⏑ — ⏑ —, fossero da tanto da ridurre ad *ă* l'*ā* che ci aspetteremmo come risultato dalla contrazione dell' *-a* finale di *rirīsīsta* con quello iniziale di *áyuh* Anche ammesso che *purìva júryah RV* , vi, 2, 7 valga *purí iva ajuryáh*, qui si potrebbe trattare di una specie d'elisione , e forse il principio dell'elisione va applicato anche in qualche altro passo del *RV* , ed esso appare di data indeuropea, accanto all' altro, generalizzatosi in ai , della contrazione e della formazione di dittonghi discendenti o ascendenti ($a + a = \bar{a}$, $a = i = e$, $i + a = ya$ ecc) nel caso d'incontro di vocali nel sandhi Nel più antico greco la elisione ha luogo nel sandhi sintattico (ma anche τἆλλα ecc), laddove la contrazione si è affermata nell incontro di vocali finale e iniziale dei due membri d'un composto (στρατᾱγός da στρατο-ἀγός) lascio impregiudicata la questione, se la elisione che anche ha luogo fra i membri d'un comporto (ἀλέξ-ανδρος) sia continuazione di un fatto ie o imitazione di quanto avveniva nel sandhi sintattico In latino abbiamo la sinalefi in cui, si pronunziasse o non la finale della prima parola, il valore prosodico dell' unica sillaba risultante è quello della seconda vocale , accanto alla sinalefi abbiamo forse ancora in Plauto la

contrazione, là dove si usa parlare di iato prosodico. *uta me dì ament* va letto ⏑ ⏑ — — — ecc. secondo Rau (*Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Sprachforschung*, lviii, 145 sgg) Però, tanto in greco quanto in latino, la prosodia della sillaba risultante da elisione o sinalefi è quella della vocale iniziale della seconda parola, quindi, se è ammissibile che *iva ajuryáh* possa aver dato *iv'ă°*, non mi pare altrettanto probabile che *ririsīsta ádyuh* potesse dare *ririsīst' ăyúr*! Inoltre, il Bloomfield può sì citare a p. 212 esempi in cui *ris* è costruito con *ádyuh*, ma *ádyuh* significa di per sé—e quindi anche in tutti i casi addotti dallo scienziato americano— ' la vita ,, , ma non già " la *propria* vita ,, . E infine è pur sempre da notare che l'accentuazione tramandata è *ririsīṣta yúr* non °*tá yur*

Io ritengo che la tradizione indigena non vada toccata; quanto al significato, non vi è dubbio che si debba intendere " danneggi quel-l'uomo se stesso colle sue opere ,, bisognerà quindi vedere in *yúr* una audace innovazione E la cosa mi pare che si spieghi molto facilmente Se il poeta avesse avuto a sua disposizione due sillabe e avesse potuto misurare lunga l'ultima sillaba di *ririsīsta*, egli avrebbe detto *ririsīsta tmánam jánah* In assenza di questa possibilità, egli è ricorso ad un' ardita formazione analogica poichè *tmán-* pareva, pur non essendolo in realtà, una forma apocopata di *ātmán-* che significa " anima ,, e anche " principio vitale ,, (il significato " ipse ,, di *ātmán-*, ereditato dal quasi omofono *tmán-*, è secondario e seriore, vedi *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xv, 364 sg), il poeta si è creduto in diritto di ricavare da *ádyuh* " vita, forza vitale ,, uno *yúh* " ipse ". La speculazione grammaticale è antichissima in India, è noto come già nell' Aitareya Brāhmana venga frequentemente esercitata l'etimologia (cfr Liebich, *Zur Einfuhrung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, ii), e casi come la creazione di un *dhava-* " marito ,, in seguito a una falsa divisione di *vidhávā* " vedova ,, sono comuni a tutti i periodi dell' ai., e non solo di questa lingua In *yúh* " ipse ,, da *ádyuh* secondo il rapporto di *tmán* " ipse ,, con *ātmán-* abbiamo una delle più antiche testimonianze del fenomeno in parola.

Neue Singhalesische Lautregel

Von Wilhelm Printz

Wilhelm Geiger stellt in *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen* (1900) § 23, 3 fest „In einer Anzahl von Fallen ist der Palatal *c* nicht zu *s*, sondern (durch *j*) zu *d* geworden" In der von Geiger und Sir D B Jayatilaka unterzeichneten Einleitung zu *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese language* (1935) wird das noch genauer bestimmt dies *d* entsteht nur aus intervokalischem **c*, nie im Anlaut. Zur Erklarung heisst es ebenda „ we may assume that a later wave of immigration brought to Ceylon a dialect in which *c* between vowels was softened to *j* The exact date of that immigration is unknown " Aber es ist doch sehr bedenklich, einen einzelnen Lautwandel durch Sprachmischung zu erklaren Es lasst sich vielmehr eine einfachere Deutung finden, die den allermeisten Fallen gerecht wird

Eine Musterung von Geiger's *Etymologie des Singhalesischen* (1897) ergibt 68 Worter, in denen singh *-s-* oder *-s* auf alteres **-c-* zuruckgeht, wobei im Pāli gewohnlich *-cc-* oder *-cch-*, seltener *-ñc-* oder *-c-* entspricht Dagegen finden sich nur 11 Worter, in denen *-d-* pāli *-c-* entspricht Hiervon bilden 9 eine Gruppe fur sich *adurā* (pā *ācārya*) „Lehrer ", *kada* (skr , pā *kāca*, *kāja*) „Last ", *gōdura* (skr , pā *gōcara*) „Beute, Nahrung ", *narada* (skr *nāḍācā*, pā *narācā*) „Pfeil " usw , *nidu* (skr , pā *nīca*) ., Mann ohne Kaste , niedrig ", *padum* (skr *prācīna*, pā *pācīna*) „Osten ", wozu laut Dictionary aaO im 2 Jh n C *pajina* „ostlich " inschriftlich belegt ist , *yadinavā* (*yāc-*) „ bitten ", *mudanavā* (pā *mōcēti* , nicht zu *muñcati*, wie Geiger angibt) „ losen, befreien " Fur diese Gruppe ergibt sich die Lautregel hinter ursprunglichem Langvokal wird **-c-* uber *-j-* zu *-d-*

Hieran schliesst sich die Konjunktion *da* (skr., pā *ca*), fur die ja die Zwischenform *ja* inschriftlich bezeugt ist Wir mussen also annehmen, dass bei diesem enklitischen Wort die Stellung hinter ursprunglich langvokalischem Wortauslaut den Ausschlag gegeben hat

Diese Lautregel gilt nicht, wenn der ursprungliche Endvokal verstummt und *c* in den Auslaut gerat *pisas* (pā. *pisāca*) „ Damon "

Drei Worter fugen sich dieser Lautregel nicht *vasa* (skr. *vāc*. pā. *vācā*) „ Wort ", andrerseits mit *-ad-* aus *-ac-* *kavada* (skr , pā.

kavaca) „Panzer", woneben auch *kavasa* vorkommt, sowie *vadana* (skr.. pā. *vacana*) „Wort". vgl. ausser dem eben genannten *vasa* auch *vasi* (pā. *vacī*) „Wort".

Ausserdem gibt es noch vier Wörter in denen *-d-* nicht aus einfachem *-c-* stammt und die daher gesondert zu betrachten sind *āda* (skr.. pā. *añc-*) „gebeugt". *(h)aruruḍa* (mit Metathesis aus **aruḍura* skr. *saṃvatsara*, pā. *saṃvaccharа*) „Jahr"; *duḍuru duḍulu* (skr. *duścara* im Pāli nicht belegt). schlechter Weg, Wildnis"; *hiṅḍu* (falls mit sekundärer Nasalierung zu skr, pā. *sūci*) „Stachel (des Stachelschweins)".

Gründliche Kenner des Singhalesischen werden wohl in der Lage sein, weiteres Material herbeizuschaffen und die der aufgezeigten Lautregel entgegenstehenden Fälle besser zu deuten.

Les noms de la moutarde et du sésame

Par J Przyluski et C. Régamey

A PROPOS du mot indien *sarsapa*, le Prof J Charpentier a émis l'opinion suivante " Wohl am ehesten nichtarisches Wort ".[1] Auparavant, le Prof S K Chatterji avait déjà écrit " Skt *sarsapa* = Pkt *sāsava*, which remains unexplained But cf Malay *sĕsawi*. (The Malay word may be a Prakrit borrowing, but it is Skt, and not Pkt, which furnishes Aryan loans in Indonesian) " [2]

On a en effet pour désigner la moutarde

malais *sĕsawi*, *sawi*, *sawi-sawi*
javanais *sĕsawi*
khmer *sbĕy*
bahnar *habey*, *xabey*

La plante qui produit la graine de moutarde, *Brassica juncea* ou *Sinapis juncea* Linn ou *Sinapis patens* Roxb, présente de grandes analogies avec

1) *Brassica campestris* Linn qui est le colza indien ou *sarson* (*Sinapis glauca* Roxb)

2) *Brassica oleracea* Linn, qui est le chou

Chou, rave, moutarde et colza indien appartiennent tous à l'espèce *Brassica* Il n'est donc pas surprenant que plusieurs de ces plantes soient désignées par des noms analogues ou même identiques En fait, voici quelques noms du chou de Chine, *Brassica sinensis*

cam, *subĕr*, *bĕi*
javanais, malais, *sawi*
batak, *sabi*
soundanais, *sĕsawi*

Ces noms sont apparemment des variantes d'un terme générique qu'on précise au moyen d'un second mot lorsqu'on veut spécifier la plante dont il s'agit. Ainsi *sĕsawi puteh* désigne en malais la moutarde blanche qu'on appelle *sĕsawi pĭltau* dans les parlers de la Péninsule Malaise [3]

[1] Dans *MO*, 1932, p 112.

[2] *Prea iyan and Predravidian in India*, éd. par P C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1929, p xxiv

[3] Blagden, *Compar Vocabul*, s v. mustard.

Tous ces noms se ramènent à une racine **sapi* à laquelle l'indonésien adjoint le préfixe *sĕ-* Doit-on considérer ces mots comme empruntés à l indo-aryen ? Cette hypothèse se heurte aux difficultés suivantes

a) le mot étudié est un nom générique dans les langues austroasiatiques ; skt *sarṣapa* ne désigne que la moutarde et c'est seulement dans les langues indo-aryennes modernes que le mot signifie aussi colza (*sarson*) ,

b) *sarsapa* est inexplicable par l'indo-européen ,

c) les noms austroasiatiques diffèrent beaucoup de *sarsapa* ils se ramènent tous à une forme avec *i* final *sapi*,[1] et il leur manque le préfixe *sar-*

Au contraire, on explique aisément les faits si on considère *sarsapa* comme emprunté à une ancienne langue austroasiatique Le changement de**-sapi* en *-sapa* peut résulter de la tendance à intégrer le nom emprunté dans la déclinaison la plus usuelle Aucune raison phonétique ou morphologique ne peut expliquer le passage de *-sapa* au **sapi* austroasiatique et il serait étrange que le mot eût toujours été altéré de la même manière L'insertion de *r* après le préfixe *sa-* est conforme à la morphologie austroasiatique où les préfixes peuvent s adjoindre une nasale ou *r* La différence entre les formes mon-khmer actuelles et le nom sanskrit peut résulter de l'usure du préfixe ou de variations dialectales Le préfixe suivi de *r* était assez fréquent dans la langue austroasiatique qui a fourni des emprunts à l'indo-aryen , cf skt *karpāsa, karpata* en face du khmer *anbas,* čam *kapah,* malais *kapas* [2], skt *śarkara* en face du stieng *sokar* [3], *karpūra* en face du čam *kapu,* khmer *kapor* [4] etc

En khasi, le nom de la moutarde est *tyrso* et *y* note, dans cette langue, la voyelle caractéristique des préfixes *kyn-, pyn-, dyr-byn-,* etc

Il paraît donc très probable que l'indo-aryen *sarsapa,* formé d'une racine *sapa* et du préfixe *sar-*, est un emprunt à une langue austroasiatique

L'étude du nom de la moutarde ramène l'attention sur un problème qui avait été posé par Benfey dès l'année 1839 . " *σίναπι, σίναπυ*

[1] Il est vrai qu on trouve en sanskrit le féminin *sarsapī,* mais ce mot signifie 1) ein bestimmter Ausschlag, 2) eine Bachstelzenart (*PW* , s v *sarsapī*), et ne peut pas être à la base des noms de la moutarde et du chou

[2] J Przyluski, *BSL* , xxv, 1, pp 69–71

[3] J Przyluski, *MSL* , xxii, 5, pp 208–210

[4] J Gonda, *Austrisch en Arisch,* Utrecht, 1932, p 23, et A A. Fokker, *Zeitsch. fur romanisch Philol* , 34 (1910), p 567

In Skr heisst er *sarshapa* und, wenn man annehmen darf, dass die Griechen dieses, ohne allen Zweifel fremde, Wort von Persien her erhalten haben, so ist eine Identität von *sarshapa* und *σίναπι* nicht gar unmöglich Denn die persischen Worte, welche *r* haben, erhalten statt dessen im Pehlvi *n* , so wurde *sarshapa* —*sansapa*, woraus durch Assimilation *σίναπι* werden konnte." [1]

Mais le mot ne paraît pas attesté en iranien D'autre part, les faits grecs ne favorisent pas cette explication L ancienne forme grecque était [2] *νᾶπυ* (p ex Aristoph Equ 631 , c est aussi la seule forme employée par Théophraste) , cf aussi *νάπειον* (Nic Al 430). A l'époque de la comédie moyenne apparaît le verbe *σιναπίζειν* et ce n'est qu'à l'époque hellénistique que *σίναπυ*, *σίναπι* est attesté Plus tard, la forme *νᾶπυ* est hors d'usage

On trouve en latin dès le début (Plaute, Ennius) les formes *sinapis*, *senapis*, mais on a en même temps le mot *napus* " chou-rave " Hehn et Schrader sont d'avis qu'il est impossible de séparer *napus* de *νᾶπυ* et ces deux mots de *σίναπυ*. On se trouve donc en présence d'un doublet *σίναπυ νᾶπυ* dont l'origine n'est pas indo-européenne Hehn [3] dit à ce propos " In den Gesetzen der Sprachen, aus der das Wort entnommen wurde, konnte diese Doppelform begründet sein, aber welches war die Sprache ? Aegyptische Worter wie *σίλι* und *σέσελις*, *σάρι* (Aegyptische Wasserpflanze) und *σίσαρον*, ferner *κόμμι*, *κίκι*, *κύφι*, *ἄμμι*, *στίμμι* oder *στίβι*, u s w. lassen auch fur *νᾶπυ* und *σίναπι* auf aegyptische Herkunft raten." Mais l explication suggérée par Hehn manque de base solide Il n'apporte aucun mot qu'on puisse considérer comme le modèle égyptien de *νᾶπυ* ou de *σίναπυ* et il ne prouve pas davantage que ces plantes soient originaires de l'Egypte

Si skt *sarsapa* dérive d'une racine anaryenne **sapi*, on peut assigner la même origine à lat *sinapis*, *senapis* et à gr *σίναπυ*. Les langues austroasiatiques sont caractérisées à la fois par l'importance des préfixes et par un système d'infixes dont l'un des plus fréquents est l'infixe nasal On a par ex en malais un homonyme de *sawi* " moutarde " qui signifie " de passagier die aan boord eenige diensten verricht " [4] Une autre forme de ce nom est *sĕnawi* Il est

[1] *Griechisches Wurzellexikon*, Berlin, 1839, 1, p 428

[2] Cf O Schrader, *Reallex der Indgerm Altertumskunde*, 1901, p. 762 Boisacq, *Dict Etym de la langue grecque*, s v *νᾶπυ* , Walde, *Lat Etym Wört.*[2], p. 507.

[3] *Kulturpflanzen* [6], p 207.

[4] H C Klinkert, *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, p 358

clair que *sĕnawi* dérive de *sawi* par infixation de *-ĕn-* et l'on peut former de la même manière un dérivé **sĕnapi* à partir d'une racine *sap* Dès lors il n'y a plus rien d obscur dans les formes latines et grecques du nom de la moutarde **Sĕnapi* est devenu en latin *senapis*, *sinapis* Le doublet grec *νᾶπυ σίναπυ* est comparable au doublet čam *bĕi* *subĕi* la voyelle *ĕ* de **sĕnapi* est tombée et le groupe *sn* s'est réduit à *n* Plus tard à *νᾶπυ* emprunt imparfait, s est substitué *σίναπυ*, calque plus exact où la voyelle *ĕ* était rendue par *ι* comme en latin Mais tandis qu'en grec *νᾶπυ* et *σίναπυ* ont le même sens, lat. *sinapis* seul désigne la moutarde, *napus* signifie ' chou-rave

Le vocabulaire grec de l époque hellénistique ne conserve que la forme *σίναπυ*, l'emprunt imparfait *νᾶπυ* étant supprimé Par contre, *napus* s est conservé en latin, mais a pris un sens un peu différent, peut-être a-t-il été influencé par le mot *rapum* " rave '

Il importe de noter que *σίναπυ* et *sinapis* sont beaucoup plus proches des formes austroasiatiques que de *sarsapa* Ceci semble prouver que l emprunt n a pas été fait par l intermédiaire de l Inde, mais qu'il résulte d un contact direct avec des gens parlant une langue austroasiatique La preuve de ces échanges a déjà été fournie par M J Gonda, qui a montré que le nom latin de la cannelle *cassia*, est d origine austroasiatique et ne se retrouve pas dans l Inde [1]

Skt *sarsapa* lat *senapis*, *sinapis*, *napus* grec *νᾶπυ*, *σίναπυ* ne sont pas des mots indo-européens, mais des emprunts aux langues anaryennes, car ils sont formés par des procédés des dérivation (préfixation, infixation) étrangers à l indo-européen et qui caractérisent au contraire la famille des langues austroasiatiques

J. Charpentier [2] a supposé que le moyen-indien *sāsava* est à la base du nom grec du sésame *σήσαμον* déjà dans Alkman et Solon, lac *σᾶσαμον*, *σᾶαμον* D'autres auteurs [3] croient plutôt que le mot grec est d origine sémitique, cf arabe *sāsim*, *simsim*, aram *šumšema*, *šušmā* (ce dernier mot étant aussi à la base de l'emprunt arménien *šušmay*)

J Charpentier incline à tirer du grec ou du moyen-indien la forme araméenne et par suite le mot arabe plus récent Mais cette hypothèse

[1] *Tydschr Aardr Inst*, Mei 1932, pp 717–727

[2] *MO*, 1932

[3] Cf W Muss-Arnolt, " Semitic Words in Greek and Latin," *Transact. of the Amer Philol Assoc*, vol xxiii, 1892, p 111, H Lewy, *Die Semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin, 1895, p 28

est rendue peu vraisemblable par le fait qu'on a en assyrien *šamaššamu* [1]

On a essayé d'expliquer par le sémitique les formes sémitiques du nom F. E C Dietrich [2] fait dériver le nom araméen du sésame de la racine *šm* signifiant entre autres sens " scharf sein, und stechen. . . Als Scharfen werden nun auch die Gewurze angesehen, pikant schmeckende und so duftende syr ܩܪܕܡܘܡ 'cardamom', gemein semitische *šūm* 'Knoblauch', der duftendste, kostbarste Oel, chald *šumšemā* = *σήσαμον* ' Fleischer [3] trouve cette étymologie insuffisante parce que le sésame " an und fur sich in frischem Zustande geruchlos ist ' Il explique le nom en partant de la racine *šmm* " in der der Begriff schneller Beweglichkeit, geschaftigen Hin- und Herlaufen liegt ' ce qui se rapporte, au point de vue sémantique, plutôt à la fourmi, dont le nom en araméen ressemble à celui du sésame *šūmšānā*, *šušmānā*

M Jastrow [4] propose une autre étymologie " aram. *šūmšum* (prob from *šĕmĕš* [sun-flower] sesamum (assyr *šamaššamu*) Deriv. *šumšᵉmā* sesamum or poppy."

Ces hypothèses contradictoires ne permettent pas de considérer comme acquise l origine sémitique de *σήσαμον*.

De Candolle est d avis que le sésame a été introduit des îles de la Sonde dans l'Inde [5] et Watt rappelle que *Sesamum indicum* se trouve à l état sauvage dans les montagnes de Java [6] Mais la question de l origine du sésame est obscure et ne paraît pas pour le moment susceptible d'être tranchée d'une façon définitive

Néanmoins il semble qu on soit fondé à présenter les observations suivantes

1) Bien que le sésame et la moutarde ne soient pas de la même famille, ils présentent certains caractères communs L'un et l'autre sont remarquables par la petitesse de leurs graines, celles-ci sont oléagineuses et servent de médicament Ces particularités pourraient expliquer le transfert du nom d une espèce à l'autre

2) Si *Sesamum indicum* est originaire des îles de la Sonde, il a pu, en se répandant vers l'Ouest, recevoir dans le monde sémitique un nom calqué sur celui de la moutarde Il n'est pas impossible que ce

[1] Code de Hammurabi, col xiv, 22, 25, 31, 33, 47, 49, 59, col xv, 3, etc
[2] *Abhandlungen fur Semitische Wortforschung*, Leipzig, 1844, p 64
[3] Dans I Levy, *Chaldaisches Worterbuch*, 1867, ii, p 578
[4] *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc, ii, s v *šūmšum*
[5] *Origine des plantes cultivées*, p 339
[6] *Economical Products of India*, p 982

nom se confonde avec celui que nous venons d'étudier Les formes sémitiques du nom du sésame se ramènent à un schéma consonantique *š(m)šm* où l'on peut reconnaître un préfixe *š(m)* et une racine **šm* comparable à **sapi* austroasiatique. Les formes comme *šamaššamu*, etc, seraient dues à une " sémitisation " du mot étranger qui le rapprochait du nom du soleil Mais tout support chronologique fait actuellement défaut pour asseoir cette hypothèse et l'antiquité de certains noms sémitiques du sésame ne lui est pas favorable

Dans ces conditions, il semble préférable de considérer au moins provisoirement les noms de la moutarde et du sésame comme des mots distincts et indépendants.

Sanskrit *sá* and *sáḥ*

By E. J Rapson

THE forms of the nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun or definite article and of the relative pronoun in Sanskrit and Greek correspond exactly in accordance with the regular sound-changes of each language —

sá, sā́, tád ὁ, ἡ, τό I E **so*, **sā*, **tod*,
yáḥ, yā́, yád ὅς ἥ, ὅ I E **yos*, **yā*, **yod*

In Sanskrit the nom sg masc has a double form—*sá* and *sáḥ*—the uninflected base and the base with the regular termination of the nom sg , and in this respect Sanskrit finds its parallel in the Avestan *hā* and *has*(*cit*)

So far, philologists seem not to have traced this characteristic beyond the Indian and Iranian groups of the Indo-European family of languages Thumb, for instance (*Handbuch des Sanskrit*, § 361) suggests that the forms with the nom sg termination may represent *eine arische Neubildung* There can, however, be little doubt that the Greek counterpart of *sáḥ* is to be seen in the Homeric demonstrative pronoun ὅς , e g ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δείδοικε even he fears" (*Iliad*, xxi, 198) This demonstrative ὅς is very rare in later Greek, but it survives in certain stock phrases e g ἦ δ'ὅς, 'said he '

We find, then, in early Greek no fewer than three different words which are all of them regularly represented by ὅς—the relative pronoun, Skt *yáḥ*. I E **yos* , the demonstrative pronoun, Skt *sáḥ*, I.E **sos* , and the possessive pronoun, Skt *svá́ḥ*, I E **suos*

It is commonly assumed in Greek grammars that ὅς " he " is simply the relative used as a demonstrative , and this ancient belief, dating from a period long before the existence of comparative philology, has become traditional, and has prevented Greek grammarians from seeing that this ὅς and ὁ are inseparably connected not only in meaning but also in origin

Indian grammarians on the other hand have declined to admit that *sa* has an independent existence of its own for them *sa* is merely a truncated form—*saḥ* with *lopa* of *su* the termination of the nom sg masc Thus in the Pada Pāṭha of the Rigveda which represents the first step in the history of Sanskrit grammar -the *vākyapa* of a sentence into the words of which it is composed, and of certain

compounds into their constituent elements—the *sá* of the Samhitā Pāṭha, in whatsoever connection it may occur—whether before a consonant or before a vowel or as combining with a following vowel to form a diphthong—is invariably restored as *sáh*

sá devā́ṁ éhá vaksati (I, 1, 2)
Pada *sáh-devā́n*
sá íd devésu gacchati (I, 1, 4)
Pada *sáh-ít*
yám smā́ prcchánti kúha séti ghorám (II, xii, 5).
Pada *sáh-íti*

The Indian grammarians were in fact wedded to a theory from the very beginning They started with a postulate every inflected word must have its proper suffix If, then the suffix is not manifest, its absence is due to *adarśana* and it must be supposed to exist This is the doctrine of *lopa* or "omission", which Western grammars of Sanskrit have inherited from the Indian grammarians Thus Whitney s statement

"The nominative masculine pronouns *sás* and *esás* and (Vedic) *syás* lose their *s* before any consonant" (*A Sanskrit Grammar*, § 176*a*) is simply a paraphrase of Pānini, VI, 1, 132–3 Pānini goes on to say (VI, 1, 134) that for metrical reasons the same elision may take place before a vowel (with the consequential *sandhi* of the two vowels), and the Rigveda Prātiśākhya gives two lists (172 and 173, ed Max Muller, pp 54–5) comprising twenty-six illustrations of this fusion of *sá* with different vowels, e g *sāsmin* for *sá asmin sénd a* for *sá indra*, *séše* for *sá īše sóṛamā* for *sá upamā*, *saínā* for *sá enā́*, *saúsadhīh* for *sá ósadhīh* In all these and similar instances *sá* is represented by *sáh* in the Pada text But, as a matter of simple observation, these "exceptions" are so frequent that they supersede the rule They are in fact in accordance with the general rule '*sá* in RV is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel" (Whitney, § 176*b*)

The facts of the Vedic language are thus in agreement with the evidence supplied by comparative grammar, viz that, like *hā* and *has(cit)* in Avestan and *ὁ* and *ὅς* in Greek, *sá* and *sáh* are alternative and independent forms of the demonstrative pronoun In the Veda there is no such rigid distinction observable in the employment of the two forms as is ordained by the grammarians for Classical Sanskrit *sá* is no doubt normally used before a consonant, but it is also

frequently used before a vowel, while *sáh* is always used *in pausa* and normally before a vowel But there are a few undoubted instances of the occurrence of *sáh* followed by a consonant, particularly by *t* and *p* —

nahí sás táva nó máma
śāstré anyásya rányatr, VIII, xxxiii, 16
yó no dvésty ádharah sás padīsta, III, liii, 21.

When at a later date grammarians came to consider the prevailing usage, they laid down hard and fast laws *sa* must always be used before consonants, and *sah* before vowels and *in pausa*. Pānini assumes that before vowels the *sandhi* of the *-ah* in *sah* is precisely the same as that of any other *-ah—so bravīt, naro 'bravīt* (P., VI, i, 109), *sa eti, nara eti* (P, VIII, iii, 18 and 19), that is to say, Pānini holds (1) that *-ah* before all voiced sounds, whether vowels or consonants, becomes *-o*, (2) that this *-o* absorbs a following initial *a-*, and (3) that *-o* becomes *-av* before any other vowel So far therefore, except as regards (2) in word-formation, e g *bhavati*, the principles of external and internal *sandhi* in Classical Sanskrit are identical, and as regards (3) it is explained that, when *-av* comes at the end of a word, the semi-vowel *-v* being very lightly pronounced (*laghuprayatnatara*) tends to disappear in the opinion of Śākalya it does in fact disappear, in the opinion of other grammarians its retention is optional, i e. either *visnav eh* or *visna eh* is allowable

Curiously enough, Western scholars in their explanation of this *sandhi* have sometimes adopted the doctrine of *lopa* and extended it beyond the limits contemplated by Pānini Thus Whitney says (§ 175c). "final *as* before any other vowel than *a* loses its *s*, becoming simple *a*"

There can be no doubt that, in this respect at least, Pāṇini has shown us the better way

Pāli *bhūnaha*

By Baburam Saksena.

THE word *bhūnaha* occurs thrice [1] in Canonical Pāli literature (*a*) in the Sutta-nipāta [2] as sg voc. *bhūnahu*, (*b*) in the Majjhima Nikāya [3] as sg gen *bhūnahuno*, and (*c*) in the Jātaka [4] as pl. nom. *bhūnahuno*

The Sn commentary (p 479) explains *bhūnahu* as *bhūtahanaka, vuddhi-nāsaka* and the Jātaka commentary (as quoted in the Pāli Dict) interprets *bhūnahuno* as *isīnam ativattāro attano vaḍḍhiyā hatattā bhūnahuno* Lord Chalmers in his translation of the Majjhima Nikāya suggests "puritanical" as the sense of *bhūnahuno*, while Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana in his Hindi translation [5] appears to have taken the word as a proper name (*bhunabhū*), used as an adjective of *seyyam* and not of *Gotamassa*; he leaves the term unexplained even in the glossary.

Dr W Stede, in his Dictionary, notes the difficulty in the explanation of the word, and asks "Is it an old mis-spelling for *bhūta* + *gha* ? The latter of *han* ? " Then he suggests "a destroyer of beings" One does not find the word in Childers s Dictionary Bapat, in his edition of the Sn (Poona, 1924, p 181), merely quotes the commentary to explain the word

Pāli scholars have been misled by the commentaries in the interpretation of this word *bhūnaha* most certainly corresponds to Skt *bhrūnahan-*, *bhrūnaghna-* "the killer of an embryo, one who produces abortion". The word *bhrūna-* occurs as early as the Rigveda (x, 155, 2) [6] The production of abortion is considered a heinous crime in the Mahābhārata, the Manusmṛti prescribes a very heavy punishment for it It was then, as even now, one of the most condemned crimes

[1] Rhys Davids and Stede *Pāli Dictionary*, vol III, p 132

[2] verse 664 *mukhadugga vibhūta-m-anariya*
bhūnahu pāpaka dukkatakāri
vv 11 *bhūnahata, bhūnahota, bhūhata*

[3] *duddittham iata bho Bhāradvāja addasāma ye mayam tassa bhoto Gotamassa bhūnahuno seyyaṃ addasāmāti*

[4] ed Fausboll vol v, pp 266, 272

[5] Published by the Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares (1933), p 202 *bho Bhāradvāja ! yah burā dēkhnā huā, jō ham nē āp (kē ?) Gautam kī Bhunabhū, śayyā kō dēkhā*

[6] M Williams, *Skt Eng Dict*, *bhrūna*

in India I quote the Vācaspatya (p 4711) for the significance of the word *bhrūnaghna —bhrūṇaghna — tri bhrūnam garbham hanti, han -ka bhrūnahatyā-kārake kvip, bhrūnahāpy atra , " api bhrūnahanam māsāt "—Manuh*

With this interpretation of the word we arrive at very suitable sense for the passages where it occurs In the Sn the word stands on a par with terms indicating " ignoble, sinner ". The Maj Ni has the passage as an accusation by Māgandiya, a heretic Brahmin, against the Buddha, and if the word did not contain an abuse of the Lord there would be no point in Bhāradvāja, the host of the Lord, remonstrating with Māgandiya and asking him to withdraw the accusation As such Chalmers s suggestion is unacceptable and Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana's interpretation evidently meaningless

It may be pointed out that this is not the only place where the Pāli commentators have failed to catch the correct meaning due to their ignorance of Sanskrit and to their unfamiliarity with the cognate Sanskrit literature As I have shown elsewhere,[1] it is not only the Pāli commentators, but sometimes the redactors of the canonical works also who offer fantastic and uncalled-for etymologies.

[1] *Fantastic Etymologies in the Dhammapada*, Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume

História de Gramática Concani

By Mariano Saldanha

". desde tempo remoto passa por verdade demonstrada o grande absurdo de que a lingua desta terra (Goa), a lingua de meio milhão de homens, nem tem gramática nem é susceptível de ser escrita, julgamos que ao menos faremos algum serviço se dissiparmos tão perniciosa ilusão, mostrando que a lingua concani não só tem a sua gramática, como qualquer outra, mas que a mesma gramática foi em tempo formulada em regras e até impressa' J H da Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Histórico da Lingua Concani*, 1857, pg 1

ORIGEM E VALOR DAS PRIMEIRAS GRAMÁTICAS O concani é a lingua vernácula de Goa (India Portuguesa) e dos paises circunvizinhos, sendo hoje falada por mais de um milhão e meio de pessoas, e, apesar de ser muito propagada a instrução na sua área, é talvez a única lingua indiana, que, além de não ter cultura literária, nem mesmo é objecto de ensino, oficial ou particular, no seu país,[1] cujos filhos preferem para êsse fim ou linguas extrangeiras, como português e inglês ou as vizinhas marata e canarês. É verdade que, com o advento da civilização luso-cristã os antigos missionários, desde o século XVI, ministraiam o ensino desta lingua, mas foi somente aos seus colegas europeus para os fins de catequese,[2] e não aos naturais, para o que compuseiam gramáticas e vocabulários, que seriam minas preciosas para a filologia indiana,[3] se tivessem todos chegado até nós. Dêste modo o concani, dentre todos os vernáculos modernos da India, foi o primeiro a possuir uma gramática, graças aos esforços do benemérito jesuíta inglês Tomás Estêvão

Esta primeira tentativa, além de facilitar aos extranhos o estudo da lingua, estimulou e ajudou a organização de novos trabalhos

[1] Um professor de instrução primaria (Pe Apulcio da Cunha), depois de aposentado, dedicou-se ao ensino particular gratuito da lingua na Província de Perném, obtendo resultado animador Mas a escola, que era móvel morreu com êle Ultimamente foi introduzido o seu ensino na Escola Superior Colonial de Lisboa

[2] " desejando (Fr Cristovam de Jesus) instruir na lingua canarina aos seus companheiros para o fim de conduzirem ao gremio da Igreja a muitos barbaros, escreveo *Arte Grammatical da Lingoa Canarina* ' *Vergel das Plantas*, de Fr. Jacinto de Deos, cap 1, pg 10

[3] " It (konkani) also has a large literature mostly dating from the glorious times of the early Portuguese rule at Goa, and due to the surprising zeal and ability of the former jesuits, and for these reasons must be of great interest to a philologist " A C. Burnell, *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, n.º 1 (konkani)

similares devidos todos, ao princípio, a penas estrangeiras, aparecendo só mais tarde, desde o século XIX, obras congéneres de estudiosos nativos E assim, o número das gramáticas concanis, impressas e manuscritas, até hoje conhecidas, sobe a duas dúzias, acham-se escritas em português, espanhol, latim, francês, inglês, marata, concani e talvez em canarês, algumas das quais só se encontram hoje nas bibliotecas eruditas de Londres A pobresa dos missionários concorreu para que algumas dessas obras nunca lograssem ser impressas [1]

A maior parte destas gramáticas, tendo sido escritas em países e epocas diferentes, representam as formas coloquiais correntes, nos últimos cinco séculos, desde Baçaim e a Ilha de Salsete no norte, até Mangalore no sul, e, como tal, a sua leitura é muito proveitosa para o estudo comparativo e evolutivo da língua nos seus variados dialectos, mesmo admitindo que sejam inexactas em algumas afirmações, o que, aliás, não é de extranhar por parte da maioria dêsses autores, para quem o idioma não era vernáculo, quando se repara que alguns dos últimos gramáticos, não obstante serem filhos do país, não teem escapado a incorrecções

A presente memória, porém, não visa a êste estudo comparativo, ou à gramática histórica da língua, mas unicamente à *história da sua gramática*, isto é, tenta organizar dessas gramáticas uma relação bibliográfica completa, quanto permitem os conhecimentos actuais, e indicar a maneira como as mais importantes dentre elas interpretaram e resolveram os principais problemas gramaticais

Tratando-se de bibliografia concani, não se pode deixar em silêncio o venerando nome de Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, a quem se deve a primeira e única bibliografia geral, incluindo a gramatical, embora incompleta, publicada no seu valioso *Ensaio Histórico da Língua Concani*, que ainda hoje não perdeu a sua actualidade Êste inesquecível concanófilo, tendo ido para a India em 1856, como Secretário Geral do Govêrno e Comissário dos Estudos, empregou, infelizmente sem proveito, o seu melhor esfôrço pela cultura da língua, quer recomendando o seu ensino e dando as necessárias instruções, quer iniciando, logo em 1857, a publicação de três gramáticas e um dicionário, os quais todos, com a excepção da gramática de Estêvão,

[1] " Não se têm dado ao prelo muitos destes livros visto carecermos de cabedais pela pobresa evangélica que profeçamos e os que se deram à estampa se deve a diligência dos autores que souberam dedicar os seus livros a pessoas Reais e Illustres, as quais mandaram imprimir com seu dispêndio " *Histor dos Conv e Coleg , etc* , de S Thomé da Província de S Francisco em Goa, pg 31 , Ms Bibl Nal F G , n º 177, pg 31

se encontravam em Ms e se teriam certamente perdido para a posteridade, se êle os não tivesse salvado da destruição, criando assim para a sua memória jús ao eterno reconhecimento dos povos concanis

O NOME DA LINGUA Antes do mais, porém, é necessário desfazer uma confusão em que pode tropeçar o leitor por causa da variedade de nomes com que é designada a língua, tais como *canarim*, *concanim gomantaki*, *brámana*, *goani*, etc

Como a primitiva língua dos indo-árias, que não tinha nome especial, sendo mais tarde conhecida por sânscrito, assim o idioma goês, que é irmão do marata, era apenas designado pelos naturais como *ām'chi bhās*, a nossa língua e fóra do país por *govi* ou *Goenchi bhās*, língua de Goa Entre os maratas eruditos é geralmente conhecida por *gomantaki*, de Gomantaka, nome sanscrítico de Goa

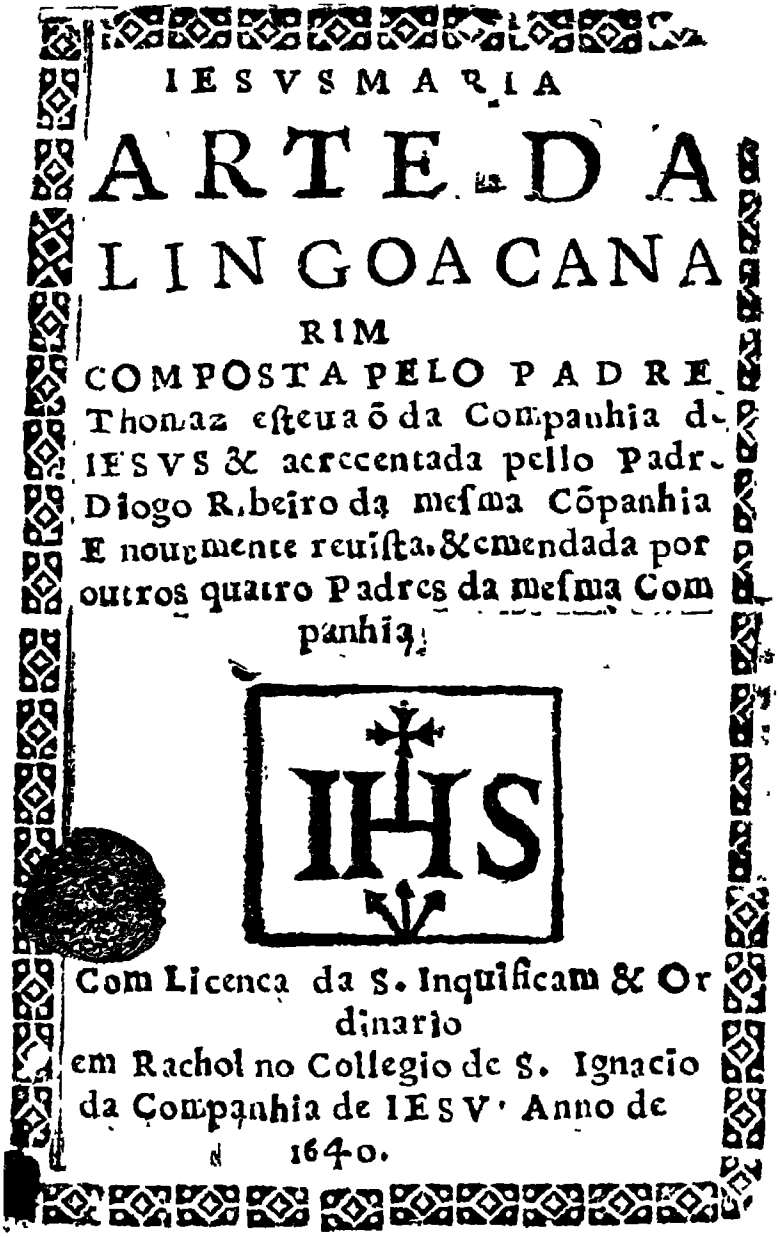
Os antigos portugueses, incluindo os missionários, deram-lhe vários nomes, qual dêles mais desarrazoado, sendo o mais vulgar o de " língua canarim ", um absurdo que, talvez por o ser, mais se apegou e generalizou Ninguem ignora que o idioma goes é indo-árico ou sanscrítico, irmão de marata, nada tendo portanto de comum com o canari, cuja gramática e o léxico são muito diferentes, como língua dravídica que é, e alheia ao sânscrito Os missionários, que estudavam os vernáculos e muitos andaram pelo Canará, deviam reconhecer a impropriedade do têrmo, mas, como não escreviam para filólogos, seguiram a prática corrente. Assim, Estêvão designou-a por " língua canarim " e o missionário português (infra n° 2), cuja gramática, aliás, trata do marata concânico das províncias do norte, Baçaim, Bandorá, Bombaim, chamou-a tambem " Arte Canarina da lingua do Norte ". Todos os autores, porém, reconhecem em Goa duas formas de falar a plebeia, um tanto irregular, chamada *canarim* e a outra mais regular, usada pelas classes cultas, a qual chamavam *lingua canarim brámana* ou simplesmente *brámana de Goa* Como era esta última variedade a preferida pelos europeus, e mesmo por outras castas, para a escrita, sermões e uso religioso, foi ela tomada para norma por todas as gramáticas, incluindo a de Estêvão, a qual, apezar de se dizer da lingua canarim sem acrescentar *brámana*, cingiu-se, contudo, ao falar bramânico, como se vê do seu contêxto, também a licença do ordinário para a sua impressão se lhe refere como " arte da lingua canarin brâmana " Para o seu *Purana*, porém, escrito para a leitura dos nativos, Estêvão preferiu, como mais apropriada para a nobresa do assunto, o marata, *Marāṭṭiye bhāssena lihilē āhe*, como diz, embora substituisse algumas formas e locuções eruditas por outras

de "linguage bramana" local (concani), como mais compreensíveis do vulgo Os missionários que foram encarregados de dar o seu parecer para a primeira edição dêste *Purana* dizem-no escrito em "linguage bramana marastta", distinguindo-a assim da vernácula, chamada "bramana canarim" e não marastta Fazia-se, portanto, já nessa época distinção entre o chamado canarim ou dialecto de Goa e o marata, ou marastta (de Maharastra)

Os primeiros gramáticos que empregaram o têrmo próprio foram Arcamone (século xvii, n° 13) e o missionário italiano (sec xviii, n° 7) Arcamone chama "lingua concânica a de Goa e "decânica" a marata, e o italiano chama- a "lingua Concanã" e "de Concanã" e às vezes também concani", mas esta última palavra pode bem ser modificação de Rivara, análoga à que fêz na impressão doutras gramáticas, substituindo *Arte Canarina* por *Gramática Concani*, para evitar confusão No século xix aparece também empregado por alguns cristãos de Goa o nome *Gomantaki*, usado em marata Preferiram-no ao *concani*, tanto para destinguir o idioma goês do concani falado no norte do Concão, como para ligar o nome da lingua ao do país (Gomantaka = Goa) Actualmente a designação mais adoptada é a de *concani* Houve, porém, um gramático moderno, que, inspirado talvez pelo inglês *goanese*, preferiu chamar-lhe *goani*, nome inteiramente anti-etimólogico e exótico, que o próprio autor abandonou em vista de razões que lhe foram expostas, mas não sem nos informar que "alacremente fôra aceito por muitos" talvez para justificar os psicologistas, para quem o povo ssó tem alacridade para aceitar o que fôr errado, como *canari* em vez de *concani* O único nome que seria mais apropriado ao dialecto de Goa, como sendo ao mesmo tempo popular, geográfico e etimológico, é o que corre entre os povos circunvizinhos, que lhe chamam *govi* (de *Gová* ou *Govém* = Goa), como em português seria *goês* Costuma-se ainda designá-lo em português local por *lingua da terra* ou simplesmente por *lingua*, como em *F pregou em lingua*, i é, em concani.

Bibliografia O primeiro autor a figurar nesta bibliografia é, como já se disse, o jesuíta inglês Tomás Estêvão (Thomas Stephens), cuja gramática é o trabalho pioneiro no género

Nascido em Inglaterra em 1549, Estêvão partiu de Roma para Lisboa e daqui para a India, tendo vivido em Goa desde 1579 a 1619, em que morreu com a idade de 70 anos no colégio de Rachol, de que era Reitor A Estêvão cabe a primazia em alguns factos de história e linguística indianas Pois foi êle o primeiro inglês que chegou a



IESVS MARIA

ARTE DA LINGOA CANARIM

COMPOSTA PELO PADRE Thomaz eſteuaõ da Companhia de IESVS & acrecentada pello Padre Diogo Ribeiro da meſma Cõpanhia E nouamente reuiſta, & emendada por outros quatro Padres da meſma Companhia.

IHS

Com Licença da S. Inquiſicam & Ordinario

em Rachol no Collegio de S. Ignacio da Companhia de IESV. Anno de 1640.

India via Cabo e foram as suas cartas escritas ao pai, que, segundo dizem, animaram os ingleses a tentar as primeiras relações comerciais com a India, e em Goa empregou a sua influência em favor de seus patrícios.[1] Foi êle o primeiro europeu que organizou uma gramática indiana (a de concani), e foi também quem compoz o primeiro catecismo na mesma lingua [2] e o primeiro poema cristão em marata (o *Purana* da história bíblica) [3] ao qual cabe a glória de ser a primeira obra em lingua indiana, de caráter literário, impressa (1615) em carateres romanos, e o seu prefácio é citado como um dos primeiros espécimens de prosa marata [4], e, finalmente, foi ainda êsse mesmo inglês, que, dois séculos antes do seu patrício William Jones, comunicou para a Europa a semelhança entre as linguas indianas e o grego e o latim "Many are the languages of these places—escrevia êle para seu irmão em outubro de 1583 —Their pronunciation is not disagreable and their structure is allied to Greek and Latin The phrases and constructions are of a wonderful kind. [5]

O nome de Tomás Estêvão bem merece, portanto, não só da Igreja, mas também de Portugal Inglaterra e India, e especialmente dos idiomas marata e concani, cujas cristandades em algumas partes, se deleitam ainda hoje com a leitura do seu *Purana* [6]

A gramática de Estevam foi impressa com êstes dizeres

1 — *IESUS MARIA | ARTE DA | LINGOA CANA | RIM, composta pelo Padre | Thomaz estevaõ da Companhia de | IESUS & acrecentada pello Padre | Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Cõpanhia | E nouamente reuista, e emendada por | outros quatro Padres da mesma Companhia*, |I H S | *Com Licença da S Inquisiçam & Ordinario*, |

[1] Eram Ralph Fitch, e mais três companheiros, que, tentando uma viagem terrestre para a India foram presos pelos portugueses em Ormús, e mandodos para Goa

[2] Intitula-se "Doutrina Christã Em Lingua Bramana Canarim Ordenada a maneira de Dialogo pera ensinar os minimos Cõposta pollo Padre Thomas Estevaõ da Companhia de Iesus, natural de Lõdres, 1622" O de S Francisco Xavier, que o precedeu, era em português

[3] Editado pela 4a vez por Joseph L Saldanha com uma valiosa *Introdução*, Mangalore 1907. A obra tem imitado tão bem o estilo e a linguagem dos puranas hindus, que um autor de literatura marata (Bhavê) supõe seja escrita por algum hindu sob a direcção do Estevam

[4] Vid R Bh Joshi, *Marāthi Bhāxechi Ghatnā*, pg 304 e seg

[5] Vid o *Purana*, Introdução de Saldanha

[6] Os 60 mil prisioneiros de Mangalore, levados por Tipu Sultão para Seringapatan, confortavam-se, nas agruras do cativeiro, lendo em comum êste *Purana*, cit Saldanha. Nas províncias do Norte é mais lido o Purana de Francisco Vaz Guimarães, transliterado pelos nativos em carateres maratas

em Rachol, no Collegio de S Ignacio | da Companhia de IESU. Anno de | 1640 (Vid Estampa) [1]

Foi pois impressa 21 anos depois da morte do autor, sendo hoje impossível saber-se qual a parte original e quais os acrescentamentos e emendas dos outros padres Desta edição supunha-se existirem só dois exemplares e ambos em Londres,[2] pertencentes um à Biblioteca do India Office, que, porém, já o não possui, e o outro à Biblioteca da School of Oriental Studies, o qual ainda lá existe, faltando-lhe a primeira página e algumas no fim A Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, porém, possui um exemplar inteiro e bem conservado. O frontispício é encerrado em moldura gráfica Devem ser, portanto, êstes dois últimos os únicos exemplares que, actualmente, se sabe existirem

O livro foi reimpresso por Cunha Rivara sob êste título

" Grammatica da Lingua Concani, composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevão e acrescentada por outros Padres da Companhia de Jesus Segunda impressão correcta e annotada à que precede como introdução a *Memoria sobre a distribuição geografica das principais linguas da India*, por Sir Erskine Perry, e o *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* pelo Editor Nova-Goa, na Imprensa Nacional 1857 ' Esta primeira gramática e a do n º 7 representam a variedade coloquial de Salsete

2 — *Arte Canarina na Lingoa do Norte* Ms. anónimo, que " pelos seus carateres extrínsecos e dição " conjecturou C^e Rivara ser da autoria de " algum Religioso Franciscano ou da Companhia de Jesus, residente em Thaná, na Ilha de Salsete, onde, sem dúvida, foi composta a obra " E, por isso, ao editá-la, deu-lhe esta fachada " Gramática da Lingua Concani no dialecto do Norte, composta no seculo XVII por um Missionário Português, e agora pela primeira vez dada à estampa. Nova Goa, na Imprensa Nacional, 1858 " É por isso conhecida como a " gramática do Missionário, Português ".

[1] Dando o seu parecer para esta impressão, diz o P^e Estêvão da Cruz " achei a lingua toda reduzida a regras e preçeitos de grammatica muito çertos, e bom e fácil estilo pera se poder aprender com facilidade e os autores todos della de muito grande louvor " Este P^e Cruz é o mesmo que compôs em " linguagem bramana marastta " um poema intitulado " Discurso sôbre a vinda do Apóstolo S Pedro " ao qual Rivara chama *O Purana da Biblioteca* (de Goa) por ignorar o nome do autor pela razão de estar truncado o respectivo exemplar Ele não era português, como supôs Barb Machado, mas sim francês, como se lê no mesmo *Discurso* Curioso é que, como se desconhecesse o *Purana* do T Estêvão, diz que as *matérias* do om poema *sam muitas delas pouco ou nunca tratadas neste estylo e linguagem e assim não podemos ter a quem imitar*

[2] Cit Saldanha, pg 37

Esta é a primeira gramática marata, escrita em língua europeia e representa o dialecto concânico do norte, ou o marata coloquial de Baçaim, Bandorá, Bombaim, e outros territórios do norte do Concão, ao tempo sob o domínio português, do mesmo modo como a do n ° 16 representa o marata decânico Embora não digam respeito propriamente à língua goesa, merecem estas ambas ser aqui mencionadas como um bom auxiliar para o estudo comparativo côncano-marata Bem diz Rivara " Pareceu-nos que esta (do n ° 2), além de ser um novo monumento dos trabalhos literários dos portugueses no Oriente, seria um complemento não só útil mas indispensável à Gramática do Padre T Estêvão , pois, sendo ordenada pelo mesmo plano e sistema, facilmente se confrontarão, por meio dela, as diferenças dos dialectos concanis de Goa e Baçaim e se elucidarão e confirmarão mutuamente as regras e idiotismos da língua geral "

É provavelmente a esta gramática, ou à do n ° 16, impressa em 1778, que se refere Carey na sua " *Grammar of the Mahratta Language*, by W. Carey, teacher of sanscrit, bengalee and mahratta . in the College of Fort William , Serampore, 1805 " Diz Carey " A grammar of this language was indeed written many years ago in the Portuguese tongue , but the writer of this not having been able to procure a copy of it, could not derive any assistance from the labours of its author, and has therefore been obliged to strike out a plan of his own " E foi pena, por que a gramática portuguesa teria fornecido a Carey muitos elementos que lhe escaparam

3 — " *Arte da Lingua Canarina*, por Fr Gaspar de S Miguel, 4°, Ms " É assim mencionada por Barbosa Machado na sua *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, donde a cita C Rivara, que não a viu Talvez seja a mesma obra cuja cópia existe na Biblioteca da Sch Or. Stud. (Marsden Collection, II, 559, n ° 1) e é assim intitulada " † *Iesu Maria Ioseph Grammatica da lingua bramana que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca* " Ms anónimo, seguido imediatamente, no mesmo Codex, doutro (n.° II), que é " *Syntaxis copiosissima na lingua bramana e pollida composta pello Pe Fr Gaspar de S Miguel, Portugues, frade menor, Pregador e mestre, dela etc* ' (era frade de S Tomé da Província de S Francisco, em Goa) São 39 folhas ou 78 páginas, contendo 205 regras Pelo desenvolvimento da sintaxe, que está em proporção com o do n ° 1 (fonética e morfologia), parece que os dois números são partes da mesma obra — a gramática de Fr Gaspar.

4 — " *Arte Gramatical da Lingua Canarina*, por Fr Christovam de Jesus , Ms " Assim citada por C Rivara, também sob a autoridade

de Barbosa. Mas a cópia que se encontra na mesma School of Or St (Marsden Col . ii, 559, n.° iii) traz êste título " Gramatica da Lingua Bramana ordenada | pel-lo Pe Fr Christovão de Iesus no anno de | 1635 " Tem 42 (?) folhas, em letra muito fina, mas bem perceptível Começa pelas declinações

A impressão destas duas últimas gramáticas seria interessante para o estudo da variedade coloquial de Bardês, onde missionava a órdem dos franciscanos, a que pertenciam os dois autores.

5 — "*Arte de Gramatica da Lingoa Bracmana*, disposta em II Livros . Obra mui necessaria para os Missionarios, Pregadores, Confessores, Compositores, Poetas e Estudantes nas partes deste Oriente Na Ilha de Chorão Escrita por Estudante Simão Al'z (Alvarez) Bragmane, Semnoye, Choranense, etc Anno MDCICIV " É Ms , de autor desconhecido, sendo talvez o Semnoye Choranense, como entende Rivara, um simples copista, devendo por isso a palavra " escrita ' ser entendida por tresladada

6 — Gramática citada (sem titulo) por Francisco Luis Gomes (n ° 10) como " ante-posta ao Ms de um Dicionário escrito no ano de 1695 " Provavelmente é a gramática n ° 5, que é acompanhada de um " vocabulario em tres linguas, escrito por Simão Al'z e seu pai Lourenço Al z, MDCICV " Pelas poucas referências que Gomes lhe faz parece ser um trabalho interessante e é pena não ter sido impresso

7 — *Grammatica ou Observações Grammaticaes sôbre a Lingoa de Concanã* Ms anónimo, impresso por C Rivara sob o título " Grammatica da Lingua Concani escrita em Portugues por um Missionario Italiano Nova Goa na Imprensa Nacional , 1859." " É, escreve Rivara, segundo todas as notícias que temos podido obter, obra do Padre Fr Francisco Xavier de Santana, italiano, Carmelita descalço, Missionário no Canará, Arcebispo de Sardes e ultimamente Vigário Apostólico em Verapoly Da obra se vê que foi escrita no Canará e na lingua portuguesa com seus resaibos da italiana, os quais tomamos a liberdade de corrigir, sem contudo alterar no mínimo o pensamento do autor " É de extranhar, porém, que êste erudito editor, que, aliás, a propósito do Ms n ° 2, indica o século em que o supõe escrito, nada diga neste ponto com respeito a esta gramática, nem mencione a data da estada na India de Fr Francisco Xavier, limitando-se a dizer " ultimamente Vigário Apostólico mantendo a mesma atitude todas as vezes que se refere a êsse frade (cf *Ensaio Hist da Ling. Conc* , pg xxxix n b e pg cxviii , e *Dicion*

Conc. Port. composto por um Miss Ital 1869, Pref pg. i). A sua opinião, porém, dá margem a certos reparos

I Não há na obra cousa que denuncie ter sido escrita no Canará, a não ser um parêntese nesta regra da pg 24 " O modo único de fazer fracções de inteiros neste paiz (*Sunkery no Canará*) he de fazer quatro partes iguais " Se êste parêntese é do original, não se explica que o autor, versado como era em marata, limitasse só a Sunkery uma prática que devia saber ser geral em todo o Maharastra e mesmo fora, e êle próprio diz adiante a pg 45 que isso é " costume dos indianos"

II O alfabeto que indica como usado no país é o marata e não o canarês em que naquela região escrevem o concani

III Todas as formas gramaticais dadas são de Salsete (Goa) e não se encontra nenhuma de tantas peculiares ao Canará e que são mencionadas por Noronha e Maffei (n^os^ 18 e 19)

IV Os poucos nomes geográficos citados são todos extra-canareses, como Goa, Bardês, Anjuna, Bombay, Surrate

V Se Fr Francisco Xavier era Carmelita descalço, não podia ter vivido e aprendido o concani em Goa, donde os Carmelitas tinham sido expulsos em 1702, nem podia ter sido missionário em Sunkery, que pertencia ao Padroado português, nem podia escrever em português para os seus colegas carmelitas, que eram estrangeiros

Todavia podemos continuar a designar o livro como a " gramatica do missionário italiano " em vista dos tais " resalbos " da lingua italiana

8 — " Francisco José Vieira, Desembargador da Relação (1809–1818) Reduziu a regras e preceitos gramaticais o idioma próprio de Goa, segundo afirma o Sr Manoel Felecíssimo Lousada de Araujo, também Desembargador da mesma Relação, na Segunda Memória Descritiva e Estatística das Possessões Portuguesas na Asia, publicadas em 1842 nos Annais Marítimos e Coloniais pg. 451 " (Rivara)

9 — " D Fr Manoel de S Galdino, Arcebispo de Goa (1812–1831) Tendo-se aplicado ao estudo da lingua, chegou a pregar nela, segundo dizem Há tradição vaga de que também compuzera uma gramática, mas ninguém a viu nem dá outra notícia dela Talvez possuisse algum exemplar da que agora reimprimimos (de Estêvão) ou cópia de alguma outra e daí viesse a fama de ser obra sua ' Rivara

10 — Notas Gramaticais dadas por Francisco Luis Gomes como suplemento à Gramática de Estevam, na edição de Rivara (1857). É matéria na maior parte extraída do Ms. do n ° 7, sendo, contudo, algumas originais e valiosas

A estas dez gramáticas, indicadas por C. Rivara, podem-se agora acrescentar mais as seguintes 17

11 — " *Arte e Doutrina Christã em lingoa Canarim* " Ms anónimo, existente na Sch O.S (Marsd Coll , 11 280). Está truncado, tendo perdido as três primeiras folhas Não tem data ; mas certas tabelas que veem no fim levam a supor que tenha sido escrita em 1615 menos 19 anos = 1596, ou 23 anos antes da morte de Estêvão. Em vista de muitas analogias, parece ser baseada na *Arte* dêste jesuita, se não é a própria *Arte*, ou cópia, da mesma, feita antes de ser esta acrescentada por outros padres, tanto mais que é acompanhada de um " Confessionario e Doutrina em Lingua bramana canarim ordenada de dialogo que se ensina Pellos Padres da Companhia de Jesus na India Oriental " o qual em grande parte se conforma, no texto e até no título, com o catecismo de Estêvão

12 — " *Arte do Canarym*, composta pelos nossos Padres e tresladada polla mão do clerigo Antonio da Silva, Bramane de Margão Tenha-se em muita estima porque este clerigo a tresladou com muita curiosidade sem erros, pa o Pe. Antonio de Magalhães hindo a Roma por Proc^or^ a levar como levou e a tornou a trazer o Pe. Fran ° Caru ° hindo lá por Procurador." No British Museum (Add. Mss n ° 10 359) Também tem grande semelhança com a de Estevam, embora trate primeiro das declinações e só no fim, da fonética.

O mesmo Ms contém ainda · *a*) " Alguns confisionarios na lingua da terra mto. bons , *b*) A doutrina christã abreviada com todo essencial que hũ Xpão (christão) deve saber , *c*) A Cartilha e doutrina toda int^a^ tresladada da impressa composta pello Pe Thomás Estevão "

13 — " *Janua Indica*, sive Pro Concanica et Decanica Linguis Manuale Indias Ingressuris per opportunum P. Ignatius Arcamone e Societate Jesu Indiae Candidatis Socijs Dedicat " [1] Ms , provavelmente original, existente na Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, (Reserv n ° 3 049) Não tem data, mas deve ser do meado do seculo XVII, em que Arcamone esteve na India Trata primeiro do concani de Goa e em seguida expõe os pontos em que êste se diferença do marata decânico.

[1] Embora o seu nome, como italiano, fôsse *Arcamoni*, na India assinava *Arc(h)amone* Viveu mais de 20 anos un Salsete (Goa) e publicou em concani—1, Explicações dos Evangelhos Dominicais de todo o ano *Sagallen Varussarhe* etc , e *2*, um Comentário sôbre o Purgatorio Foi êle que em 1656 deu o visto em português assinando *P^r^ Ignatio Archamone* as *Jardim dos Pastores*, em Concani, do P ^e^ Miguel d'Almeida *Janua Indica* as estilo da época em que havia *Janua Graeca*, *Janua Hebraica*, etc.

14 — "*Grammatica Linguae Canarinae*, quam gentiles Goani et circumjacentes Ethnici inter se loquuntur" por Charles Przikril Foi escrita em Goa no meado do sec XVIII Przikril, que era jesuíta, natural de Praga, esteve em Goa desde 1748 ate 1759, em que, pela extinção da Companhia, foi mandado preso, juntamente com outros colegas, para Lisboa, onde foi pôsto em liberdade a pedido da rainha austríaca Maria Teresa, regressando à sua terra

15 — "*Prosodia della Lingua Canarina*" pelo Pe Diogo do Amaral S J. (sec XVIII) Seria interessante, porque não existe outro trabalho sôbre a prosódia e metrificação em concani.

16 — "*Grammatica Maratta* a mais vulgar que se pratica nos Reinos de Nizamaxá e Idalxá ; offerecida aos muitos (sic) Reverendos Padres e Missionarios dos ditos Reinos Em Roma MDCCLXXVIII Na Estamperia da Sagrada Congregação de Propaganda Fide" 8°, 45 pags Desta edição existem dois exemplares em Londres um na S O S e o outro no India Office O livrinho foi reimpresso com o mesmo título em "Lisboa na Impressão Regia, Anno 1805" 51 pags. Não dá nenhum prefácio ou advertência que lance alguma luz sôbre o livro, ou o seu autor, só a última página traz o *Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Generalis de Propaganda Fide*, de 26 de Janeiro, 1778, mandando-o imprimir "Europaeis characteribus" na Imprensa da Congregação, donde parece que o autor é jesuíta, mas o livro não é mencionado na bibliografia jesuítica de Sommervogel

17 — "*Esquisse Grammaticale de la Langue de Goa*, por Johannes Gonsalves.' Não tem a página-fachada, parecendo ser separata de alguma revista Não se sabe o lugar nem o ano da publicação (será 1879, como indicou o catálogo de uma livraria francesa ?) Não se sabe também se o autor é indiano, se europeu Por algumas incorrecções que diz não pode ser filho de Goa Começa por afirmar que "l'idiome, *goense* est composé de maratte, de sanskrit et de persan" (!)

18 — "*Konkani Gramma*r, by Rev J Pio Noronha" Mangalore Ms de que existem duas cópias no British Museum (Oriental Mss 2 730) Uma destas cópias, pertenceu ao Dr A C. Burnell, como se vê da seguinte nota do seu punho, escrita na primeira página "This Konkani Grammar was written for me by a Catholic priest at Mangalore, named Noronha, he was a konkani by race and had devoted much time to the study of his native language (1873–4) A B" (Sold to the Museum 18 Jan, 1884) É um trabalho extenso, de 553 fols mas, apesar de ser moderno, é escrito sem o devido critério gramatical

19 — "*A Konkani Grammar*, by Angelus Francis Xavier Maffei, S.J. Mangalore, Basel Mission Press, 1882" Esta gramática, aliás bem coordenada, não podia deixar de conter certas deficiências, escrita como foi depois de um estudo só de ano e meio da língua, deficiências que foram reparadas pela obra seguinte

20 — "*A Sweet Voice from the Konkani Desert* (Konkṇi Rānāntlo Sabhit Sundar Tālo), by A. F X Maffei S J, Mangalore 1884 (?) É uma gramática complementar e correccional da anterior [1]

21 — *Gomantaki Bhāshā* Elementos gramaticais dados em marata por Ramach Bh Gunjikar no seu *Sarasvati-Mandala*, Bombaim, 1884

22 — *Elements of Konkani Grammar*, by Sten Konow, no *Linguistic Survey of India*, de Sir G Grierson Vol. Marathi 1905

23 — *Konkani Bhāxechem Laghu Vyākarana*, por G. O Pires Bombaim, 1907 É a primeira gramática organizada em concani e para os naturais, mas, tendo sido escrita em carateres balbodha e sem reclamo, é completamente desconhecida O autor considera esta sua tentativa "a primeira para a compilação de uma gramática da língua concani" naturalmente porque não teve ciência de tantas outras que o precederam O autor, que muito se empenhava pela cultura da sua língua vernácula por parte dos seus patrícios, publicou também nos mesmos corateres, as primeiras cartilhas para a leitura A sua gramática, decalcada sôbre a *Marāthi Laghu Vyākarana*, de Dadobá Panduranga, é, como esta, muito elementar

24 — *Concanni Bhāxechem Laghu Veācrann*, por Duarte Francis Dantas, Savantvadi 1910 Em concani, carateres romanos segundo o sistema da União Goana (vide adiante) Introdução por Jerome A. Saldanha É também elementar de 36 páginas

25 — *Elementos de Gramática Concani*, por Mons S Rodolfo Dalgado Não chegou a ser impressa pela antecipação da morte do autor, que, em 1922, ofereceu o Ms à Biblioteca Nacional de Nova Goa, onde ao presente se encontra É a única gramática que, além de ser correcta e cientificamente coordenada é suficientemente desenvolvida, segundo o plano da gramática marata de Navalkar O autor tentou no fim um estudo sôbre a gramática histórica da língua, que não pode continuar pela gravidade da sua última doença Os exemplos são escritos em alfabeto *balbodh* e no dos orientalistas com certas modificações

[1] Maffei era tão apreciador da lingua, que lhe chamou "sweet voice" e na gramática escreve "Konkani is a rich and beautiful language, although at present in an ignoble state, because it is far more perfect than many European languages, yet it is altogether uncultivated and appears to be the most imperfect"

26 — *Elementos Gramaticais de Concani*, pelo Con J de Sousa, Lisboa, 1929 Compreende só a fonética e a morfologia e alguns apontamentos avulsos sôbre a sintaxe

27 — " *Gramática da Língua Concani*, por V J Janim Rangel, Bastorá, 1933 " É escrita em português e concani em carateres romanos segundo o sistema popular

Eis a relação que se poude organizar com o auxílio de elementos colhidos em bibliotecas É possível que tivesse havido mais gramáticas, hoje de todo desconhecidas, e mesmo nem todos os dados são suficientes para a reconstituição bibliográfica Assim, por exemplo, um Codex da Bibl Nac de Lisboa dá como ao tempo existentes, entre os livros do Convento da Cruz dos Milagres de Goa, as seguintes gramáticas *a*) De M^el Alvares, duas Artes, *b*) Duas Artes da língua da terra, uma impressa e outra Ms " A informação é tão manca, que não se sabe quem eram os autores das duas artes da língua da terra, nem de que língua eram as artes de M^el Álvares. Seriam a do n° 5, que era em " dois Livros " ? Mas esta era escrita por Simão Alvarez e seu pai Lourenço Alvarez e não por M^el É provável que se refira ao célebre jesuíta Manuel Álvares, que deixou alguns trabalhos sôbre a gramática latina

Um facto a notar é que, apezar de tantas gramáticas e algumas delas impressas, nenhum dos autores—com a excepção dos quatro últimos—cita qualquer dos seus predecessores ou mostra ter dêles conhecimento, produzindo portanto um trabalho independente Só o missionário português (n° 2) fala, às vezes, da " Arte de Goa ", parecendo referir-se à Arte de Estêvão, sôbre cujo plano é coordenada a sua

Organização gramatical Os primeiros autores, não tendo nenhuma obra indígena que lhes servisse de guia, seguiram o sistema de gramática latina, tanto mais que escreviam para missionários europeus

Dividiram, em geral, a sua Arte em três partes principais " A primeira parte—diz Estêvão—trata do alfabeto e das nossas letras que respondem aos carateres da terra e dos acentos e pronunciação A segunda das oito partes da oração A terceira contém a syntaxis " A maior parte dêles não trata da composição e derivação, de que o primeiro a se ocupar foi talvez Arcamone

Na *Fonética*, o primeiro problema em que deviam ter esbarrado é o do alfabeto e ortografia Não possuimos monumentos literários anteriores à dominação portuguesa, para sabermos se a língua teria,

nessa época, manifestação gráfica e em que carateres, ı é , se maratas ou canareses. Estêvão fala das " nossas letras que respondem aos carateres da terra " e especifica " nestas terras os carateres não são letras senão sílabas " o que se aplica tanto ao alfabeto marata como ao canarês, que devia ter sido familiar em Goa na dominação de Vijayanagar, como o provam alguns documentos concanis dessa época, escritos em carateres canareses, que se encontram em arquivos comunais O Missionário italiano, porém, dá expressamente o alfabeto marata como o vernáculo da terra Mas qual seria a língua escrita ? Seria de facto o concani ou o marata ? Em nenhuma destas línguas existe hoje qualquer produção literária da época pre-portuguesa, escrita em Goa É possível que os antigos hindus de Goa—ao invez do que fazem ao presente—não se dedignasem do seu vernáculo, pelo menos para a escrita não literária Mas, desde o século XVII, com o progresso político dos maratas e dos portugueses, os hindus se foram encostando à cultura marata e os cristãos à portuguesa, ao ponto de se envergonharem, uns e outros, da sua língua materna, que ficou completamente abandonada, sem ensino e restrita ao uso coloquial Ao sul de Goa, porém, tanto os naturais como os emigrados goeses, achando-se longe da influência marata, ainda escreviam o concani, mas em carateres maratas, como o atesta o mis ital (se é que a sua gramática foi escrita no Canará) e um atestado passado por três brámanes de Cochim, oriundos de Goa, abonando o *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, do holandês H Van Rheede, Amsterdão, 1678, o qual atestado é escrito em " língua bramana " em carateres *balbodh* e vem publicado no mesmo livro Maffei, que escreveu em Mangalore, e em 1882, também afirma que " antigamente o concani era escrito em *balbodh* e às vezes em *modi* , mas hoje é geralmente usado o alfabeto canarês `

Desde os últimos dois séculos, a língua está sendo escrita quási exclusivamente pelos cristãos e em três carateres entre os goeses, os romanos, no norte os maratas e no sul os canareses

Além dêstes alfabetos, indicados pelos gramáticos, o concani teve mais três, que, por serem acualmente mais ou menos seguidos, merecem ser aqui consignados

a) *O alfabeto Mariano* No último quartel do sec XIX, quando alguns filhos de Goa, espalhados pela India Britânica, reconheceram a necessidade de proporcionar leitura concani a seus patrícios ignorantes de português e inglês, fundaram um periódico intitulado *Udentechem Sallok*, (O Lódam do Oriente), para o qual o seu fundador, Eduardo

de Sousa, convencionou um sistema alfabético, a que chamou *alfabeto Mariano* "em louvor da Virgem Maria", o qual, embora hoje adoptado por uma revista, não captou o apoio do público por causa de seus carateres especiais, inacessíveis à tipografia vulgar.

b) *O alfabeto da União Goana* Como a escrita popular parecesse pouco científica e às vezes arbitrária, a associação *União Goana*, de Bombaim, tendo por objectivo zelar pelos interesses dos emigrados de Goa, nomeou, em 1905, uma comissão para apresentar um novo projecto, que esta indicou e o qual, não exigindo tipo especial, foi aprovado e é ainda seguido por alguns publicistas; mas não logrou a vulgarização, principalmente por ter mantido o *a* breve, não mudo, representando-o por *a* itálico, ao estilo dos missionários, o que, além de dificultar a escrita e impressão, contraria a tendência popular, que não admite essa vogal, identificando-a para todos os efeitos com *o*

c) *O alfabeto popular* O povo, portanto, e especialmente os que ignoram o marata, continuam desde o último século a usar o que se pode chamar o *alfabeto popular*, que não é mais que o dos missionários e da União Goana, sendo eliminado o *a* breve, que é sempre substituído por *o* É êste o adoptado pela gramática n° 27.

Os primeiros missionários, destinando os seus trabalhos aos colegas europeus, escolheram naturalmente o alfabeto romano mediante certas adaptações, porque, como diz Arcamone "Verum experientia didici quibus literis ab iucunte aetate instituimur per easdem facillime linguarum nomina verba coeteraque vocabula memoria retineri" Foi a primeira aplicação dêste alfabeto às línguas indianas, que depois seria desenvolvida e aperfeiçoada pelos orientalistas Mas, além das gramáticas e vocabulários para o uso de europeus, os missionários compuseram ainda livros de carater religioso para a edificação dos neo-cristãos, os quais também eram escritos em carateres romanos, tanto porque o sistema de ensino visava a dirigí-los para a educação luso-cristã, desviando-os da instrução vernácula, ministrada pelos hindus, e tida como prejudicial para êsse fim, como porque na instrução popular, proporcionada só nos conventos e nas escolas paroquiais, o ensino de leitura, escrita e música, era todo em português, para o que precisavam do alfabeto romano E assim, os descendentes dos primeiros convertidos já não estudavam as línguas do país, nem conheciam o alfabeto indígena, facto que se dá ainda hoje em Goa, onde quási se pode dizer que nenhum cristão freqüenta as escolas primárias maratas

A adaptação do alfabeto romano deve datar portanto dos primeiros tempos das conversões O próprio Estêvão deixa entender que o sistema que seguiu não foi por êle inventado, mas apenas adoptado o que já existia, porquanto escreve "Aqueles que nestas partes estudam a lingua da terra (europeus) não a escrevem comumente senão na nossa letra" com a ajuda de "acentos e letras dobradas e aspirações e com as regras que ao diante se verão" Foi êste o sistema seguido em Goa para todas as publicações desde o século XIX com rara excepção

Escolhido o alfabeto romano com base na pronúncia portuguesa, até onde a fonética das duas linguas o permitia, supriram a sua deficiência com certas convenções indispensáveis, que, embora não satisfizessem a todas as exigências filológicas, nem por isso deixavam de corresponder de modo geral às necessidades práticas da lingua, representando todos os fonemas realmente em uso na fala popular, ao ponto de o orientalista Burnell [1] entender que o sistema era "muito mais perfeito do que os sistemas defendidos 200 anos depois em Calcutá" (pelos ingleses)

A ordem alfabética era a latina, sendo enxertadas no lugar competente as respectivas aspiradas e cerebrais. Segundo Estêvão, "as nossas letras que podem responder aos carateres da terra são as seguintes:

a, a, b, bh, c, ch, chh, d, dh, dd, ddh, e, gue, gh, h, i, y, k, l, lh, ll, m, mh. n, nh, nn, o, p, ph, q, qh, r, rh, s, sh, t, th, tt, tth, u, uh, y, z, zh."

A razão de *y* figurar duas vezes é a de êle representar ī longo e a semivogal *ya* य

Para confronto dos diferentes sistemas damos a seguinte táboa alfabética

Dêste quadro se vê que todos os gramáticos, antigos e modernos, tirado o último (n° 27), são muito precisos em fazer distinção entre *a* अ e *o* ओ, vogais cuja pronúncia, mesmo em marata, se aproxima e entre os cristãos de Goa quási se confunde A representação, porém, de *a* अ variou muito conforme o sistema Estêvão transliterou -o por *a* itálico, que, por ser mal feito, levou Rivara a supô-lo alpha grega, substituindo -o na sua edição por *ŏ*, à imitação da gramática marata de F Neri Pires É neste *a* ital que foram impressas todas

[1] Burnell, op cit

Quadro Comparativo dos Principaes Alfabetos

Nagari	Estevam	Fr. Gaspar e outros.	Popular	União Goana	W. Jones.	Orientalistas.	Mariano.	Maffei	Nagari	Estevam	Fr. Gaspar e outros	Popular	União Goana	W. Jones.	Orientalistas	Mariano.	Maffei.
अ	*a*	ă, â	o	*a*	a	a	Ω	ă, a, ạ	ट	tt	tt	tt	tt	t	t	t	t
आ	a	â, a	a	a	â	ā	*a*	ā	ठ	tth	tth	tth	tth	th	th	th	th
इ	ı	ı	ı	i	ı	ı	ı	ı	ड	dd	dd	dd	dd	ḍ	ḍ	ḍ	*d*
ई	ı, y	î, y	ı	ı	î	ī	ı	ī	ढ	ddh	ddh	ddh	ddh	dh	dh	ḍh	ḍh
उ	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u, ụ	ण	nn	nn	nn	nn	n	n	n	ṇ
ऊ	u	û	u	u	û	ū	u	ū	त	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
ऋ	—	—	—	—	ṛı	r	—	—	थ	th	th	th	th	th	th	th	th
ॠ	—	—	—	—	ṛî	r̄	—	—	द	d	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
ऌ	—	—	—	—	ḷı	ḷ	—	—	ध	dh	dh	dh	dh	dh	dh	dh	dh
ए	e	e	ê, e	ê, e	e	e	ϵ = ê e = é	é è	न	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
ऐ	*a*ı	ăı	oı	*a*ı	aı	aı	Ωı		प	p	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
ओ	o	o	ô, o	ô, o	o	o	ʊ = ô *o* = ó	ó ò	फ	ph	ph	f	f	ph	ph	f	ph, f
औ	*a*u	ău	ou	*a*u	au	au	Ωu	—	ब	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
Nazaes	~, n, m	~, n, m	~, n, m	~, n, m	n, etc	n, etc	~	m̃, ñ	भ	bh	bh	bh	bh	bh	bh	bh	bh
क	c, qu	c, qu	c, qu	c, qu	k	k	k	k	म	m	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
ख	qh	qh	qh	qh	kh	kh	kh	kh	य	ı, y	ı, y	i	—	y	y	y	y
ग	g, gu	g, gu	g, gu	g, gu	g	g	g	g	र	r	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
घ	gh	gh	gh	gh	gh	gh	gh	gh	ल	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
च	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch	c	ch	č	व	u, v	u, v	v	v	v	v	v	v
छ	chh	—	—	chh	chh	ch	—	čh	श	x, s	x, s	x, ch	x, ch	s'	ç	x	š
ज	z	z	ȷ, z	ȷ, z	j	j	ȷ, z	ȷ, z	ष	x	x	x	x	sh	ṣ	x	—
झ	zh	zh	ȷh, zh	ȷh, zh	ȷh	ȷh	ȷh, zh	ȷh, zh	स	s, ss	s, ss	s, ss	s, ss	s	s	s	s
									ह	h	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
									ळ	ll	ll	ll	ll	—	—	l	l

as obras de Estêvão e doutros missionários antigos. I Mis. port porém e Fr Gaspar (n^os 2 e 3) representaram-no nos seus Mss. o "*longo* com a carapuça para baixo, â, e o *breve* com ela para cima, ă" Ouso do acento circunflexo na India para a quantidade longa e portanto anterior a Jones O que é curioso é que a transliteração reproduzia fielmente, até na prosa, à maniera do sistema de Jones e dos orientalistas, todo *a* अ inerente, ainda mudo, e assim escreviam *bassata* e *bassatâ*, embora se pronunciasse *bassat* e *bastâ* Esta vogal tinha já no sec XVI o mesmo som que tem hoje, i é "tem a pronunciação meia entre *a* e *o*" (Estevam) e "melhor fôra—diz o mis port —que se escrevesse *ou*; *vâchi* = lê tu e *vacha* = vai tu, melhor fôra que (este) se escrevesse *voucha*"

Actualmente os goeses cristãos, não costumando estudar marata, perderam por completo a distinção entre *a* e *o*, que são pronunciados da mesma forma = *o*, aberto ou fechado, donde o sistema ortográfico popular representa-os ambos sempre por *o*.

Um outro ponto em que todos êsses gramáticos antigos eram muito cuidadosos era na representação das consoantes cerebrais e das aspiradas, porque "trocando uma só letra ou acento ou aspiração, não sòmente se corrompe a escritura e pronunciação, mas também se muda às vezes o sentido, e aqueles que nos ouvem não nos entendem' (Estev.) Para as cerebrais recorreram à duplicação dos carateres e para a aspiração ao *h*, processo que é ainda hoje seguido em Goa, como mais prático e não exigir tipo especial, Arcamone porém no seu Ms. representa as primeiras cortando a letra por uma linha, *per transversam lineam incisae*.

Os dois sons de ज (*j* e *z*) são transliterados só por *z* *tuzo* e *tuzem* = tujem; e o mesmo fizeram com respeito ao च, cujos dois sons (*ch* e *tch*) representaram por *ch*. *c*, *f*, *j*, e *k* teoricamente não figuravam nesse alfabeto "Porque esta letra *c* ou a pronunciamos como ça, çe, çi, ço, çu. E então sempre nos servimos de s ou como ca co cu E então deviamos usar de *k*, cuja aspiração é *kh*, de modo que *c* não serve senão quando pronunciamos como *cha*, *che*, *chi*, *cho*, *chu* E por isso se põe neste assy *ch*. Tambem *f* nunca serve, porque supre-se muito bem cõ *ph*, aspiração de *p* Tambem *q* não se mete neste alfabeto, porque melhor se satisfaz com *k*, cuja aspiração é *kh*, como dito é Mas, contudo, como as nações dificilmente recebem letras e modos de escrever não usados, deixando à parte esta letra *f*, que nunca serve, usamos a cada passo de *c*, porque melhor nos vem a mão que esta letra *k* e quando vem sua aspiração, que devia ser *kh*, usamos de *qh*.

De modo que avendo de escrever *ka, ke, ki, ko, ku*, escrevemos *ca, que, qui, co, cu* E pollas aspirações *qha, qhe, qhi, qho, qhu* E o uso de *kh* deixamos polo vocabulario do canarim, que sem isso teria grande confusão " (Gram n ° 12). O mesmo diz Estêvão Mas na prática escreviam portanto ca, que, qui, co, cu e qha qhe, qhi, qho qhu, É es ta convenção geralmente seguida em Goa por corresponder ao alfabeto português e foi por isso que o sistema da *União Goana* a adoptou por contemporização

Embora o concani possua todas as três sibilantes, os nossos gramáticos só as transliteraram por *s* = स e *x* = श e ष. Entre vogais o *s* era reduplicado, *ss*, segundo a fonética portuguesa, vg *ãssa.*

MORFOLOGIA *a*) *Declinações* — Os gramáticos mais antigos admitiam, à maneira do latim, 6 casos com a mesma designação e ordem , mas isso era mais para o estudo da sintaxe do que para a declinação, para a qual davam só dois o caso recto (nom. e acus.) v g vãtta ; e o obliquo vãttê (gen dat voc e abl), que era o próprio tema. Reconheciam que as declinações concanis não eram iguais às latinas, i é , que, ao contrário desta lingua, as terminações eram sempre as mesmas para todos os nomes, variando só a forma temática ; e por isso, o ital. limita-se, nas suas declinações, a dar apenas o nominativo e o tema ou caso obliquo, ao qual se juntariam sufixos ou posposições para exprimir as circunstâncias

O mesmo autor e Arcamoni identificam o genetivo com o caso obliquo, antecedendo assim de alguns séculos a teoria moderna, que também, atribui a formação do tema ao genetivo sanscrítico O primeiro gramático a adoptar o n ° dos casos sanscríticos foi, para o marata, Carey e, para o concani, Maffei, que foi seguido por todos os autores posteriores, com a excepção do último, que ainda seguiu o sistema dos casos latinos

Não sendo a formação temática tão nítida como em latim, o n ° dos temas, e, portanto, o das declinações, variou, como em marata, desde três até nove, conforme os autores Quem, porém, excedeu a todos foi Noronha (n ° 18), cuja gramática, destituida de espírito sintético, dá 5 declinações para os nomes próprios e 8 para os comuns, que por seu turno são divididos em animados e inanimados ; cada declinação abrange 3 variedades, que dão ao todo 36 variedades de declinações (!) que não merecem a pena de serem aqui expostas Arcamoni admitiu 3, segundo os 3 géneros

Mas, já no séc XVII, tanto Fr Cristóvam como Fr. Gaspar se mostram mais científicos admitindo apenas os 4 temas primitivos

a, e, y = *ĭ, u*, entrando no primeiro os seus derivados *ea, ia*, e *ua* e no segundo *ye* e *vê* Esta teoria de 4 declinações era, portanto, já ensinada em Goa há três séculos Maffei, Dalgado e o italiano distinguem entre *ea* e *ya*, por causa da diferença da pronúncia Com efeito, se em marata *ghodyām* é tema plural tanto de *ghodā* como de *ghodī*, em concani a pronúncia nos dois casos é bem diferente

Pronomes · São divididos por todos os antigos até o italiano, em primitivos, como *hanv, tũ, to, ho, zo* e derivados destes *hanvém am'chem* etc , sem se advertirem de que êstes são casos obliquos daqueles O ital e o da gram marastta admitem vocativo para *tum* , os outros, à maneira dos autores sanscríticos e pracríticos, não o admitem , Arcamoni diz terminantemente " vocativo caret " .

b) Verbos Para o ital " a doutrina dos verbos parece um labirinto " O verbo no que toca às vozes—diz Est —é activo (trans), passivo e neutro (intrans) Reconheciam, porém, que nesta lingua, como na maioria das sanscríticas, não há propriamente conjugação passiva , mas que nos verbos transitivos os tempos do perfeito " concordam com o paciente em género e número, à maneira dos passivos do latim " ou, como diz Arcamoni " . non sunt activa sed Passiva , in ceteris temporibus activa tantum "

Contudo, dominados pela gramática latina, interpretaram como voz passiva a conjugação intransitiva de certos verbos, cuja significação em português é reflexa ou mesmo passiva, v g act *bhagassitá* = perdoa, e pass *bhagassatá* perdoa-se ou é perdoado Só um autor moderno ensina que " quási todos os verbos transitivos se prestam a serem apassivados " do seguinte modo act *hanv* (*tacá*) *lott'tam* eu empurro , pass *to maca lott'tá*, sou empurrado, teoria completamente anti-gramatical

Admitiam quási todos uma so conjugação por causa da uniformidade das terminações, embora variasse a vogal temática. Os modos eram muitos indicat , imperat , optat , subjunt e infin Chamavam particípio em *rus*, correspondente ao latino *laudaturus*, ao partic. do fut *kortoló* , e os gerúndios eram três o 1° em *di* (= laudandi) *soduncho* , o 2° em *do* (= laudando) *soduno* , e o 3° em *dum* (= laudandum) *sodunco* Derivavam os tempos de dois temas o do presente *sodıtam* e o do perf *sodıló* Como não existe em marata e em concani o presente do infinito, a designação verbal costuma-se fager em marata pelo subst verbal em *nem* v g mārnem, e em conc pelo supino em *unk* v g mārunk. Os antigos gramáticos e vocabularistas, porém, " não o nomeavam ao uso port pelo infinito ,

mas ao uso dos dicionários latinos pela 1ª pes. sing do pres. indic." v.g mārtām

SYNTAXE Alguns autores acharam a sintaxe concano-marata muito parecida com a latina; "Syntaxis Concanica fere non differt a latina," diz Arcamoni, e o n° 16 escreve "Como esta gramática seja feita para os que sabem latim, excuso de expor as regras da Sintaxe, porque êste idioma segue as mesmas regras da Gramática Latina sòmente farei menção de algumas cousas remarcáveis"

A todas as gramáticas, com a exclusão das muito elementares, a sintaxe tem merecido um estudo especial e minucioso Estêvão dedica-lhe 168 regras e o mission portug outro tanto Quem, porém, foi o mais copioso foi Fr Gaspar de S. Miguel, cuja *Syntaxis Copiosissima* dá 205 regras, expostas em 78 pags Na maior parte as regras são acertadas e bem observadas Os exemplos são todos redigidos expressamente para o caso e não extraídos da literatura, que ao tempo era parca e mesmo essa de origem estrangeira.

As restantes partes da oração (palavras indeclináveis) tinham sido bem estudadas e minuciosamente descritas; as preposições eram com razão chamadas *posposições*.

Tal é a historia de gramática concani desde o sec XVI até ao presente Enquanto abundam tantas gramáticas descritivas, não apareceu ainda nenhuma que fôsse histórico-comparativa, baseada em filologia moderna.

Ein parthischer Titel im Sogdischen

Von Hans Heinrich Schaeder

In der sogdischen Version des Vessantarajātaka (VJ)[1] erscheint vor dem Namen des Helden, des Königsohns *Swδ''šn · Suδāšn*,[2] oder an seiner Stelle das Wort *wyspyδr k* (einige Male *wyspyδr'y*, 196, 222, 232, 349, 364, Vokativ *wyspyδr''* 52c, *wyspyδr'* 1198). Gauthiot sah darin einen zweiten Namen des Helden, **Wispiδarāk*, den er als sogdische Umbildung von skr *Viśvantara* (pali *Vessantara*) ansprach Erst Benveniste[3] hat festgestellt, dass es kein Name, sondern ein Titel ist, dessen Sinn sich unzweideutig aus Z. 36 des von F W. K Muller[4] herausgegebenen Fragments eines sogdischen Padmacintāmanidhāranīsūtra ergibt *ZK γwt'w ZI wyspδryt 't mγδβt'* „der König und die Prinzen und die Minister". Er übersetzte das Wort nunmehr mit „prince"[5] und erklarte es als Komposition aus *wysp(y)* „tout" und *δ'r-* „tenir" Die Bedeutung ist richtig bestimmt, die Etymologie scheitert schon daran, dass nur *-δr-* geschrieben wird Vielmehr liegt hier einer der Falle von pseudohistorischer („inverser") Schreibung *δr* statt *š* vor *wysp(y)δr-* ist *vispəš* < **vispuš*, und darin sehe ich die sogdische Wiedergabe des bekannten parthischen, auch ins Mittelpersische übergegangenen Titels *vispuhr* „Prinz" —Benvenistes Beobachtung hat auch überlieferungsgeschichtliche Konsequenzen Indem sie den Namen Viśvantara aus dem Text ausscheidet, lasst sie zugleich das wesentlichste aussere Moment der Übereinstimmung der sogdischen Version mit dem Vessantarajātaka der Pali-Sammlung und der Fassung im Kandschur verschwinden Dafur nahert der Text sich ausserlich mehr der Geschichte vom Prinzen Siu-ta-na im chinesischen Tripitaka[6] Aber er ist keinesfalls so mechanisch aus dem Chinesischen ubersetzt wie manche der mit ihm zusammen in Tun-huang geborgenen

[1] Ed R Gauthiot, *JA* 1912, 1
[2] Sogdisiert aus skr *Sudāna* (chin *Siu-ta-na*).
[3] *Gramm sogd*, II, 107 A 1
[4] *SBPrA* 1926, 4
[5] Im Glossar 236b „prince héritier"
[6] Ed Chavannes, *Cinq cent contes et apologues extraits du Tr chin*, III (1901), 362 ff

buddhistischen Lehrschriften, die streckenweise erst durch Zurückgehen auf die chinesische Vorlage verständlich werden [1] Dass der Übersetzer Sanskrit verstand, geht aus der Behandlung der indischen Lehnworte und Namen hervor.

Das sogdische Wort, das sich hinter der Schreibung *wysp(y)δr-* verbirgt, erscheint in etwas anderer Gestalt auch in einem der in Bulayīq bei Turfan gefundenen Fragmente eines neutestamentlichen Perikopenbuches [2] In Gal 4, 1 steht für syr *jārṭā* (gr. κληρονόμος) sogd *wyšpwšy ɪišpušɪ*, was der Herausgeber F W. K. Müller mit „Haussohn" übersetzte, er hatte also das Wort schon richtig mit aw *vīsō puθra* verbunden, hielt es aber offensichtlich für eine blosse Umschreibung der Bedeutung „Erbe" [3] Nun steht im Text zwei Zeilen vorher (Gal 3, 29) für „Erben" (Plur), syr *jārṭē*, ein verstümmeltes Wort, das sich aber nach Mt 21, 38 (ST 1, 21, 8) eindeutig ergänzen lässt zu *ptr]q'n xw'rt*, d i wörtlich „die Verzehrer des väterlichen (Erbes)" Der Übersetzer wird nicht in einem Atem für denselben Begriff seiner Vorlage zwei so verschiedene Ausdrücke verwendet haben, wenn er nicht einen Wechsel in der Bedeutung beabsichtigte Dass er dies tat, zeigt der folgende Vers 4, 2. Im syrischen (wie im griechischen) Text entspricht dem „Erben" in v 1 der „Vater" in v 2, im sogdischen dagegen dem *wyšpwšy* der *xš'wn* Dies Wort bedeutet nicht „Vater", wie Müller mit Fragezeichen übersetzte Wie Salemann sah, ist es mit dem häufigen *xšywn-* „Herr" zu vergleichen und bedeutet gleich ihm an dieser Stelle „Herr", „König" [4]

Allerdings wird in den christlichen Texten sonst nur *xšywn-* (var *xšun-*) in der Bedeutung „König" verwendet, wie in den

[1] Vgl die neuerlichen Untersuchungen von Benveniste und Demiéville über das Buddhadhyānasamādhisāgarasūtra, *JA* 1933, ii, 193–248, sowie von F Weller über das Dīrghanakhasūtra, *Asia Major*, 10 (1935), 221–8, und das Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra, ibid, 314–364

[2] Zum Literarischen vgl F C Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 119 ff

[3] *SBPrA* 1907, 264, der Text in syrischer Schrift wiederholt Soghdische Texte (= *ST*) 1 (1913), 82, 21 Danach Salemann, *Izv Imp Akad Nauk*, 1907, 540 s v, der das awestische Wort anführt, aber das sogdische mit „Erbe" übersetzt Den Auslaut auf *š* vergleicht Bartholomae fragweise mit der altpersischen Vertretung ç von air *θr*, *IF* 22, 105 Zusammenstellung mit *ɪispuhr* ohne Erklärung des Verhältnisses der Worte zueinander bei Jackson, *IF* 25, 181, Junker, *Frahang ɪ Pahlavīk*, 103b (wo „chr -sgd *vɪšpušɪ*" statt „MPT *vɪspušɪ*" zu lesen), Reichelt, *Gesch der idg Sprachwissenschaft*, ii, 4, 2 S 48

[4] Salemann, loc cit, 542 Ihm hat sich Müller stillschweigend angeschlossen, wenn er später zu *ST* 1, 108, anmerkte „Von *xšāɪan* oder *xšēvan* wohl abzuleiten der Titel, nicht Name, خشنوار der Hephthaliten"

buddhistischen Texten *'γš'ywn-*,[1] wahrend *xš'wn* sonst „Macht" heisst.[2] Aber ausser an unserer Stelle lassen sich noch zwei sichere Belege fur *xš'wn* „Konig" nachweisen, der eine in einem christlichen Text, der andere in der Inschrift von Karabalgasun In Joh. 5, 27 (ST 1, 63, 8) heisst es *xš'wn qt'rt wyny qt wn't*, wortlich „er machte ihn zum Herrn, dass er tue" (syr *ašlṭeh dnehwe 'āḇeḏ*, aber gr. *ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ* [*κρίσιν*] *ποιεῖν*) Sowohl das Verbum (air. *kar-*) wie das Pronomen *wyny*, das ein akkusativisches, nicht ein dativisches Objekt — das ware *qw wyny s'* — bezeichnet, schliessen hier die Bedeutung „Macht" aus [3] In den von O Hansen [4] entzifferten Bruchstucken der Inschrift von Karabalgasun sind Worte fur „Herrscher", „Herrschaft" u a ungemein haufig Neben *'γšywn-* „Herrscher" stehen *'γš'wn-yh* (*'γš'w'n-yh*) „Herrschaft", *'γš'wn-d'r* „Herrscher" sowie die Adj *'γš'wn-'k* (Frgm. 1–6, Z 13, *γrβ γš'wn'k 'rkh* „viele Herrschertaten") und *'γš'w'nčyk-*. Dazu kommt nun in Frgm 9 Z 9 das Satzstuck *ZI ms MN čtβ'r kyr'nw 'γš'w'nty* — was nichts anderes heissen kann als „darauf die Herrscher aus den vier Richtungen (turk *tort bulun*)" Hier heisst also *'γš'w'n-* „Herrscher" Ausserdem aber wird *xšāvan* „Herr, Konig", vollig gesichert durch das gleichbedeutende *p'txš'wn* Luk 19, 17, 27 (ST 1, 47, 11, 49, 11) beide verhalten sich offensichtlich zueinander wie np *šāh* zu *pāδišāh* [5] Aber ich gehe darauf hier nicht weiter ein und bemerke nur, dass *xšāvan* „Herr, Konig" die von St Konow [6] zur Erklarung des Titels *šaonano šao* auf den Munzen der Kušan und des sakischen Herrschertitels *ssau* (*sau*) postulierte Bildung von *xšā(y)-* „herrschen" mit *-van* bestatigt und auch noch in dem noch fur das 6 Jh in Ostiran bezeugten Titel *šāva* (arab *šāba*, arm *šaug*, chin *šao-wu*) erhalten ist

Wir kehren nun zu der Stelle des Galaterbriefs zuruck Nachdem fur *xšāvan* in v 2 die Bedeutung „Konig" festgestellt ist, ergibt sich fur *višpuši* in v 1 „Prinz". Der sogdische Ubersetzer hat auf eigene Hand die ganze paulinische Metapher aus dem Privaten ins

[1] Daneben steht das ebenso geschriebene *'γš'ywn* „Klage"

[2] Belege bei Muller-Lentz, *SBPrA* 1934, 583c, s v

[3] Vgl damit *SBPrA* 1934, 533, 28 *γy šy xš'wn ṯ'br pr 'γč šyqn* „und er gab ihm Macht im ganzen Palast"

[4] *Journ Soc Frougr*, 44, 1930

[5] Vgl Bartholomae, *Miran Mundarten*, 3, 51 mit A 1

[6] *ZDMG*, 68 (1914), 93f Ihm stimmte A von Stael-Holstein zu (*JRAS*, 1914, 84 A 2), unter Hinweis auf das ihm von Salemann gezeigte *xšāvan*, dem er aber noch nach Muller die Bedeutung „Macht" gab Vgl weiter St Konow, *Ostas Zeitschr* 8 (1919–20), 220 ff, und Junker, *Awestaalphabet* 103

Hofische übersetzt und darum auch fur die *āpitropē* (< ἐπίτροποι) des syrischen Textes sinngemass „Befehlshaber" (*frm'nd'rty*) eingesetzt Der ganze Passus heisst bei ihm „Aber ich sage, solange der Prinz ein Kind ist, ist er nicht unter[schieden] von den Knechten, obwohl er Herr ist ihrer aller, sondern er ist unter (*sub*) den Befehlshabern und Hausverwaltern bis zu der Zeit, die der Konig ihm gegeben (= gesetzt) hat'

Von den drei Formen *wyspyδr-*, *wyspδr-* und *wyšpwš-* haben die beiden ersten besser den Konsonantismus, die dritte besser den Vokalismus der vorauszusetzenden Ausgangsform **vispuš* bewahrt In der dritten hat anscheinend ein Ausgleich des Auslauts der ersten Silbe mit dem der zweiten stattgefunden, in den beiden andern eine Umfarbung des Vokals der zweiten Silbe Diese Veranderungen deuten darauf hin, dass das Wort dem Sogdischen nicht von Haus aus eigen, sondern entlehnt ist Theoretisch konnte man **vispuš* fur die normale sogdische Fortsetzung eines altiranischen **vispuθra* erklaren, das im Parthischen durch *vispuhr* vertreten wird Aber dagegen spricht zweierlei einmal die Tatsache, dass im Sogdischen, soweit es uns bekannt ist, *puθra* ganzlich durch *zāt-* verdrangt ist,[1] sodann durch die nunmehr fest definierte Bedeutung „Prinz" Denn diese ist naturlich nicht gemeiniranisch, sondern unter ganz bestimmten geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen an einer bestimmten Stelle entwickelt Einen festen Punkt bedeutet die Form *vispuhr*, die klarlich parthisch ist, sie ist ins Mittelpersische entlehnt worden (die echt mittelpersische Form ware **vhpus* oder **vispus*) Sie ist jetzt in persischen und parthischen manichaischen Texten reichlich belegt So ist in einem alten persischen Missionsbericht von einem zur Lehre Manis bekehrten Abkommling des parthischen Herrscherhauses, dem Prinzen (*vispuhr*) Ardaβān die Rede [2] In einem jungeren parthischen Hymnus wird der Urmensch *vispuhr šahrdārzāδaγ* „Prinz und Herrschersohn" genannt,[3] ebenso in einem spaten persischen Hymnus [4] Unter den persischen Hymnentexten findet sich ein Stuck, das an den turkischen

[1] So wird in dem manichaischen persisch-sogdischen Fragment M 172 (Muller, *Handschriftenreste*, II, 100 f) pers *pusar* durch sogd *prz'tyy z'tyy* wiedergegeben, vgl ferner das Nebeneinander von *δγwth* „Tochter" und *z'tk* (*z't'k*) „Sohn', *VJ* 26, 31, 351 f, 1149, 1176, 1485 In den alten Briefen erscheint nur einmal die ideographische Schreibung *BRY*

[2] Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA* 1933, 303 mit A 3 (dazu *Iranica* 72)

[3] Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA* 1934, 877, 5.

[4] Henning, *NGGW*. 1933, 313, 318 Str 10b (Andreas — bei Reitzenstein, Das mand Buch vom Herrn der Grosse 46 — ubersetzte *vispuhr* unrichtig mit „Sohn des Geschlechts")

Prinzen Ögurtmiš gerichtet ist und ihn als *vispuhr nāzūγ šahryārān frazend*, „zarter Prinz und Herrscherkind" anredet [1] Ein weiteres Zeugnis, das deswegen wertvoll ist, weil es sich datieren lasst, enthalt der 762 n Chr geschriebene Kolophon des manichaischen Hymnenbuches, darin findet sich ein Gebet fur den derzeitigen Uigurenherrscher „nebst seiner Nachkommenschaft und seinem Herrschergeschlecht, den Prinzen und Prinzessinnen", *aβāγ tōxm uδ šahryārē ı xvēš vispuhrān vısduxtān* [2] Besonders Interesse verdient die hier m. W zum erstenmal belegte Form *vısduxt* „Prinzessin", die Bailey [3] in der wohl aus metrischen Grunden umgebildeten Gestalt *vīsduxtān* — ⏑ — — im Vīs u Rāmīn des Faxrī Gurgānī (11 Jh.) belegt hat Sonst sind mir beide Worte im Neupersischen nicht bekannt, nach F Wolffs Glossar kommen beide im Schahname nicht vor.

Wenn hiermit die parthische Bildung *vispuhr* — deren Aussprache mit ı an allen angefuhrten Stellen durch die Schreibung *wyspwhr* feststeht — hinlanglich gesichert ist, so bedeutet das nicht, dass sie eine Neuschopfung der Partherzeit sein musste, sondern nur, dass sie damals stereotyp wurde Ehe wir aber dieser Frage weiter nachgehen, muss zunachst der Übergang von *vispuhr* zu sogd *vispuš* naher erklart werden Dass wirklich Entlehnung stattgefunden hat, wird, wie schon bemerkt, durch das Fehlen einer Fortsetzung von air *puθra* im Sogdischen [4] und durch die genaue Übereinstimmung der beiden Worter in ihrer speziellen Bedeutung „Prinz" nahegelegt Was aber das Verhaltnis von parth *hr* und sgd *š* anlangt, so gewinnt man hier einen neuen Beleg fur den zuerst von Junker [5] an dem Verhaltnis von parth *(a)hrınan* und chr -sgd *šmnw* aufgewiesenen

[1] Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA* 1933, 332, 25

[2] F W K Muller, Doppelblatt 9 Vorher schon *SBPrA* 1904, 350 Salemann, *Man Stud*, 1, 33 Herzfeld, *Archaol Mitt aus Iran (AMI)*, 7 (1934) 18, A 2, gibt verschentlich die Lesung *vāspuhrān ıāsduxtān*, eine Stelle desselben Textes, die er ibid 55 A 1, bespricht, verstehe ich anders *āōn ku baıāδ andar dēn māδıān paδ aβzōn* Doppelbl 16, 197, heisst nicht „sodass es wurde unter den Religionsschriften vermehrend", sondern „sodass es in der Gemeinde ein Kapital auf Zinsen wurde"

[3] *BSOS* 6, 953

[4] Das schon in den alten Briefen belegte *βypwr* (spater *βyp'wr*), das den chinesischen Kaiser bezeichnet und seinem einheimischen Titel *t ien-tse* entspricht, erweist sich schon durch das *r* statt *š* als nicht echt sogdisch Vgl einstweilen Benveniste bei Mlaker, *WZKM* 42 (1935) 262 f

[5] Ungarische Jahrbücher 5 (1925) 49 ff Dass *šmnw* auch hinter der buddh -sgd Schreibung *'δrmnw* steckt (anders Benveniste *MSL* 23, 1927, 130 f), wurde durch die bei Reichelt, *Soghd Handschriftenreste*, 1, 7 A 3, 8 A 2, angegebene Gleichung dieses Wortes mit dem chin Aquivalent von skr *māra* unmittelbar deutlich und ist zuerst von Lentz, *SBPrA* 1934, 577b, ausgesprochen worden

Übergang *hr* zu *š*, der zugleich den Charakter der durch *hr* bezeichneten Lautung wenigstens in einem Teil des parthischen Sprachgebiets erhellt Dass dieser Übergang selber schon im Parthischen so gut wie abgeschlossen war, habe ich unlangst [1] an dem in manichaischen Texten aufgetauchten Gottesnamen *Srōšāv* gezeigt, der aus **Srōšahrāv* entwickelt ist das war nur moglich, wenn *hr* und *š* einander nahe genug standen, um nebeneinander tretend Silbenellipse zu ermoglichen Damit kann die Entlehnung von *vispuš* aus *vispuhr* als erwiesen gelten

Was nun die Herkunft und Bildung von parth *vispuhr* angeht, so hangt daran eine Reihe von schwierigen sprach- und kulturgeschichtlichen Fragen, die hier nur kurz behandelt werden konnen [2]

Wie verhalt sich *vispuhr* zunachst zu dem awestischen *vīsō puθra* ? Aw *vīs* (recte *vis*) „ Clan " ist die zweite Stufe in der vierghedrigen Reihe der sozialen Verbande, nach dem „ Haus ", vor dem „ Gau " und dem „ Land ", sein Oberhaupt ist der *vīspaiti* (ai *viśpáti*), der „ Herr des Clans " Man hat angenommen, der *vīsō puθra* sei der Sohn des *vīspaiti* [3] — aber das ist meines Erachtens schon sprachlich schwierig und steht ausserdem im Widerspruch zu den awestischen Aussagen. Der mythische Held Θraētaona, der Sohn des Āθwya, ist der einzige, der im Awesta als *vīsō puθra* bezeichnet wird. Aber diese seine Bezeichnung tritt nicht absolut, sondern mit naheren Bestimmungen verbunden auf der Held heisst „ Sohn des āθwyanischen Clans, des heldischen Clans " Yt 5, 33 , 17, 35, sein Vater betet, „ dass ihm als Sohn des heldischen Clans Θraētaona geboren werde " Y 9, 7 Diese drei eng miteinander zusammenhangenden Stellen erklaren also Bildung und Sinn des absolut gebrauchten *vīsō puθra* nicht Dies tritt nur an einer einzigen, aber den Sachverhalt klarenden Stelle auf, in Vend 7, 43 Hier ist von den Arztgebuhren die Rede, die nach der sozialen Stellung des Patienten gestaffelt werden Aufgezahlt werden Priester, Hausherr, Clanherr (*vīspaiti*), Gauherr, Landesherr und die Frauen der vier letzteren, dann folgt der *vīsō*

[1] *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1935), Heft 4/5 (im Druck)

[2] Die wichtigsten neueren Beitrage sind Noldeke, *Gesch der Perser und Araber* (1879), 71, 437, 501 Olshausen, *Monatsber Preuss Akad*, 1880, 354 ff Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, II (1883), 139 ff. Hubschmann, *ZDMG* 46 (1892), 326 f *Arm Gramm* (1896), 80 f , 178 Christensen, *L empire des Sassanides* (1907), 20, 23 ff Bartholomae, *WZKM* 25 (1911), 251 ff Neuerdings besonders Herzfeld, *Paikuli Gl* 157, 170 *AMI* 1, 145, A 1 , 2, 20, A 1, 32 , 4, 54 , 6, 74 7, 18 ff Bailey, *BSOS* 6, 80, 953 , 7, 72, 75 [Vgl die Nachschrift]

[3] So Christensen, l c 20

puθra [1] Ware dieser der Sohn des *vīspaiti*, so musste fur ihn der Ansatz einer geringeren oder hochstens der gleichen Gebuhr wie fur den *vīspaiti* erwartet werden Tatsachlich aber ist seine Gebuhr eine hohere und kommt der des Gauherrn gleich Daraus geht unzweifelhaft hervor, dass der *vīsō puθra* nichts mit dem *vīspaiti* zu tun hat, sondern sozial uber ihm steht — mit andern Worten, dass *vīs* als Bestandteil beider Bezeichnungen nicht das gleiche bedeutet *vīspaiti* ist das Oberhaupt einer *vīs* schlechthin, *vīsō puθra* der Abkommling der *vīs* κατ'ἐξοχήν Das fuhrt aber auf einen sozialen Zustand, in dem ein einzelner Clan bezw ein einzelnes Geschlecht unbedingten Vorrang gewonnen hat, also auf die Monarchie Erst seit der Durchsetzung des Konigtums in Iran konnte die Bezeichnung *vīsō puθra* die spezifische Bedeutung gewinnen, die ihr an der Vendidad-Stelle zukommt Zugleich wird deutlich, dass hier der Ursprung des parthischen *vispuhr* liegt

Die soeben postulierte Sonderbedeutung von *vīs*. „Clan κατ'ἐξοχήν, Konigsclan" ist in den Achamenideninschriften reichlich bezeugt Dareios I spricht von seiner *viθ* sowohl in dem abstrakten Sinne des Konigsgeschlechts, seines „Hauses" (so Bis 1, 69, 71; NRa 53), wie in dem konkreteren der „Residenz" (so Bis [2, 16], 3, 26, 4, 66 ? Pers c, Pers e 24), aber nicht in bezug auf ein bestimmtes Gebaude wie *didā, hadriš, apadāna, tačara* [2] In der akkadischen Version steht dafur gewohnlich *bītu* „Haus" Der „Sohn des Hauses" in diesem Sinne ist der achamenidische Prinz Dies erklart einen Passus zu Beginn des beruhmten Briefes der judischen Gemeinde von Elephantine an Bagoas, den persischen Statthalter von Jerusalem, vom Jahre 407, wo dem Empfanger Heil und „Gnade vor dem Konig Dareios (II) und den Sohnen des Hauses (*bny byt'*)", d h doch den koniglichen Prinzen,[3] gewunscht wird Aram *br byt'* ist die Wiedergabe eines altpersischen **viθa puça*, nach dem das parthische *vispuhr* gebildet ist

Es ist danach wohl verstandlich, das *bi byt'* unter die Pahlavi-Ideogramme aufgenommen ist — aber hier erhebt sich nun eine

[1] Das unsinnige *vis pus pat* der Pahlavi-Übersetzung gibt nicht *vīsō puθrəm* wieder (so Bartholomae, *Air Wb*, 1437), sondern eine Kontamination von *vīsō puθrəm* mit dem in der Hds Jp 1 stattdessen uberlieferten *vīsō vīspaitīm*

[2] *kāra hya viθāpatiy* ist das in oder bei der *viθ* stationierte Heer, die Garde — keinesfalls ist *viθāpatiy* ein Adj mit der Bedeutung „in Sippen organisiert, hochadlig", wie Herzfeld, *AMI*, 2, 32, will

[3] So hat auch Ed Meyer, Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine[3] 81, die Stelle verstanden Aram *br byt'* hat nichts mit akk *mār banī* zu tun (gegen Herzfeld, *AMI* 1, 145 A 1)

Schwierigkeit Einen sicheren Beleg fur das Wort in parthischer Zeit, sei es in phonetischer, sei es in ideographischer Schreibung, gibt es nicht Erst im 3 Jh n Chr , auf den fruhsassanidischen Denkmalern, ist das Ideogramm wieder belegt, aber mit veiandertem Sinn und veranderter Lesung Es bedeutet nicht mehr den koniglichen Prinzen, sondern den Angehorigen des Hochadels, insbesondere der sieben vornehmsten Hauser , das ist allgemein zugestanden [1] Zu lesen ist nicht *vispuhr*, sondern *vāspu(h)r*, wie eine ganze Reihe von Zeugnissen lehrt. Im Frahang i Pahlavīk 12, 3, wird *brbyt'* glossiert durch Pahl *wspwr*, Pazend *vaspūr* [2] Der alteste ausseriranische Beleg findet sich in dem Seelenhymnus der syrischen Thomasakten (3 Jh), wo *wspr-* geschrieben wird [3] Das schliesst die Aussprache *vispur* aus. Eine Gemme der Berliner Sammlung zeigt die Schreibung *wspwhry* [4] Phonetisch geschriebenes *vāspuhr* mit Ableitungen ist reichlich belegt Der Sprecher in dem kleinen von Unvala bearbeiteten Buch „ Chosrau Kavātān und sein Page " wird als *rētak-ē vāspuhr* „ ein Page vom Hochadel " eingefuhrt [5] In den Anfang des 7 Jh fuhren Angaben des armenischen Bischofs Sebēos, der die Geschichte des Kaisers Herakleios schrieb , sie beziehen sich auf den in Isfahan amtierenden *Vaspurakan hamarakar* Wahrend man in ihm seit Hubschmann den „ Rechnungsfuhrer der Vāspuhrakān " [6] also in dem letzteren Worte den Plural von *vāspuhrak* sah, das gleichbedeutend neben *vāspuhr* steht, hat Herzfeld [7] neuerdings geltend gemacht, dass *hamārkar*

[1] Dagegen bezweifle ich, dass die in der Hajiabad-Inschrift Schapurs I erscheinende Aufzahlung *šaθrdārān* „ Herrscher ", *brbyt'n*, *uazrakān* „ Grosse ", *āzātān* „ Freie ' — alle vier Glieder erweisen durch die sprachliche Form ihre parthische Herkunft — wirklich scharf von einander getrennte Rangstufen ausdruckt und ausdrucken soll , das gilt besonders fur die beiden letzten Glieder

[2] Daraus ist dann, mit spatem Lautwandel *ū* > *ī*, *uaspīr* (*vspīr*) geworden und dieser Form hat man eine Gelehrtenetymologie angehangt *vas pīr* „ sehr alt ', s Junkers Ausgabe des *FrP* , 103b, wo statt بطيت فرگ zu lesen بطيت مرگ „ zusammengesetzter Ausdruck ", statt باسان باستان „ altertumlich ', statt سالخورده „ bejahrt " Dass die Glossierung von *wspwr* durch np *sālār* „ Oberst " verkehrt ist, sah schon Olshausen Die Bedeutungen „ leader, general ' neben „ prince " fur *wspwr* sind zu streichen

[3] Noldeke *Gesch der Perser und Araber*, 501 Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*, 26 v 101

[4] Horn-Steindorff, *Sasanidische Siegelsteine*, 28

[5] Vgl Bailey, *BSOS* 7, 72, der den im Pahlavitext nach *vāspuhr* ausgefallenen Namen mit Gluck aus der arabischen Version des Ṯa'ālibī erganzt hat

[6] So Marquart, *Eranšahr*, 29 Die Schreibung *uspuhrān hamārkār* bei Christensen, *Empire*, 20 A 3, 28 A 1, 56, beruht auf einem Versehen , es ist uberall *vāspuhrakān* zu lesen

[7] *AMI* , 7, 18 f

vielmehr der Chef der Finanzverwaltung ist und dass man in dem vor seinem Titel stehenden Namen die Bezeichnung des von ihm verwalteten Steuerbezirks erwarten sollte. Das wird durch den *āturpātakān āmārkar*, den Finanzdirektor von Azerbeidschan, der Pahlavi-Inschriften von Derbend bestätigt [1] Ob man aber daraufhin mit Herzfeld in Vāspurakān die jeweils vom Thronfolger verwaltete Provinz Isfahan sehen darf, bleibt umso ungewisser, als dabei seine erweislich unzutreffende These im Spiele ist, nach der der Thronfolger den Titel *vāspuhr* gefuhrt hatte Keinesfalls kann die armenisch-persische Grenzprovinz Vaspurakan im Osten des Wan-Sees, das Stammland der Arcruner, gemeint sein — deren Name ubrigens, wenn H Kieperts Korrektur von *Βασοροπεδαν* in *Βασοποραканν* bei Strabo xi, 14, 5, p 528, das Richtige trifft, bis in den Anfang des 2 Jh v Chr , in die Zeit der Emanzipation der Armenier unter Artaxias und Zariadris nach dem Sieg der Romer uber Antiochos d. Gr. bei Magnesia (190), zuruckverfolgbar ware Vielleicht erscheint das Vaspurakan des Sebēos schon auf sassanidischen Inschriften des 3 Jh Auf der Inschrift des Kartēr Ohormizd von Naqš i Rustam Z 6 steht nach der Abschrift Westergaards [2] *w'spwhrkn* Andreas gab, ohne Westergaard zu erwahnen, bei Christensen, Empire 20 A 6, die abweichende Lesung *vspuhrakān* Ebenso las Herzfeld in seinem Paikuli-Werk 92, 170 (*wyspwhrkn*) Aber die von dem gleichen Kartēr Ohormizd herruhrende Inschrift von Sarmašhad, die Herzfeld 1924 entdeckte,[3] lieferte ihm die Verbesserung in *w spwhrkn* [4] — die also durch die bald hundert Jahre zuruckliegende, Herzfeld anscheinend unbekannt gebliebene Lesung Westergaards ihre volle Bestatigung findet Vāspuhrakān als Name ware eine Ableitung von *vāspuhr* mit *-akān* Dagegen handelt es sich um einen Plural von *vāspuhrak*, wenn es im Ardašīr-Roman heisst Ardavān habe den jungen Ardašīr an seinen Hof befohlen, damit er *apāk frazandān ut vāspuhrakān*, mit seinen Sohnen und den Sohnen des Hochadels zusammen erzogen wurde [5] Hier tritt die Scheidung zwischen den koniglichen Prinzen und den *vāspuhr(ak)* ebenso scharf hervor wie im Ayātkār i Zarērān,[6]

[1] Pachomov und Nyberg in *Izv Ob ra obsledovaniya i izučeniya Azerbaidžana*, No 8 vyp 5 (Baku, 1929)

[2] Mitteilung von Noldeke, *ZDMG* 46, 139.

[3] *ZDMG*, 80 (1926), 256 f

[4] *AMI* 7, 19

[5] *Kārnāmak*, 1, 25, 28 Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, I, 5 f

[6] Ed Pagliaro, 1, 2, 62, 63, 68, mit Wechsel zwischen *w'sp-* und *wsp-*

wo die *vāspuhrakān* regelmassig nach dem Konig, seinen Sohnen und seinen Brudern erscheinen

Herzfeld hat neuerdings [1] die Form *vispuhr* fur die arsakidische und sassanidische Zeit uberhaupt bestritten und will uberall *vāspuhr* lesen. Dass das nicht richtig ist, zeigen die vielen sicheren Belege fur *vispuhr* aus der manichaischen Überlieferung, die vorhin angefuhrt worden sind Herzfeld stutzt sich dabei auf einen merkwurdigen Text,[2] der sich nach einer soeben erschienenen Bearbeitung von J Tavadia [3] als eine Art Muster-Tischrede darstellt Darin wird zwischen dem Grosskonig (*šāhānšāh*) und dem Grossvezir (*vazrak framātār*) der *pus ī vāspuhr ī šāhān farraxvtum* [4] genannt damit kann in der Tat nur der Kronprinz gemeint sein Aber was bedeutet der Ausdruck ? Herzfeld ubersetzt in AMI 2. 20 A 1 „ dem Vāspuhr-Sohn, dem gluckseligsten der Konige,' ibid 7, 18 „ Dem Infanten, Sohn des (koniglichen) Hauses, dem glorreichsten der Konige " [5] Keine der beiden Übersetzungen ist haltbar „ Vāspuhr-Sohn " wurde einen Angehorigen des Hochadels, im Unterschied vom koniglichen Prinzen bedeuten Die Wiedergabe des einfachen *pus* durch „ Infant " ist so unzulassig wie die Auflosung der Verbindung *pus ī vāspuhr*, die Ubersetzung von *vāspuhr* durch „ Sohn des (koniglichen) Hauses " steht mit der fur alle andern Stellen gesicherten Bedeutung des Wortes im Widerspruch und ignoriert den Unterschied zwischen *vispuhr* und *vāspuhr* Mir scheint, dass *vāspuhr* an dieser Stelle nicht als Titel, sondern als epitheton ornans zu verstehen ist [6] *pus ī vāspuhr* heisst „ der hochadlige Sohn ", namlich des unmittelbar vorher genannten Grosskonigs

Damit ist die parthisch-sassanidische Unterscheidung zwischen *vispuhr* „ Prinz " und *vāspuhr* „ Angehoriger des Hochadels " gesichert Herzfeld hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er als Lesung des Ideogramms *brbyt'* in sassanidischen Texten uberall *vāspuhr* statt *vispuhr* fordert [7] Nur darf deswegen der selbstandige Fortbestand von *vispuhr* nicht in Abrede gestellt werden Es handelt sich jetzt noch darum,

[1] *AMI* 2, 32 7, 19 A 1

[2] Jamasp-Asana, *Pahl Texts*, II, 155 ff

[3] Eine Tischrede aus der Zeit der Sasaniden, Verlag J J Augustin, Gluckstadt, 1935

[4] *Pahl Texts*, 157, 2

[5] Tavadia, l c, 8, ungenau „ der Kronprinz, der gluckhchste unter den Prinzen "

[6] So auch, wie ich nachtraglich sah, Bailey, *BSOS* 7, 72

[7] Danach ist auch bei Christensen, *Empire*, 20, 23, 28 f , 56 usw zu verbessern

das sprachliche und sachliche Verhaltnis dieser beiden Begriffe zueinander aufzuklaren

Nach der schonen Beobachtung von Bartholomae[1] geht *vās-* in *vāspuhr* auf **vāis-*, Vrddhi von *vis* zuruck Wenn also *vispuhr* der „Sohn des Herren-, Furstenhauses, Prinz" ist, so kann *vāspuhr* ursprunglich nur bedeuten „auf den *vispuhr* bezuglich, vom *vispuhr* abstammend" Bartholomae hat hieraus die allein richtige, aber, soweit ich sehe, unbeachtet gebliebene Erklarung des eigentlichen Sinnes von *vāspuhr(ak)* gewonnen es bezeichnet „die Mitglieder des persischen Hochadels, insofern sie Abkommlinge des Konigshauses waren oder dafur galten" (loc cit, 254) Das bedarf nur einer geringen Modifikation die ursprungliche Bezeichnung der Abkommlinge der koniglichen Prinzen wurde in spaterer Zeit auf die ihnen gleichgestellten Angehorigen der hochsten Adelsfamilien ubertragen Wann das geschah, ist nicht bekannt, in fruhsassanidischer Zeit ist jedenfalls der erweiterte Begriff im allgemeinen Gebrauch

Daraus ist ein Schluss zu ziehen, den ich hier nur kurz andeuten kann Der Hochadel, dessen Angehorige in parthischer und sassanidischer Zeit *vāspuhr* hiessen, war schon in achamenidischer Zeit vorhanden, er ging aber in erster Linie auf das sich rasch verzweigende Konigshaus zuruck,[2] nicht — wie vielfach angenommen wird — auf die neben dem Konigshaus stehenden Adelsgeschlechter, soweit diese sich nicht mit jenem verschwagerten In seinem trefflichen Abriss der altiranischen Kulturgeschichte[3] nennt A Christensen im Anschluss an Andreas die Haupter der sechs grossen Familien in achamenidischer Zeit *vispatis*'s (die er ubrigens mit Recht von den sechs Mitverschworenen des Dareios unterscheidet) Aber diese Bezeichnung ist nirgendwo belegt, und aw *vīspaiti* bedeutet, wie oben gezeigt, den Clanherrn schlechthin, nicht das Oberhaupt einer Adelsfamilie[4] Noch weniger ist es angangig, die Tatsache, dass Dareios von seinem Hause als von „dieser *viθ*" spricht, dahin zu

[1] *WZKM* 25 (1911), 251–4

[2] Man denke an die Vermehrung der Kadscharenprinzen im Persien des 19 Jh Feth 'Alī Schāh konnte ja in dem gleichen Sinne „Vater des Vaterlandes" genannt werden wie August der Starke

[3] In W Ottos *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, S 256

[4] Daran scheitert auch die Deutung von arm *tanutēr* „Hausherr" (= „Oberhaupt eines Fursten- oder Adelsgeschlechts") als „Übersetzung" von *vispati* (Christensen, *Empire*, 10 A 3) Die in manichaischen Texten fur eine untergeordnete Gottheit verwendete Bezeichnung *visbeδ* (< *vispati*) sagt uber die Bedeutung des altiranischen Wortes nichts aus

deuten, dass damit die Achameniden als einer unter mehreren adligen Clans hingestellt werden sollen.[1]

Wie alt ist die Ableitung von *vāspuhr* aus *vispuhr*? Man wird nicht mit Bartholomae bis ins Uriranische zurückgehen dürfen. Denn sie setzt die Ausprägung der Bedeutung „Königshaus" für *vis* (*viθ*) voraus, die wir zur Zeit des ersten Dareios vollzogen fanden. Ausserdem aber müsste ihr die Bildung eines festen Kompositums aus *vis* und *puθra* bezw. deren Fortsetzungen vorangehen. Hier erhebt sich eine Schwierigkeit. Das Awestische kennt nur die Genitivverbindung *vīsō puθra*, kein **vispuθra*. Entweder muss man nun für das Altpersische ein Kompositum **viθpuça* (**vispuça*) „Prinz" und ein davon abgeleitetes **vāiθpuçi* (**vāispuçi*) „Prinzensohn" annehmen, die sich auf mitteliranischer Stufe in den parthischen Umbildungen *vispuhr* und *vāspuhr* fortsetzten. Oder man muss — was bedenklicher ist — annehmen, dass derartige Vrddhibildungen noch auf mitteliranischer Stufe möglich waren und dass *vāspuhr* erst gebildet wurde, als nach dem Abfall der Casusendungen aus der alten Genitivverbindung **viθa puça* in parthischer Umbildung ein scheinbares Kompositum *vis-puhr* hervorgegangen war.[2] Aber diese Frage ist von untergeordneter Bedeutung. Dass anderseits das ursprünglich für **viθa puça* geltende aramäische Ideogramm *brbyt'* von *vispuhr* auf *vāspuhr* übertragen wurde, ist wohl verständlich.

[1] So Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsenreliefs*, 16.

[2] Dafür dass noch im Parthischen die Genitivverbindung zunächst erhalten geblieben ware, darf man sich jedenfalls nicht auf die m. W. zuerst von N. Marr (*Zap. vost. otd.* 11, 166) aufgebrachte, bereits von Hubschmann (*ZDMG* 46, 327) abgelehnte Kombination der armenischen Adelsbezeichnung *sepuh* mit dem uns beschäftigenden Begriff berufen. Denn zwar hat Andreas (bei Lentz, *ZII* 4, 300) sie wiederaufgenommen und „*Sepurh*" (l. *sepuh* < **sepurh*) auf (*vi*)*sēpuhr* — also mit Obl. auf *ē* im Vorderglied — zurückführen wollen. Aber wo gäbe es sonst eine solche Anlautverstummelung iranischer Lehnworte im Armenischen? Eine höchst kühne Deutung von *sepuh* hat Markwart in einer Anmerkung zu seiner Schrift über den Ursprung des armenischen Alphabets (1917) S. 10, A. 2, mitgeteilt, die ich mit einigen Glossen wiedergebe. „*Sepuh* oder eigentlich **sep'uh*, wie das Adjektiv *sep'hakan* [, besonder, eigen'] zeigt, ist eine Übersetzung des iberischen *sep'e-culi* [d. i. georg. *sep'e*, König' + *culi*, Sohn'] Das zum Suffix gewordene *-uh*, fem. *-urhi*, *-uhi* [vgl. *t'aguhi*, Königin' neben *t'ag*, Krone', *t'agavor*, König'], entspricht dem ap. *puthra* [d. i. *puça*], Sohn'." Diese Erklärung hat nur eine Schwäche: ein älteres *sep'uh* kann man aus *sep hakan* nicht erschliessen, denn dies ist nur eine Kontamination der beiden normalen Schreibungen *sephakan* und *sep'akan* (Meillet, *Arm. Elementarbuch*, 10). Ausserdem kann das Suffix *-uh*, *-u(r)hi* nicht auf ap. *puça*, sondern nur auf *puhr*, **puhrī* eines mitteliranischen Nordwestdialekts zurückgeführt werden, wenn die Ableitung richtig ist, so würde sie zeigen, dass der Schwund von anlautendem idg. *p* im Armenischen nicht vor dem 5.—4. Jh. erfolgt ist. Die ältere Form **sepurh*, aus der *sepuh* hervorging, ist mit Anlautswandel *s* > *z* ins Georgische entlehnt worden: *sa-zepur-o* „eigen, auserwählt", Deeters, *Caucasica*, 3 (1926), 82.

Ich fasse zusammen Mit der Entstehung des Konigshauses der Achamenıden gewann ın der hofischen Sprache das ererbte Wort fur „ Clan " die Bedeutung des „ Konigshauses " Sie ermoglichte die Bildung „ Sohn des Hauses " ım Sinne von „ konıglicher Prınz ", **viθa puça*, aram *br byt'*, reflektıert durch *vīsō puθra* Vend. 7, 43. Dazu trat eine Ableitung „ Prınzenabkommlıng " zur Bezeichnung zunachst der Nachkommen der jungeren Prınzen, dann auch des ihnen gleichstehenden hochsten Adels Seit der Arsakıdenzeit leben beide Worte ın parthischer Form, *vıspuhr* „ Prınz " und *vāspuhr(ak)* „ Magnat ", nebeneınander Aus dem Parthischen unmittelbar oder durch das Persische vermittelt ist *vıspuhr* ins Sogdische ubergegangen, wo es ın buddhistischen und christlichen Texten ın den abgewandelten Formen *wysp(y)δr- vıspəš-* bzw *vıšpuš-* unter der unveranderten Bedeutung „ Prınz " erscheint

Nachschrift Nach Ablieferung des Manuskripts stiess ich auf E Benvenistes Aufsatz *Titres iraniens en arménien*, ın *Rev. ét arm* 9 (1929) 5–10, der sich an zwei Stellen mit meiner Darlegung beruhrt Den armenischen Furstentitel *išxan* leitet Benveniste von mir. **xšān* ab, das er neben das oben S 739 behandelte sgd. *xš'ıwn*, *xšywn* stellt. Arm *sepuh* will auch er, wie Marr und Andreas, mit parth. *vıspuhr* verbinden, jedoch so, dass er es uber **vseapurh* auf air **vısya-puθra* zuruckfuhrt Auch diese Erklarung ist unannehmbar, solange nicht der Verlust des anlautenden *v* durch Parallelen glaubhaft gemacht ist.

On the "Uralian" Element in the Drāviḍa and the Muṇḍā Languages

By F. Otto Schrader

IT will be remembered that sixty years ago Bishop Caldwell [1] expressed the opinion "that the Dravidian languages occupy a position of their own between the languages of the Indo-European family and those of the Turanian or Scythian group", and that, whereas the particulars of agreement with the Indo-European family pointed only to a "very indefinite as well as very remote", if at all any "real relationship", those with the "Scythian" family, and especially the Finnish-Ugrian languages, were so close and so numerous that they naturally suggested "the idea of a common descent" The hypothesis was declined by the official science of language, but I found it to contain a kernel of truth and thus wrote in 1924 my study *Dravidisch und Uralisch*,[2] intended to show that there was, if not relationship, at any rate a most remarkable, though but partial, agreement due, presumably, to the intercourse or mingling of two nations in prehistoric times I have since left the problem alone, but feel now induced by Wilhelm von Hevesy's book *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien* (Wien, 1932) and his paper *Neue Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachen* (*Die Mundasprachen Indiens*) [3] to take it up once more My special aim this time is to meet an adverse criticism concerning word-equations, and I shall conclude with a few remarks on the extent, kind, and probable provenience of the Uralian element in both the Drāviḍa and the Muṇḍā languages [4]

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, third edition (reprint of second), London, 1913, pp ix ff

[2] See *Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik*, vol iii, pp 81–112 Of the additions I could make to that paper one at least, viz to the paragraph on numerals, will be found interesting Tamil *pattu*, Telugu *padi*, etc, "ten" is evidently = Samoyede *bet, bud, bu*, etc, and Tamil, Telugu (etc) *nūru* "hundred" seems to correspond with Samoyede (Arch) *jur* do (< **ńūru*, cf Tam *nāl* "day" with Samoy *jälea, jale*, etc, do) (Cf O Donner, *Samojedische Wörterverzeichnisse*, reprint of 1932, pp 35, 9, 8, 48, 97)

[3] Published in 1935, in the *Atti del Congresso di Linguistica tenuto in Roma*

[4] I use the term Uralian (= Finno-Ugrian with Samoyede, or ancestor of both) in an indefinite sense, both for the sake of commodity and also to avoid pronouncing an opinion as to the special form or forms of speech with which we are concerned W v Hevesy pleads for the Ugrian, Caldwell was inclined to give Finnish the

Essential agreement of the grammatical systems is the *conditio sine qua non* of the relationship of languages as understood to-day But to what extent grammar may change, even within a comparatively short time, we know from the Romance languages and such Indian languages as Hindi, Bengali, etc , as compared, respectively, with Latin and Sanskrit. In the case of very remote relationships grammar to the extent demanded by our science of language for proving relationship may no longer be available Surely there are very many distant relationships for which that criterion cannot be applied We must in those cases rest satisfied with stating connections between the languages as shown by their vocabularies with or without such scanty remnants of grammar which in themselves would appear to be insufficient for the proof of relationship. This is what I have tried to do in my study mentioned above "When it becomes clear," says Professor Setala,[1] "that there are common words in languages which have had no connections for centuries and even millennia, this very fact is a valuable gain not only for the history of the languages but also for the history of men" It is true that related languages are referred to here, but is not the saying equally applicable to the related vocabularies of languages otherwise unrelated or of as yet unproved grammatical relationship ? Yes, the critic would reply, provided the comparing could be done in a strictly scientific way, as indicated by Professor Turner, who in his criticism of v. Hevesy's book[2], objects that "any correspondences, whether of grammatical structure or of vocabulary, must be shown to be part of a regular system". Now to this sentence, of course, no true linguist will refuse to subscribe. But here is a demand which in those many cases of distant and obscured relationship can be, if at all, but very imperfectly obeyed, and which at any rate cannot be complied with from the beginning The phonetic

preference, but we may have to go farther back and perhaps less far for the Mundā than for the Drāvida family The following abbreviations will be met with Ka = Kanarese, Ma = Malayāļam, Ta = Tamil, Te = Telugu, Tu = Tulu, Sa =Santālī, Mu = Mundārī, Cher = Cheremisse, Esth = Esthonian, Fi = Finnish, Hu = Hungarian (Magyar), Lp = Lappish, Li = Livish, Mord = Mordvinian, Ost = Ostiak, Perm = Permian, Syr = Syryenian, Veps = Vepsish, Vog = Vogul, Vot = Votiak, Samoy = Samoyede

[1] I translate from his excellent paper *Zur frage nach der verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen* (Helsinki, 1915), p 26

[2] See *JRAS*, 1934, pp 798 ff This is a rejection of v H 's attempt as is also Sauvageot's review in *BSL*, 1932, pp 180 ff, while Figulla (*OLZ*, 1934, col 187 ff) contends merely that the Mundā languages belong to, but not that they are connected with the Finno-Ugrian family

laws must first be found, and they cannot be found without lists of *tentative word-equations*

There is, however, in the world of linguists a great prejudice against such lists in all cases where grammatical relationship is not already probable Wherever this probability is missing or but very vague or no such relationship is claimed our hypercritical linguists would resort to the great Māyā of casual resemblance and pity the authors of the lists for the precious time they have lost E Levy has declared [1] that such lists as mine (of sixty equations) may easily be drawn up for any two languages, and has given as an example sixty Kechua and Finnish word-equations This is, however, not, as the author of the Korean-Indogermanic hypothesis has (to strengthen his own case) approvingly called it, a successful parody, but a palpable failure The list (which, to convince, should have been one of *proven* cases of accidental resemblance) is marred by its tendency [2] and shows, if anything, that there may be ocean-spanning linguistic relations like those assumed by such scholars as Trombetti and Rivet But I admit the usefulness of safeguards against chance and shall now try to give some with examples from Drāvida + Uralian

The ideal means for calculating the part played by the caprice of language would be to search the whole material of well-known languages for word-equations which can be proved to be illusory Lists won in this manner do not exist as yet, so far as I know, and will not easily be forthcoming There are, however, two simple criteria for the improbability of chance in individual cases

There is, first, the test suggested by Meillet and used by v Hevesy in his above-mentioned paper for a list of twenty-four equations (out of forty-two contained in the typewritten copy distributed immediately after the congress) of Finnish-Ugrian and Munḍā words all of which, " while designating quite simple concepts show three consonants in the same order " How safe, relatively, this criterion is can be gathered from Enno Littmann's interesting paper *Sprachliche Seltsamkeiten aus Morgenland und Abendland* (*ZDMG*, 1922, pp 270 ff), where

[1] In his review in *Zeitschr f vgl Sprachforschung*, 1928, pp 145 ff, written after three scholars (P W Schmidt, W Porzig, and H Guntert) had pronounced, though with a few words only, in favour of my attempt

[2] Nobody will accept such equations as L 's Nos 2, 8, 11, 14, 19, 23, 36–9, 44, 53, 57 They show his difficulty to reach the number sixty, while my paper has really about a hundred equations It is *not* the same thing to draw up lists purposely based on superficial resemblance and such where etymologically impossible equations are sought to be excluded

among seventy-two cases of probable or proven fortuitousness of resemblance or identity (collected and discussed by the author) there are only two which conform to the said condition (viz Kechua *huarmi* woman ~ Middle and New Arabic *hurma* do., and Telugu *pampu* to send ~ Greek *πέμπω*) H 's list contains words of even three syllables which are almost perfectly the same in the two languages (such as Sant. *cucunguṭ* to sit on the heels ~ Hung. *csucsunget-* do), and of such there is none in L 's list and, though we may supply two or three, such as Sanskrit *upādhyāya* ~ Finnish *opettaja* (both = " teacher ", but with entirely different etymology),[1] they can never remove the impression that H 's list alone is sufficient to prove the connection between the Mundā and the Finnish-Ugrian vocabularies. For the Dravidian, however, with less direct Uralian relations, the three consonant criterion will be found to be on the whole inapplicable, such cases as Tam *vilangu* to shine ~ Hung *világ* light (and those to be mentioned in the rest of this paper) being too rare to prove much

The other criterion is taught by Heinrich Koppelmann in his book *Die Eurasische Sprachfamilie*, in an admirable chapter (pp 13–21) on the problem of chance in comparative philology. His thesis comes to this (p. 17), that there is every likelihood of real (not illusory) correspondence, when several connected, i e not arbitrarily selected elements, such as the two negations of Indo-European and Korean, are both found in the two languages compared He further refers for this to the numerals (1, 2, 3), pronouns (Fi *mi, ti, n-sa* ~ Lat *me, te, se*), case suffixes, and other parts of the grammar and word-formation

Now this means is applicable on a much larger scale than Koppelmann seems to have thought of, viz to practically the whole of the vocabulary For, it is evident that the admissibility of any word-equation is heightened, the probability of chance lessened, if another equation can be coupled with it on the strength of its meaning or form or both, the likeliness of chance being reduced with every additional equation The connecting link may (1) be one and the same meaning, as in the couple of equations meaning " dust ", viz Ta *poḍi* ~ Fi *poli* + Ta *tumbu* ~ Fi *tomu* , or in the one referring to " shining ', viz Ta *viḷangu* to shine (*viḷakku* lamp) ~ Hu *világ*

[1] Does Sanskrit *pippīlika* ~ Votiak *sippelikas* (both = " ant ") also belong to this category ? A Hindu was delighted to find in Germany the good Indian name Kistenmacher (Krishnamacharya) Of words with but two consonants, but missing in Littmann's list, at least English *much* (cf Gothic *mikils*) ~ Spanish *mucho* (< Latin *multus*) deserves mentioning

light + Ta *nagu* to shine ~ Fi *nakya* to appear, become visible, or in the equation of words meaning "small, little", viz Ta *ciṟu* ~ Hu *csiri* + Ka *kittu* ~ Hu. *kicsiny* + Ma *pīcce* ~ Hu. *piczíny* + Te *pisaru* ~ Fi *pisku* Or we may (2) have likeness of form with difference of meaning, as in Ta *nagu* to shine, etc (see above) + Ta *nagu* (*nagai*) to laugh ~ Fi *nakra* do , or in Ta. *cem* red ~ Perm *cim* do. + Ta *cem* straight, regular, etc ~ Perm *cim* perfectness , or in Ta *naral* to sound, roar, etc ~ Fi *nara* to creak, rattle + Ta *nari* to deride ~ Syr *nera* do + Ta *nēr* grow thin, emaciate ~ Syr *nerm* do (+ Ta *narangu* become blunted ~ Lp. *nalu* do , Fi *nalakka* blunt instrument) Parallels in derivation seem also, at least partly, to point to a common origin, as e g in Ta. *kumi* to heap, Ka *kumbu* bending ~ Fi *kumo* curvature + Ta. *kumbal* a heap ~ Fi *kumpu* hillock + Ta *koppuḷ* a bubble ~ Fi. *kupla*, Lp *koppalek* do + Ta *kumir* (*kumiḷ*) to bubble forth ~ Fi. *kummuta* do., etc There are, finally, (3) the cases where a class concept adds strength to a couple or series of equations An example (where as will be noticed, as also above with *koppuḷ*, etc , Meillet's demand is also fulfilled) is the following one from the class of animal names Ta *ñimiṟu* bee (humming insect, from *ñimir* to hum) ~ Samoy. *ńīberu, ńimere* gnat + Ta *ñamaḷ* dog (prob from *nemal* < **ñamal* to vagabond) ~ Lp *njoammel* hare [1] But, of course, the wider the class concept the less support can it lend to this sort of connected equations, unless they are numerous enough I trust, however, that the two larger lists I now give (with Mundā correspondences in the second place where I could find such) will go far to serve the purpose [2]

[1] Here the rareness, in Dravidian, of the initial palatal nasal is also a point to be noticed (it has been mostly replaced by the dental nasal or *t*, *y*, or has altogether disappeared , cf the nom sing of the first personal pronoun Ta *yāṅ* (lit), *nāṅ*, Te *nēnu, ēnu* , Ka *nānu, ānu*, etc , all from *ñāṅ*, preserved in Ma. only, which must have been an ancient non-literary form also in Ta , etc), as is the fact that both words so far as known, do not occur in the sphere of influence of the Mundā languages As to the well-known vague use of animal names I may note from India that in Tamil *nari* "jackal" (i e "bawler") is a name of the tiger also, and that in Kūrkū the dog is called *chīta* which is in reality a kind of leopard

[2] Being but quite imperfectly acquainted with Finno-Ugrian linguistics I have had to renounce aiming at a consistent phonetical rendering of the words adduced from that quarter (as I have also simply transliterated in the usual way the Drāvida and Mundā words), but have (as above) endeavoured to give the Finnish and Hungarian words in their modern orthography and have otherwise followed (with simplified spelling) Setala and Szinnyei so far as they were available to me and, where not, O Donner and occasionally v Heivesy The lists are also certainly not as complete as they could be Note that *j* in Fgr and Samoy words is identical with the *y* in Drāv words (and in Engl *year*, etc) and that the *ń* of the former is the same as Drāv *ñ*

Parts of the Body

Hair, feather (wing, arm)

1. Ta. Ka. *navir* man's hair ; cf. Te *navuru* tender, soft, as grass, hair, etc ~ Fi *nava, naava* beard-moss, *näavelit* moustache Cf also Samoy. *nabta,*[1] *abde, opt,* etc , Ost. *upət,* Lp *vuopta,* etc , and (?) Fi *hapsi* hair ~ Sa *up'*, Mu *up'* hair
2. Ta *kaṟṟai* collection, as of hair ; bundle, as of straw ; > *kettai* hair ; Ka Te *gaṟi* feather, wing ~ Fi *kar-va* hair, straw , Li *kār-a, kōr-a* hair, feather.
3. Ta. *tōgai* anything that hangs down feather, plumage, woman s hair (*tūngu, tūkku* to hang) ~ Ost. *togel* feather, wing , Fi *tukka* hair
4. Ta *tūvi, tūval* feather , Ka *tuppuḷ* feather, plumage, soft hair ~ Syr *tyv* feather, wing , Vot *tåuel* wing
5. Tu. *tuyi* feather ~ Sa. *duci* tuft of feathers on head of bird ~ Samoy *tuja* hair , Lp. *soagje* wing, sleeve, Wot *suj* arm
6. Ka *pīli* a peacock's tail, feather of such ~ Hu *pelyh* flock of wool, etc), down-feather.

Lock

7. Ta. *puri* (also verb to be twisted, to curl) ~ Sa *phera* forelock ~ Wot. *per, pur,* Hu *furt* lock
8. Ta *cuṟi, curuttai* hair-curl, *curiyal* locks of hair (from *curi, curi* to curl), Malto *curki* lock of hair ~ Fi *suortua* hair-locks, Hu. *ször* hair (cf. also Sa *carhi* mane ~ Cher *sar* horse-hair).

Moustache

9. Ta *mīcai,* Te *mīsamu* ~ Sa *misi* ~ Fi *vīkset* (Cher *mž* wool)

Eyelid, eyelash

10. Te *reppa,* Ka *reppe,* Ta. *reppai* eyelid ~ Fi. *ripsi* eyelash, fringe Cf. Sa. *ripif* to wink with both eyes

Earlap, ear

11. Ka *pāle, halle* earlap ~ Ost *pəl,* Hu *ful* ear.

Mouth, lip

12. Gōndī *toida, tork* mouth, Malto *toroth* do ~ Savara *tōden* mouth ~ Fi *tursa, turpa* snout, trunk
    (2) Malto *tebo* (< **teibo*) lips ~ Syr Perm *tirp* lip.
13. Ka *cuñca* a bird's beak ~ Hu *csücs* snout, beak.

[1] For original guttural nasal (lost or replaced by *ŋ, j, v*), see Szinnyei ; for Drāv , cf *n* < *ñ* below No 50 and, above, last footnote but one

Lip

14. Te *pedavi*, Tu *bimmu* (< **bidamu*) ~ Vog *pit'mi*, Samoy. *pətəm*

Cheek

15. Te *bugga*, Ka *buggi* ~ Hu *bufa*, *pof(a)*

Tongue

16 Te *nālike*, *nāluka* , Ta *nākku*, *nāvu* ~ Hu *nyelv*, Lp *ŋalbme* ; Samoy *ńāmi* (For Drav *n* < *ñ* see above, footnote on No. 1)

Tooth

17. Ta *eyiru* (*egiru*) tooth, tusk ~ Hu. *agyar* tusk, fang

Jaw, chin

18 Ta *alagu* jaw ~ Hu. *áll*, Mord *ul*, Lp *ualūl*, etc , jaw.

19 Ka *avudu* jaw, lower lip , Ta *amudu* lower lip ~ Samoy. (Mot) *avol* chin

Neck, throat

20 Ta *kural* throat, Ka *koral* (*kol*) do. ; Tu. *kekki* (< **kerki*), *kekkil* neck, throat ~ Fi *kurkku* throat, Esth. *kõri* do , Mord. *kirga* neck

21 Ta *cavadi-y-elumbu* collar-bone ~ Lp *čapat* neck, Ost *sābet* neck, back

22. Ka. *gonke* throat ~ Hu. *guga* goiter.

Nipple, teat, etc ·

23. Ta *nagil* woman's breast, Malto *naqlu* uvula ~ Vot *naka* plug, peg , Syr *nak* do , a nipple

24 Tu *nalli* a spool ~ Fi *nalikka* plug, *nolkki* membrum virile

25 Ka *keñjelu*, *keccalu* udder ~ Hu *csecs* breast, nipple

Lung

26 Te *ūpiri-tutti* lung (" breathing-bag ") ~ Fi *tatu*, Hu *tudo* lung.

Armpit

27 Ka. *kavun-kur*, *kankur*, Tu *kankula* ~ Mord *kaval-al*, Esth *kangla* , Samoy *kangla*, *kangel*, etc

Back

28 Gōndī *murchul* ~ Samoy *mōchal*, *mōgal*, etc

29 Hump, hunch Ta *kūñi*, *kūñal* ~ Esth *konas*.

Breast, hip

30 Ma *konka*, Ta *kongai* female breast ~ Fi *konkka* hip (cf. Esth *kunge* hill ~ Ta *kongu* name of a hilly country)

Belly, stomach :

31 Ka *basiŕ*, Ta. *vayiŕu* ~ Sa *bhosam* ~ Vog *vas* (Hu *has*)

32 Ka *potte*, Te *potta* ~ Sa *pota* (*potra* big-bellied) ~ Hu *potroh* paunch, pot-belly

33 Ta. *poccaı*, Te *boǰǰa* paunch-belly ~ Hu *puczor* stomach, *paczo* and *poczak* paunch-belly

Navel.

34 Ta *pokkul* ~ Sa. *buka* ~ Fı. *puka* (Hu *pokla* umbılıcal cord).

35 Tu *puvalu* ~ Hu *púp*

Pudenda

36 Male organ Ta Ka *mānı* ~ Samoy *máne*, Lp *mānne*, *monne* (egg), Hu *mony*

37 Ka Te *gollı* female organ, Tu. *kullıge* anus, Brāhūī *gıllık* do ~ Fı *kullı* male organ, Esth *kolı*, Lp *guolla*, Samoy *hīyle* (testıcle)

38 Anus Ta *kuntı*, Te *kutte*, Tu *kūdı* ~ Sa *kuthı* ~ Cher *kotan*

39. Ta *poccu* anus, Ka *puccı* female organ ~ Lp. *buočča* male organ, Hu *puczu*, *fasz* do Mu *peso* glans penıs, Sa *peska* testıcles ~ Samoy. *pıje* female organ , Lp *pičč*, Cher *pıš* male organ

40. Anus (" posterıors ') Ka *pıŕa*, *peŕa* ~ Fı *pera*

41 Testıcle Tu *arı* ~ Hu. *here*

Hıp

42. Ta *cappaı*, Ka *cappe* ~ Hu. *czıpő*, *czıpe*

43. Ka *tonka* ~ Fı *lonkka* Cf Ka *donku* to bend, be crooked ~ Fı *lynkka* crooked

Calf of the leg, ball

44 Te *pıkka* calf of the leg ~ Fı. *pakıa* ball of the thumb, Esth *pakk* ball at hand and foot

Fınger, toe

45 Ta *ıvral*, Ka *beral*, Te *vrēlu* finger, toe ~ Fı *varvas* toe

Naıl, claw, hoof

46 Ta *ugır* naıl, claw, Ka *ugur*, Te. *gōru* ~ Hu. *korom* naıl, hoof.

47 Ta *kavaı-y-adı* (" cloven foot ", cf *kappu*, *kavar* forked branch) ~ Fı *kavıo* hoof, Esth *kabı*.

Bone

48 Te *elumbu*, Ka Te *elu* ~ Fi. *luu*.

Knuckle, joınt

49 Ta *poruttu* joınt ~ (?) Hu. *porcz* cartılage.

Sinew, muscle

50 Ma *ñaraṁbu*, Ka. *nara* (Ta. *nār* fibre, string) ~ Samoy. *ńer*; Vog *ńārı*, Lp *ŋjorga* cartilage

51 Ta *ecam* (sp *ẹesam*) ~ Fi *jasen*, Hu *ızom*.

52 Ta *ĩńaı* nerve of a leaf ~ Hu *ĩn*, *ın* sinew.[1]

Skin, hide, fur

53 Ta *pōrvaı* covering, skin ~ Hu *bor* skin, leather Cf "covering, cover" Te *burakā* ~ Hu *burok*

54 Ka *togal*, *toval* skin, leather, Ka. Ta *tōl*, Te *tōlu*, *tokka* ~ Vog. *tawel*, *toul* fur, leather, Fi. *talja* pellis pilosa

Dirt and Excretions

1 Te *rōm̃ta*, Ka *rōte* dirt, filth ~ Sa *rotha* black and dirty ~ Hu. *rond* dirty

2. Te *rompı* mud, mire, *rompa* catarrh, snottiness ~ Fi *rapa* filth, mud, Esth *ropusta* to soil.

3 Tu *renkuni* to be smeared, soiled, Te *rēgada* clay ~ Fi. *rakd*, Veps *rēga* snot, Esth *ragase* slimy, filthy, Lp *ranččasa* muddy

4 Ka *ması*, *māsalu*, Te *māsı* dirt; Ta *mācu* spot, stain, blackness ~ Sa *musra* dusty, dirty ~ Hu *maszat*, *maczat* dirt, Fi. *musta* black, dark.

5 Ka. *pısaru*, *pıccu* filth of the body, rheum of the eye ~ Hu. *pıszok* filth, dirt, *pocsék* dirty, soiled

6 Ka *saṙi*, Te *carı* paste, gum, etc, Ta *cēṙu*, *cıṙumıyam* mud, mire, *curi* become muddy ~ Mu *sara-gara* dung-pit ~ Hu *szar*, Cher *sor* mud, Hu. *csırız* glue; Hu *szırtos*, *szurtos* dirty.

7 Ka. Te *laddı*, Ta *lattı*, Kurukh *lḍḍı* dung of horses, elephants, etc ~ Sa *led*, Mu *led'*, *lıd'*, do. ~ Fi *lanta* dung. (Cf Sanskrit *landa*, *lenda*, Prakrit *laddī*)

8. Te. *reṭṭa* dung of birds, etc ~ Sa *res* dregs, etc, *rıtha* dirty ~ Fi. *reto*, *roto* dirt, Hu. *redves* rotten, putrid.

9. Ta. *kacadu* stain, filth, Ka. *kasaru* dust, impurities, *kısaru* a *gīju* rheum of the eye ~ Sa *kacar*, *kacor* dirty, miry, Kūrkū *kass* dirt, Mu *gŋ-gŋ'* filthy, *kasrā* itches ~ Hu. *kosz*, Esth. *kas-n*, Vot. *gıž-lo* scab, scurf

[1] With loss, on both sides, of the initial sibilant which is preserved in the Votiak, Cheremisse, and Finnish word (*sen*, *šun*, *suone*) For the Dravidian, cf, e g, the word for eyelash Ma *cıma* a *ıma*, Tu *sım(m)e* a *ıme*, Ta only *ımaı*

10. Te. *pusi* slimy impurities of the eyes ~ Hu *fos* thin fæces (animal and human).
11. Ka *lodale* phlegm, spittle ~ Sa *lodhor lodhor* thick and gummy (as pus) ~ (?) Hu *latyak* puddle, morass, *locs*, morass, *lucsok* mud
12. Ta. *kōrai* phelgm, spittle ~ Fi *kuola* mucus of the nose.
13. Tu *ñōli* phelgm, spittle ~ Hu *nyal*, Fi. *nalje*, Mord *nolgo* mucus phelgm
14. Ta *cali* thick phelgm, Ka *jolli*, Tu. *jolli*, *dolli* saliva ~ Fi *sulki*, Esth *sulge*, Lp *colg* saliva
15. Ka. Tu *kī-vu*, Ta *cī pus*, matter, Ka *kī* to become putrid ~ Mord. *si*, Lp *sāi* pus Ost *sij-ta* to become putrid
16. Ta *pina*, Ka *penu*, Te *pīnuge* corpse, carcass ~ Hu *penész* mould, mildew, *penyved-* to rot, putrify.

These lists are not the result of a systematic search of the vocabularies concerned, excepting only that of the Kanarese I cannot, therefore, except for the latter, give ciphers for calculating the percentage of words included in the lists. In the Kanarese (Kittel's Dictionary) I have counted 84 words (not including trifling dialectical varieties) for parts of the body, and of these there are, i e could be (some are omitted for brevity s sake), just 30 in our list, i e 36 per cent For the second list the corresponding numbers are 29 and 9, i e 31 per cent For v Hevesy's equations the result appears to be less favourable I have counted only the words and equations for parts of the body and found that there are 136 such words in Campbell's *Santālī English Dictionary* and 45 Santālī-Uralian equations for parts of the body in H 's book There are, however, among the latter about a dozen which I should have eschewed, and I am perfectly sure that my list is less complete than his

It is interesting to see how far the twelve parts of the body (hand, foot, nose, eye, mouth, tooth, ear, hair, head, tongue, belly, back) for which the Linguistic Survey of India gives "standard words" are represented in our Drāvida-Uralian list and among v. Hevesy's Mundā-Uralian equations It will be seen that of those parts seven figure in our list and (discounting one or two quite vague identifications) five in H 's book As to the "standard words" given for those parts from the several languages—about forty for either family (counting related words as one)—there are only three of them in our list (*toroth*, etc., *vayiru*, etc, *murchul*) and six in H 's book (*khuri*, *kaṭa*, etc.

menge, up', etc , *peng, puṭṭi* = *pota*) and, moreover, two doubtful items on either side, viz (1) the commonest Dravidian word for "hand" (Ma *kayyi*, Ta *kei*, etc ~ (?) Fi *kate*, Syr. *ki*, etc), where the guttural of Kui *kāgu* (by the side of *kāju*) and Kurukh *khekkha* seems to stand in the way [1] , and (2) the widely spread Mundā word meaning also "hand" (*ti, iti*, etc), where the vowel casts doubt on the connection with Samoy *utte, ude*, etc (the word is not in Finno-Ugrian) For the possible connection of Sant *up'* with the Dravidian see No 1, for *pota* No 32 of our list , the remaining words have no correspondence in the other family

By far the largest part of the vocabulary both of the Mundā and the Dravidian family is, at any rate, *not* Uralian The imposing number of 1,134 word-equations given by v Hevesy must not deceive us For Campbell's *Santālī-English Dictionary*, on which they are based, contains some 20,000 words, and these can hardly be cut down to less than 5,000 non-Sanskritic word-stems And though not so many as every second or third of v Hevesy's equations will have to be cancelled (as Figulla seems to believe), the increase through fresh ones will barely suffice to make up for the loss For, admitting that our knowledge of the Mundā languages is as yet but imperfect, we still know this much that most of them, viz the Kherwārī group (comprising 88 per cent of the speakers of Mundā languages), are really but dialects of one and the same language with practically the same vocabulary, whereas the small rest (Kūrkū, Savara, etc) is characterized by overwhelming foreign influences In the Dravidian vocabulary also the Uralian constituent will hardly be found to exceed one-fifth part of it

There remains the question as to the kind of connection between the Uralian element of the Dravidian and that of the Mundā languages W v Hevesy cuts the Gordian knot by simply denying "that the Dravidian languages (apart from borrowings of which, indeed, there are many) have anything in common with the Finno-Ugrian language family" (*OLZ* , 1934, col 478) Now I admit that the grammatical correspondences pointed out by me ten years ago are not sufficient to assign the Dravidian to the Finno-Ugrian family (nor were they meant in this sense, but only as vestiges of a more remote 'Uralian' affinity), whereas those shown by v Hevesy do seem to allow us to look at the Mundā family as the denaturalized offspring of a lost child of the Ugrian branch (or primitive Ugrian) But it seems to me quite

[1] Unless some such evolution as *kaiti* > *kaicci* > *kayyi* > *kāju* > *kāgu* and *kayyi* > *keyye* > *khega* > *khekkha* could have take place , cf equation No 28

impossible to regard everything Uralian in the Drāvida languages as borrowed from the Mundā ones Such borrowings have, of course, taken place (as is obvious, e g. in the case of words beginning with initial *r* and *l*), and there may be even a Munḍā "substratum" in some Dravidian languages (such as Telugu, as Professor Bloch is inclined to believe) But then the Mundā languages have borrowed as much (if not more) from Dravidian, and Tamil and Malayālam at least have no Mundā loanwords (except a few taken over from Telugu or Kanarese), nor do they look like having a Mundā substratum, which is, indeed, not to be expected in those southernmost countries of India, where Munḍā tribes have never been, so far as our knowledge goes

I therefore come back to my hypothesis [1] that primitive Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) entered India from the north-west with Uralian elements already assimilated, and consequently assume that the Uralian element of the Mundā family is not directly connected with the Dravidian one, but points to a marriage between an indigenous Indian tongue (hailing probably from Further India) with an Uralian invader who thus became, possibly without having come in contact with the Drāvidas, the dominant agent in the formation of what are now the Mundā languages The two other hypotheses which appear to be possible here are (2) that an Uralian invasion has directly affected, but in different ways, two indigenous families of speech, and (3) that there have been two such invasions each of which has left its trace in one of the two families concerned In no case, of course, can we expect to find imported elements only.

[1] Suggested by the geographical position of Brāhūī (see on this now G Morgenstierne in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, Oslo, 1932, pp 5–6), but necessitated also, I believe, by the pre-Aryan "Mediterranean" component established for pre-historic India by anthropology and archæology and equally required by certain linguistic considerations on which, however, I am not now prepared to speak

The Numerals in the Niya Inscriptions

By O. Stein

A. Cardinalia

1. FOR "one" the NI use *eka* (106 Uo 7 159 r 2 187 o 8. 211 r 5. 231 r 2 248 o 8 253 r 1 348 Uo 4 425 Uo 5 Cr 6 437 Cr 1. 577 Uo 6. 630 o 4 638 o 2, 3 676 Uo 5 688 oA 3) [1] In the form *eǵa* it appears 709 Cr 4 It is used in the uninflected form, irrespective of gender, the genit. sing *ekisya* "single", is found 272 o 10 514 o 1, a plural *eke* occurs 468 Cr 2 *egaǵa* in 417 o 2, as nomin masc *egaǵo* in 296 Uo 3, corresponds to Skt *ekaika-*, Pāli *ekaka-* "single", in accordance with the phonetic value of *-ǵa* [2] *eka-* is found in compounds with numerals (see 11), nouns (*ekadeśammi* 272 o 6),[3] adjectives (*ekavarsaǵa* = *ekavarsika-* 589 Uo 3). In Skt 511 o 2 occurs *ekābhirāma-*, r 1 [*ekamanasa-*], an amredita *ekamcka-* is found 109 r 5. 140 Cr 6 [4]

2 The numeral for "two" appears in many forms without regard to gender and case, and even the number is ignored in most of the passages As *dvi* it occurs 72 rB 2, 5 C 2–5 D 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 oA 1, 2, 6, 7 B 4–7 D 4, 7 198 o 2 546 o 2 570 Uo 5 665 o 6, sometimes written *tvi* (81 rE 3 719 o 2), *dvii* 100 r 4 is perhaps *dvitu* "for the second time", judging from the connection with *ayoǵena*, appearing in 539 in a similar phrase *ayoǵ[e]na huda bhiti* "without gain, profit", cf *tr[e]ya*, *dvaya ayoǵe* 100 r 3, 5 *dvim* (577 Co 1, Uo 5) seems to be a peculiarity of this inscription, either the Anusvāra indicates long $\bar{\imath}$ [5] or the form may represent a genit plur, recte dualis, for **dvina*, according to *trina* and the dependence on *praceya*, constructed with the genitive, e g *khulana* (40 Ur 55 Ur) or 46 Ur

[1] Abbreviations A, B, C, etc = Columns C = Cover-tablet NI = Kharoṣthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan o = Obverse r = Reverse U = Under-tablet

[2] Rapson, *NI*, p 301

[3] "On a single place", Thomas, *AO*, XII, 45 *ekasti* 416 o 5 between *cakora* and *uti* seems to qualify the latter which is called *asti* also 180 oB 2, again 272 o a horse is called *asti*, it seems that also corn is *asti* 272 o 6, 7, as *ghrida* = Skt *ghrta* 159 r 4, on the other hand, *asti* occurs in conditional sentences with *yati* and the verb *as* "to be" Its meaning seems to be that of Skt *āsteya* "extant", *ekasti* "single extant", therefore *tara uti* I *nasti* is negative, cf Thomas, *AO*, XII, 43, 7.

[4] On *eka b(h)iti-* see below

[5] Cf Thomas, *AO*, XIII, 50, 2

(*Konumae*).[1] *du* appears 571 Uo 3 628 oA 4 703 r 4, a contaminated form *dur*, perhaps due to weakening of *-e* and found also in Apabhraṁśa, occurs 21 Uo 2 141 o 1. 180 oB 2, 4 214 o 3 215 r 1. 291 o 4, 5 364 r 4 414 r 6. 520 Uo 3 638 o 2, with the variation of writing *tur* 106 Uo 8 Cr 6. *due* is a real dual (*mulimī* 422 o 5 *pitaputre* = °*putrāh*[2] 715 o 2) for fem and masc, used as plural In compounds *du-* is met as the first part in *duguna* (= *druguna* 142 r 1 283 o 2 351 o 2 387 o 2), while in connection with *-vara* = *-vāra* the form *dvi-* is used, if not the ordinal form (see below B 2)

ubhaya As a dual-plural *ubheya* is found in 580 Uo 2 (*te u bhuma*) Cr 1. 581 Uo 3, *ubhayamdade*[3] 387 o 2 would correspond to Skt *ubhayāntatah*, the duty is to be performed two and three times at the sacrifice of life (for the reward ?) in both the worlds,[4] according to the order, says the inscription pleonastic in this passage

3 "Three" is in the NI *tie* (72 rB 1, 6 C 6 D 3, 5. o A 3. 4 B 2 3 C 1–7. D 1–3, 6. 383 r 6 415 Uo 3 715 o 3), *treya* (100 r 3 ? 106 Uo 6 157 r 1 162 Uo 5 571 Uo 5 593 Co 2 Uo 2 630 o 2 721 o 5) Inflected forms are found 431 Uo 1 432 Uo 1 *trina samvatsarana*, a genit plur, which is probably also the case in 671 o 1, in the mostly Skt inscription 511 r 4 the three *pitaka* (*pitakām trīni*) are mentioned As the first part of compounds appears *tri-* in *triguna* (283 o 2 351 o 2 387 o 2 676 Uo 4), as in Skt. *tribhava* 511 r 5, in adjectives like *trevarsiya* (593 Uo 5) besides *treya varsi* (593 Co 2 Uo 2 341 o 3, see n 1 ibid), *trevarsaga* (152 Uo 4)

4 "Four" is *catu* (27 Cr 1 496 Uo 4) or *coia* (348 Uo 3) or *caura* (70 Uo 3 720 A 5 562 Uo 2), it is tempting to take *cohura* 637 o 6 (*amña paśava 4 cohura mulima amneh nidae huamti*) as the numeral "four", but neither numerals occur in that inscription

[1] A similar termination *-im* occurs in 117 o E *sarvapimdaim tam cam gari 20 3*, which has been explained as *sarvāni pindāni tāni gāiah 23* by Professor Thomas (*JRAS*, 1927, 545) and as *sariāh pindita gāiah 23* by Professor Luders (*SPAW*, 1933, 1010, 2) who prefers to read *pimdaimtamcam* Generally the NI use only *saria pimda*, so that a verb Skt *pinday-* is less probable, also on account of the expression *eka pimda* (248 o 8), *sariap muli* or *p muli* (590 Uo 4 428 o 5), or *sariapimda ganapinena muli* (345 Uo 5) where it must be a noun On the other hand, 587 Uo 3 offers *criaimta bhuma vikrida* which may be **cirayitā bhūmir vikrītā* (land which has not been tilled a long time ? has been sold) Then *-imta* would point to the part perf pass of denominative verbs

[2] Instead of ° *au* The pronominal termination *-e* of the plural is found in *khula putre* 415 Cr 3 *mamuse* 130 Uo 3 *vase* 534 oB 2 *irdhe* 326 r 3

[3] Cf *surya(sursa ?)dade*, 572 Cr

[4] Cf *Ep Ind*, xx, p 18, B 2, line 5, etc, p 27 s v *ubhayalokahita°* In *NI*, 107 o 2 is mentioned in the address the *alamkrtaparalogamarga-*

besides the signs for them nor *h* is inserted between vowels to avoid the hiatus[1] In compounds, beginning with "four", either *catu-* is used (*catuvarsi* 420 o 5; *catuvarsaǵa* 431 Cr 3 432 Uo 8. 437 Cr 7) or *caura-* (70 Uo 2 *cauravarsi*).

5 *pamca* is the numeral for "five" (180 oB 3 187 o 6. 211 r 8 261 r 1, 3 327 o 5 329 o 4 [genit plur] 415 Cr 1 437 Uo 2 439 Uo 3 506 o 9 519 o 3 630 o 4) The same form is met in compounds with *-varsaǵa* (432 Uo 5), while 431 Uo 7, being apparently the rough-copy of 432, shows *paca-*, 591 Uo 3, 4. Both these forms are used also in the additive numerals (see 15. 25)

6. The numeral for "six", *so*, is found 439 Uo 3 519 o 3, and in the compounds *sovaisi* fem (27 Uo 2. 676 Uo 3, 4), cf 26.

7 *sata* appears 468 Uo 4 and in the compound *satavarṣaǵa* (209 o 3 575 Cr 2) for "seven".

8. "Eight" is met as *atha* (with loc. *varsesu*) 256 o 3, 5 as in the compound *athavarsaǵa* (341 o 3), *athavarsi* (625 o 6) or as *aṣṭi* (661 o 3)[2]

9 For "nine" is found *no* 576 Co 2 and 715 o 4 in *n[o]varṣaǵa*, cf sub 90 and ordinalia sub 9.

10 As in Skt *daśa* is used for "ten" (cf Pischel, *Pkt. Gr*, § 262, p 182, for Mg and Dh) 222 o 5 327 o 4 For *daśavida* and similar forms see 100

11. Only the ordinal numeral occurs, see below.

12. For "twelve" *dvadaśa* is found 346 r 2, *badaśa* 419 Uo 4. 579 Uo 4, which latter stem occurs also in the ordinal.

13 Unlike as in Pkt for "thirteen" a contracted form *trodaśa* appears 431 Cr 7 432 Cr 4 505 o 2 (ibid, n 2 · *tre*°, cf. Plate VII).

15. In accordance with *pamca* and *daśa* "fifteen" is *paṃcadaśa* 489 r 9.

16 *sodaśa* is "sixteen" 514 o 2, [*ǰo*]*daśa* in 16 o 3 for which in note 3 the alternative reading [*to*]- is given, would point to *ṣodaśa* This seems a rather long time, since no camels have been brought, that *ǰ* represents also a cerebral sibilant may be due to the foregoing *aǰhi* = *adhi* "more than sixteen years"[3]

20 "Twenty" is *viśati* 275 o 2 393 o 2. 576 Co 2. Uo 5, for *vimśa* see 26.

[1] In Saka exists *tcahaura* "four", Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, Vocabulary, p 184

[2] *ata* (358 o 6 637 o 3) is not *aṣṭa* (Index s v), but, according to Thomas, *A(cta) O(rientalia)*, xiii, 67, Hindī *āṭā*, Skt *aṭṭa* "flour" For *aṣṭi* cf Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 453

[3] Cf Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 511 on *z* > *s*, *ś* > *ǰ(ź)*, *s* > *ǰh(z)*, see also *NI*, p 303

25. "Twenty-five" occurs 225 o 8 as *pacaviśa*.

26. It is the peculiarity of the NI that phonetical rules to be observed in some instances are soon contradicted by a next instance, if *viśa* represents a Pkt *vīsa*, in *sovīmśa* 207 r 3 the Skt form appears again, though the Anusvāra in *viśa* is dropped, one may suppose that the *i* is long.

27. Analogical "thirty" is expressed by *triśa* (186 o 3 387 o 10 495 o 5 590 Uo 3 592 Uo 3 609 r), the same word seems to be contained in *satriśa*, explained in the Index, p 375, as a compound with the adverbial prefix *sa* = *saha* *satriśa* occurs three times 209 o 3. r 1 2, followed by *avimtama* the meaning of which must be "fine, punishment".[1] But as the penalty is stated only in r 2, *satriśa* seems to correspond to Skt *sadṛśa* "suitable"[2] The Index, p. 350, explains *drīju* 661 o 3 as Skt. *trimśat*, and also Noble takes the word in that sense[3] *aghita* is no doubt some kind of official title, variations of which are *aǵita*, *aǵeta*, *aigita*, as in the many other passages where the title occurs, a personal name is required, Drīju Vaśo must be the name of the official

40. "Forty" is *capariśa* (580 Uo 3 589 Uo 3 590 Uo 3) where *tv* > *p*

42. The same stem appears in *du capariśa* "forty-two" and

45. in *pamca capariśa*, "forty-five"

50 The numeral for "fifty" is *paṃcaśa* (437 Cr 7 567 Uo 3 571 Uo 3 676 Uo 6–7), here, as in *capariśa- āśa*, resp *-īśa* are expressed by the short vowels

70. For "seventy" *satati* is found 571 Cr 5–6 580 Cr 2.

90 "Ninety" is *novati* 655 Uo 7

100. In the numeral for "hundred" the dental shows plenty of variations *śata* (149 o 2 225 r 3 345 Uo 10 668) is written with the medial as *śada* 368 o 4 567 Uo 3 740 o 3 This numeral has also some inflected forms, as it seems, especially often occurring

[1] Cf Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 784

[2] 338 r 1 seems to contain *tatriśa* [*dro*]*ḍami na te aiaśa vačhu prasavetu* "(whether) there will be such one in the *droḍa* or not, at any event the *Vačhu* must be sent away (let free)" *vačhu* is found again 630 o 2, 3 with *jaṃna* and the verb *praṣaṇita*, for him fifteen men are to be given, is he perhaps a man from Vakṣu, the Oxus? For *dṛṣṭa* appears *tritha*, for *dṛṣṭā* in 510 *trita*

[3] *BSOS*, vi, 453 *dhahi* is hardly = *tathā*, as this word occurs o 2 in the form *tatha*, like *duhitṛ* by metathesis of aspiration appears as *dhitu*, *dhahi* would correspond perhaps to *dadhi*, because Aphiñanu takes away the camel and the *aghita* D V the milk, Khvarnase prefers to sell the camel An objection against such an explanation is the masculine sex of the camel, one would expect *uṣi*

śatade (82 o 1 94 r 1[?], 24, 29, 35, 43 342 oA 2, 3. 701 rA 1. B 2 C 4. D 1, 7 F 1 G 4 oA 1 C 1 E 1) or *śadade* (115 oA 1. C 1 E 1 G 1 I[1] L 1 132 rA 1 B 1 C 1 D 1 E 1 F 1 G 1 oA 1. B 1. C 1 D 1 E 1. F 1. G 1 342 oA 4 650 rA 1 B 1 C 1 D 1 E 1 F 1), the termination of which points to an ablative The locative *śatammi* is found 46 Cr 2, 3 73 oC 1 74 oA 1 B 1, 4 rA 1 B 4 rA 1 B 4. 76 oA 2, 3–8. 92 o 1, 1, 1 169 rA 1 B 1. C 1 oA 2 B 1 C 1 D 1. E 1 342 oA 1, 5, 6. C 1, 2, or in the form *śadami* (41 o 1[2×], 2 [3×], 3. r 1 168 o 2 170 r 1 173 oA 1–7 174 oA 1 185 oA 1 B 1 C 1 D 1. 221 o 1 268 r 1 299 o 1 313 o B 1) The columns are mostly headed by a personal name in the genitive and *śatade* (*śadade*), after, i e beneath that, follows a list of persons and their propriety of camels In 132 the list is introduced by the date (year 30, month 9, day 5) and by *ma*[*sim*]*na uṭam*[*nam*] *lihitaya* *masimna* occurs 374 o 2 as locative *masinammi samvatsari palṕi cimdiṭaǵa*, and 589 Cr 4 f, where the text runs *taha adha muh Lṕipimtsaae giḍa adha muh maṣina yatma Cigitoryena giḍa* That seems to be "half of the price received Lṕipimtsā and half of the price 'of the whole amount' received the yatma Cigitoya' In 374 the *tuǵuja* Sudarśana and the *yatma* Acoṣa are told to consider the annual taxes from the *kilmeciya* and from the *raja*[1], *masinammi*, i e they may specify the two items "within the whole amount" If this is correct,[2] the headline in 132 means "document regarding the whole amount of camels" on the date specified The single *śata* (*śada*) is in the hands of an individual, under whom are people possessing one camel In 94 again a list is given where from the *śata* (*śatade*) the amount of corn and the camels of individuals are specified 115 offers a register of animals in different *śadas*, 650 and 701 the names of persons are enlisted 169 has this headline In the year 26 of the regnal period of his exalted majesty, of the devaputra Jitugha Mayiri, in the 10th month, the people have been made to measure their *śuki masu*"[3], the following is a list of the measured *khi s* of individuals, each belonging to a *śata* of persons, some of them, Gothaka, Lṕipta, Raṣena are on the head

[1] On *kilmeci* and *raja*, cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 63, resp 45 f

[2] *masina-* may be connected with Iran *masan-* (Bartholomae, *Altiran Wörterb*, 1154), the adjective derivated from the noun in *masan-* by haplology instead of **masanan-*? Bartholomae refers to *iarmin-*, *nāmin-*, and Whitney, § 1230c *masina-* could be explained as *a*-stem or compared with the many proper names with suffix *-ina*, cf Thomas *Festgabe Jacobi*, 62 f

[3] Cf Luders, *SPAW*, 1933, 1001, Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60, 2, and Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 510 f, accept the meaning 'wine"

of more than one *śata*, as it seems. Such a registration is contained in 180 where the royal camels are counted With the suggested sense [1] of *śata*, measure of land, the long list of *ra[cēlaṃ]na jamna* "guards" in 701 is hardly reconcilable, in 650 r *śadade* seems to range with *pradeśami*, no doubt corresponding to Skt *pradeśe*, an administrative unit That sense may fit *śata* (*śada*) and also the analogical term *daśa* 170 r 1 (cf Fragment o 1) *śadami* occurs, Kapgeya is on the top of it, under him there are two *daśavida*, one has to collect 12 *khi* of *masu*, the other 11 *khi*, oA 1 mentions *asidha* (*ca-*, *vam-*) *neya daśamini śesa*, also under that *daśa* persons and the amount of *khi* are enumerated, further, 341 seems to mention the name of a *daśa* in Pisaliya [2] In Niya, therefore, existed some administrative and fiscal units, *pradeśa*, *śata*, and *daśa*, corresponding to similar institutions in India Then the titles of the heads of these units are preserved in the NI The Index explains s v *śadavita* "denom of *śabda*" in 159, 247, 683 From the phonology of the language in the NI it is obvious that there can be hardly any difference between *taśavita* (a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον) and *daśavita* which appears also as *daśavida*, these two forms once occurring in the same inscription 204, thus *śatavita* in 683 may be only a clerical peculiarity

To start with the inscriptions where *śadavita* is alleged to have the sense of a denominative of *śabda* 159 r 1–3 reads —

adehi tusya mahatvana parde na kimci śrunammi udiśa ahuno śadavita Kolpiṣasya hastammi vacari 2 prahidemi eka Sachammi picavidavo biti Caḍotammi gimnidavo . . .

"Since then I hear nothing from Your Excellency with regard (to that) Now I dispatched in hand of *śadavita* K two *vacari* [3] One has to be delivered in Sacha, the second is to be received in Cadota (i e Niya)" 247 o 3 f *masu ahuno avaśa śadavita Suǧataṣa hastammi prahadavo*, *masu* has at all events to be delivered in hand of a *śadavita S*, sealed it has to be delivered, adds the text (*mumtritaǵa prahadavo*), specifying also the seal 683 o 1 opens with *śatavita patrana goma gi[ta]*, as in the other lines a list of *goma* (cow-dung ?), small cattle, and grain of seed or barley is given 86 o 4 says *avaśa pratu śadavida Kārsenade* (*-sa* ?) *traṃghadhā[re] yo pravamnaǵa iśa gaṃdavo*, at all events the *śadavida* from Kārsena who is able for

[1] Thomas, *NI* Index, s v *śatade*, p 371
[2] Thomas, *Festgabe Jacobi*, 48, suggests it to be Pialma
[3] Cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 56 f

holding the office[1] early[2] has to go hither Putting aside 422 o 9, though also here *śatavṛda* is followed by a personal name, in 436 Uo 2 the text runs *aśṭi manuśa śadavita masdhṛ́ge sacıcı* . , it looks as if *śadavita* would be 'a man called Masdhṛ́ge"; but Sacıcı is a proper name as in 573 Uo 2, Masdhṛ́ge his *padrone* who is mentioned further on Uo 3 Cr 1 f, cf the parallelism in Uo 2–3 *samaṣena karcıkaṣa ca manuśa ıutıayaṣa* 482 Uo 2 relates of the complaint of Śakā *yatha edaṣa kılmeyammi molṕına bhuma ladhaye śadavṛda karsenaýa achımnamtı na oḍemtı krısamnaye tade vrčha chiṃnaṃtı vikrınamtı* . . It is evident that the subject of the plural *achṃnamtı* and *oḍemtı* are the two persons, the *śadavṛta* and the *karsenaýa*, sc "that the *śadavṛta* and *karsenaýa* do not take care[3] for obtaining land on his (Śaka's) farm Molṕına, that they do not deliver it (to him) for tilling, further, that they cut trees and sell (them)", it is not right, continues the inscription, that some take away the property[4] of others and sell it As the *karsenaýa* is some official, occurring many times in the NI, the *śadavṛta* must be also the holder of some office, noteworthy is the connection of that suggested officer with land- or estate-affairs In 715 o 4 f it is said *purathıda mahatvana te bhumaṃmı śadavṛta Rıcıḱ́gaṣa eśvarı huda vavamnae kısıvaṃnae amna prahuḍa deyamnae* "by Your Excellency (lit in the presence of Y E) the *śadavṛta* R has been granted the right on your land to sow and to plough and to give others a present"[5] It must suffice to refer to the many instances where the *śatavṛta* N N occurs with other officials like *coỻhbo, guśura* as witness 569 Uo 7, 8 580 Uo 5, 6 586 Uo 6, 7. 587 Uo 7 (with a *sothamgha*) 590 Uo 8 637 o 8 648 o 7 (after a *ṣoṭhamgha*). 654 Uo 8–9 (*śadavı[da] Moǵata sa[cīlı]*) 656 Uo 5

[1] *traṃgha*, see Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 509 f

[2] Literally "to-morrow", Skt *prātah pratu* (= *prata* 361, 499), as *punah punu* (*puna*), or *puratah puradu*, *-u* represents also Skt *-am* in *lılhıdu*, *BSOS*, vi, 455, cf *dhıtu, pıtu, matu*

[3] *ačhıd* means "take away" as to be seen clearly from 719 o 2, but here, where in line U o 3 *chımnamtı* is used, perhaps the meaning "not care" is appropriate *acchındatı* in Pāli has not this meaning, but see *P W*, s v 5

[4] *tanu, tanuvaǵa, tanuvaǵa* being adjectives, see Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 450 f

[5] Though it is uncertain to conclude something from the order of words about the relative rank of the *karsenaýa* and *śatarıta* (contrast 482 Uo 2, 4 with 590 Uo 8), in the year 17 of king Jitugha Amguvaka, the mentioned Rıcıḱ́ga is a *karsenaýa*, and in the year 24 of the same king a *śadavṛta* (590 Uo 8 715 o 4–5), if the two namesakes are identical Is *karsenaýa* = Skt *karsanapa*? But the stem is *krısı-*, though 511 o 5 shows *malāprakarsena* against *malaprakarsana* in line 4 The control of tilling and the *kılme*-institution reminds the reader of the rules of bestowing land to tax-payers in the first chapter of the second book in Kauṭ Arthaś (*Janapadanıveśa*)

(*śadavṛda Ya[p]ǵuaṣa putra Śa . ǵaṣa sacĥi*) That *śadavṛta* has nothing to do with a denominative of *śabda*, corresponding to a Skt *śabdita* in the sense of " called ", can be shown by the many passages in which *nama* is used, e g 11 Uo 2 28 o 2 39 Uo 2 49 Uo 3 (*sacĥi Suǵi nama Praṅga nama*) 415 Uo 6 418 o 5 422 o 2, 3 (five times, in the same inscription occurs *śatavṛda* in line 9, see above p 769) 590 Uo 1, 2 (line 8 *śadavṛda*) 719 o 2

It seems logical to explain *daśavṛda* in an analogous sense (41 o 1–3 r 1 65 oA 2 C 1, 2 66 oA 1–3 80 rA 1. 93 o below B 105 oA 5 E 3 115 oD 6 under GH. K 6 118 oD 2). That there can be no difference in the meaning between *daśavṛda* and *daśavṛta* shows 204 where o 3 the latter, r D 2 the former word is found, this and the sense of the word, denoting some official, or at least somebody in charge of a duty, becomes clear by 477 —

o 1 *samvatsare 4 4 1 maṣe 10 1 tiva[ṣe 3] puratha cojhbo Lṕipe jeṭha*
2 *yapǵu eṣa amna samghalidavo*
3 *śramamna Moĉĥaṣenaṣa dadavo*
r 1 *daśavṛte Jivadeyu Kalyanadhaṁaṣa ca amna [mili]ma 2 khi 10 2*
2 *daśavṛte Yo[nu U]vaṣenaṣa ca milima 1 khi 2*
3 *daśavṛte Rutrapala(kaṣa) Rutraṣenaṣa ca amna milima 3*
4 *jetha yapǵu*

" In the year 9, month 11, on the 3rd day from the *cojhbo* Lṕipe[ya ?] to the *jetha yapǵu* the corn here has to be gathered and to be given to the Śramana Moksasena (r) The *daśavṛtas* Jivadeyu and Kalyanadhaṁa (have gathered) corn (to the amount of) milima 2, khi 12, the *d* Yonu and Uvaṣena (Upasena) corn milima 2, khi 2, the *d* Rutrapala and Rutraṣena corn milima 3 *jetha yapǵu* " [1]

The *cojhbo* gives his order to the *jetha yapǵu* to collect corn for a monk, the *yapǵu*, as can be suggested, passes the order on to his subordinates, the *daśavṛtas*, if they are immediately under him, [2] twice is followed by two personal names Six *daśavṛtas* occur in the report of their collection and its amount is endorsed by the *yapǵu's* signature For the present question it is obvious that the plural *daśavṛte* is in accordance with two individuals in each line It is the same grammatical situation as in 580 Uo 5 and 6, where *śadavṛde*

[1] Also a *cojhbo* is called *jeṣtha* 120 r 1

[2] One would expect at least the *śatavṛta*, the rank and file may be ascertained from 470, where the great king gives his orders to the *cojhbo* and *toṃga*, then it is passed on to the *yapǵu* The *daśavṛta* has to do with collection and registration of cattle and corn, etc (cf 148)

104 o 1, 2 with the closing formula *ede jaṃna milima 4 1 khi 10 4 1*, apparently the quantity of corn which has been gathered from the people of these six *daśavitas*. Two of them acknowledge the quantity of corn, from eighteen men collected (108), 129 two *daśavitas* appear beneath a group of men, under columns A and B the vestiges give *daśa[vi]da bhita jamna 10 4 1*, the *d Bhita* has fifteen men, his colleague Samghadhana also fifteen, Kuṅgeya only eleven The title is found 146 o A 2, 3 B 1, 3*a*, 4*a* rA 1, 2 148 r 191 o 2*a*, 204 o 3 a *presi* of a *daśavita* is mentioned (cf rD 2) In 205 eleven proper names are to be read, beneath *daśavita Tamjaka 10*, beneath *gam*, explained in the Index as an abbreviation for *gamnana*, the number of people here comes to eleven, by subtracting a Tamjaka in A 3 to 10, therefore the number 10 is given apparently with added *gam*. A similar case is found 237 in which document altogether the names of twelve persons are given, then follows ' to left of columns " (n 10) *daśavita Malṕuǵeya yima*[1] *jamna* (= *ime janāh*) *10*, again 609 shows eleven names, the last line runs *daśavida Jivaiačhi jamna 10 2*, so that the *daśavida Jīvarakṣin* has included himself in the sum of 12, one namesake of him is mentioned C 2, subtracting these two, the actual number would be 10, on r stands *kimna atra na eśati triśa prahare 12 10 vito paśu 1* " who does not come there (will get) 30 strokes (and give) one piece of *vita* small cattle "[2] The same name *Jivaiačhi* is found in 610 rD 1, behind it *taśavita*, undoubtedly another writing for *daśavita*, perhaps also the same man of 609 To return once more to 41, on r 1 the text runs —

Apemnaṣa pradejami Aviyo daśavida uta 2 Pǵitaṣa śadami uta 3 daśavida Socara

It looks as if in Apemna's *pradeśa* there were *śada's* and *daśavida's*. Lines 1 and 2 on the Obverse show that the latter stood under the official of a *śada* (e g *Masdhuǵeyaṣa śadami daśavida Vuǵeya uta 2*) and, on the other hand, also under the official of a *pradeja* (e g o 3 and above r 1, where Aviyo is a proper name) It is true, the NI do not offer the title of the official on the head of the *pradeja*, that may be due to the circumstance that there existed only one officer in that unit, but many *śadavida's* and *daśavida's*, or, the *pradeja* was named after some person, the name of which is given in the

[1] That reading according to the Corrections, p 289

[2] *vita* occurs many times with *aśpa, go, paśu*, does it mean " breeding " in contrast to the *vyala uta* in 341, 420 ?

preceding genitive, well-known among the official world It is interesting to see that some of the names, connected with a *pradeja*, appear as proper names of *tomghas, cojhbos, vuryajas, apsus* like Apemna (*tomgha*, 72, 82, 123), Lustu (*cojhbo*, 327, 579. *vurćuga* 277), *Vuru* (*apsu* 195 *vuryajа* 569), Vukto (*togha* 436 *cojhbo* 407) These units, *pradeja*, *śada daśa*, and their respective heads remind the reader of the corresponding administrative and fiscal units in *Manu*, vii, 116 ff, with his *śateśa, daśeśa* and similar titles, nor is *pradeśa* and its official, the *pradeśika*, unknown,[1] one epigraphical instance shows *desādhikata* (Skt *deśādhikrta*) [2]

Even the *śata* occurs in inscriptions in the Hūli Inscriptions of Vikramāditya vi, Śaka 1019 = A D 1097,[3] in an inscription with dates between 1104 and 1224,[4] and of Bijjala, Śaka 1084 = A D 1162,[5] in connection with boundaries of granted land It is called " on the east, the *śata* of the waste-land at Kattiyagēri' (p 189), or " on the north-east, the *śata* of K, on the west the *śata* of Raviyani " (p 196, also p 218, *Ep Ind*, xviii) It seems more probable to take *śata* in the meaning of an unit of administration and revenue than in that of a " land-measure " (*Ep Ind*, xviii, Index s v) [6], well-known are the units of villages ranging till ten-thousands, in South Indian inscriptions [7] But it is not correct to say [8] that " the North Indian inscriptions do not refer to the grouping of villages into ten, one hundred, and so on ", at least, in the Khālimpur Plate Inscription of Dharmapāladeva [9] among other officials are mentioned *dāśagrāmikādivisayavyāvahārinah* If that suggested interpretation of the terms *daśavita* and *śatavita* as official titles, resp *daśa* and *śata* as their local district for 10, resp 100 households (or villages) is correct, then it is not surprising when the *sahasrapati* of *Manu*, vii, 117, corresponds to the

[1] Cf *Archiv Orient*, vi, 32 f

[2] Cf Luders's List, No 1200

[3] *Ep Ind*, xviii, p 156, line 52 f

[4] Ibid, p 192, line 44, p 193, line 47

[5] Ibid, p 216, line 41

[6] The reference to Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia*, i, 65 (in the Index of the *NI* s v *satade*, p 371) for the sense " measure of land " is not correct, the passage runs " Thus Colonel Trotter, who visited Wakhān with a section of the Yārkand Mission in 1874, distinctly notes that ' Wakhān formerly contained three " Sads " or hundreds, i e districts, containing a hundred houses each' " This corresponds well to the *śata* of the NI

[7] Kishori Mohan Gupta, *The Land System in South India*, Lahore, 1933, 268 f, 275 ff

[8] As Mr Gupta does, p 271

[9] *Ep Ind*, iv, p 250, line 47 Bhandarkar's List, ibid, xx, App., p 223, No 1610 Date about A D 810, cf Smith, *Early History*, 4th ed, p 413 f

tomg(h)a whom Professor Thomas [1] explains as Tibetan *ston-dpon*, commandant of a Thousand (*ston*)-district, there existed, according to Tibetan documents,[2] also a civilian officer of a "Ten Thousand"-district (*khri-dpon*)

Finally, the chronological and etymological side of the question may be touched, the Indian terms *pradeśa*, *daśeśa*, *śateśa* are found in *Manu*, in inscriptions before and about the beginning of the ninth century A D, on the other hand, Professor Thomas [3] has remarked in connection with "the use of an Indian language for administrative purposes and . the adoption of an Indian administrative system" that 'we can hardly assign to the beginning of the period represented by the Kharosthī documents a date earlier than the third century A D." For the etymology of *daśavṛta* and *śatavṛta* there can be no doubt that the first part is Skt *daśa-*, resp *śata-* The second part, *-vṛta*, appears in the passive participles perf of causatives, but that seems to be out of the question here If *-vṛta* is not to be explained as an *a*-stem of Skt. *vṛd-*, it may represent Skt *-arpita*, as *prāty-arpita* becomes *pic-avid-a* (cf *picavidavo*), or. *daśavṛta* (*-da*), *śatavṛta* (*-da*) could correspond to a Skt **daśārpita-*, **śatārpita*

That *śada* represents also the numeral for "hundred" (*śata*) is to be seen from 133 o 2 348 Uo 6 415 Cr 5 589 Ci 3, where it is found in the phrase *varsaśada* (or *baho śadani* in 133), 677 Cr 3 as *varsaśata* A puzzling passage is 514 o 3, here *śadavidavya brāmamna* seems to be "one to be called a Brāhmana' but i 2 occurs *śabdha*, so that a derivation of it is hardly possible Perhaps *śadavidavya* is to be taken as **śraddhāpayitavya*, Pāli *saddahitabba*, *saddhāyitabba*, whereby the causative-suffix *-pay-* is contracted into *v*, as *vijñāpayitavya* becomes in the NI *vi(m)ñavidavya* from *vi(m)ñavei = vijñāpayati*

In the same text 511 o 1 occurs the plural *śatāni*, *śadani* in 133 o 2, but without the plural-termination 149 o 2, the noun to which the numeral belongs does not show any inflection In compounds *śata* (*śada*) forms the first or second part of them, *°śatayu°*, 107 o 1, *varsaśatayu* 140 Uo 1 206 Uo 1–2 305 o 1 247 o 1 646 Uo 1–2 (*varsaśatāyu-*) The same compound shows inflected forms, like the locative (*varsaśadami*, 348 Uo 6), 415 Cr 5 677 Cr 3 (*°śatammi*)

110 The additive numeral for 'hundred and ten" is expressed by *daśutara* (= *daśottara*) *śata* 345 Uo 10 (2×) 11

[1] *AO*, xiii, 53

[2] *JRAS*, 1933, p 530, 1934, p 97, on taxes and other officials concerned with administration and tax-surveying, cf ibid, 1934, pp 99 f, 104 f, 272 ff

[3] *AO*, xiii, 49

1,000. For "thousand" *sahasra* is used, irrespective of one or many thousand (149 o 2 500 o 3. 661 o 3) The plural, *sahasrāṇi* is found, apart from the compound *bahukoḍiśata°*, in a poem with many Sanskrit forms 514 o 1. Like *-śata-* also *-sahasra-* appears in the formula *varsasahasrami yava jivo* in the locative (419 Cr 4 579 Cr 5 581 Cr 4–5). In the mostly Sanskrit text 511 r 3 *sahasrāčča* is found [1]

Numerals over thousand are expressed in *śatasahasra-* by multiplication, preceded by *koṭi* (*koḍi*)- "ten millions", and enhanced by *bahu-*, so that the whole expression runs as *bahukoḍiśatasahasrami* in 164 o 3 206 Uo 4 249 o 4 (*koṭi*). 646 Uo 3–4 (mistakenly written *sahasrahami*) 696 o 3 The adjective *aprameyo* (*aprameḍo*) following after that extends the good wishes to the infinite (e g 206 Uo 4. 646 Uo 3–4) [2]

B Ordinalia

1 "First" is written in many forms of Skt *prathama*, as such it is found 220 o 1. 436 Uo 1 (*maṣe prathame*) 291 o 5 (locat *-e*) [3] With unaspirated dental (*pratame*) 209 o 1, with media 575 Uo 1 (*pradame*), a Prākrit form *padama* seems to be 83 Uo 3, the femin with tenuis cerebral appears in *patami muli* 437 Uo 8, and with media cerebral 434 Uo 4, where the locative *paḍama samvatsarammi* in the Prākrit of the NI shows the uninflected form as in *prathama dvaṣa* 376 o 3 In many inscriptions *prathama* is used as adverb in the sense of "Firstly, first of all" (140 Uo 3 164 o 3 247 o 2 390 o 4 *pratama* 399 o 2 *prathamma*), this form must be taken as the accus neutr the comparative *prathamadaro* would be Skt **prathamataram* or *°taratah*, used in the sense of the positive 165 o 2 and apparently 341 o 4 In the text 511, strongly influenced by Sanskrit, o 3 occurs the genit plur *prathamana* (*prathamānām śrāvakānām* may be intended).[4]

2 From the cardinal *dvi* the ordinal *dviti* = *dvitīya* is regular and found (with *vara*) 45 Uo 3 262 Uo 2 550 o 3 (with *ga*[*na*] = *guna* ?) *duvi* in 431 Uo 3 432 r 2 is used as an ordinal without termination, being a locative (*samvatsarammi*), while 703 r 2 it is a cardinal In most of the NI the stem *bi-* < *dvi* [5] is used *biti*, irrespective of

[1] For the *tomi*, cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 53

[2] Cf Thomas, *AO*, xii, 63 ff

[3] Cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60

[4] Professor Luders (*SPAW*, 1933, 999) believes *prathanyana* (*-nā*) in 565 r 1 to be a remarkable clerical slip for *prathama*, should it not correspond rather to Skt. *prādhānyānām* ?

[5] Cf Pischel, *Pkt Gr*, § 300

gender, occurs 7 Uo 2 56 Uo 3 (with *aro* = *vara*) 58 r 1 (with *vara*). 140 Uo 6 159 r 3 198 o 2 297 Cr 2 305 o 6 (*varsami*, locat) 331 Uo 7. 359 r 1 376 o 1 437 Cr 5 (*vara*) As *bhiti* it is found 78 oC 6 120 o 1 (*vara*). 123 o 2 (*aja bh diiasam hoda* = *adya dvitīyo divaso bhūtah*). 348 Uo 4. 419 Uo 2 Cr 4 422 o 3 425 Cr 3 (*vara*) 505 o 3. 571 Cr 4 (*vara*) 581 Uo 2 Of the fuller form the oblique cases occur like the genitive *bitiyaṣa* (187 o 8 709 Cr 4), *bhitiyaṣa* (425 Uo 5), or direct from *bhiti-* as *bhitiṣa* in the same text 425 Cr 6 The instrumental of *biti* is *bitiyena* (574 Cr 3), probably from *bitiya-*, as the genit plur *bhitiyana* is found 577 Co 2–3 Uo 6 For the idiomatic use of the asyndetic *eka b(h)iti-* Iranian influence has been suggested [1] Thereby the latter ordinal can be inflected only, as in 187 o 8 425 Uo 5 Cr 6. 574 Cr 3 709 Cr 4 before *vamti* (c. genit *eka bhitiyaṣa vaṃti*) or *ṣadha* (c instr *eka bhitiyena ṣadha*), not so in 348 Uo 4 709 Uo 6 732 Uo 5 The sense may be "one or the second", or "one of the two", as the phrase *eka bhitiyana vamti* 577 Uo 6 makes probable

3 In the same way as *dri-ti*, *b(h)i-ti* for "third" *tri-ti* is formed 7 Uo 2 247 o 3 (nomin.) 376 o 2 (neutr *karya*), the same form as locative appears 9 Uo 3 305 o 6 376 o 3 With *vara* 45 Uo 3 105 oE 1 211 r 4 *triti* is used absolutely "for the third time", while in the next line *triti bhagade eka bhaga* corresponds to *trtīyād bhāgād ekaṃ bhāgam*

4 *caturtha* is "fourth" 119 o 5 714 o 6 (locat *masamme*). 180 o B 3 [2] 182 o 3 226 o 3 (ablat *varsade*) 329 o 5 (genit *maṣasya*) 376 o 4 (nomin neutr) 377 r 4–5 (*caturta*) 450 o 3–4. 567 Uo 2, in these latter three instances being the nominative in the phrase *c varsa huda* "it is the fourth year"

5 "Fifth" is *pamcama* (162 Cr 2), in 329 o 5 *pamcami* is a locative as to be seen from the following *sastcyamme*,[3] "on the fifth day", which appears as *pamcamiyamme* 663 o 4, while the word for "day" is omitted

6 *sodha(m)ma* (with *maṣe* 110 o init , with *maṣasya* 637 o 1) for "sixth" must be explained as an analogous formation from *ṣo* as the following ordinals for "seventh" and "eighth", with softening

[1] Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 790, who suggests "one another"

[2] Though the "fourth" entry really comes in the next line B 3, the first and second stand in A 4 and 5 The same occurs in 105 oE 1 *amna triti vara Kaṃcakaṣa muli 4*, because the same man is mentioned D 2 and 4

[3] For this reading, see Corrections, p 290, and for the meaning of *saste*, cf Sten Konow, *CII*, ii, 1, p 152, and Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 515, 783

and aspiration of the tenuis dental there, corresponding to Skt. *ṣaṣṭhá-*.

7 For Skt *saptamá-* the NI offer 368 o 4 *satamma* (with *maṣasya*)

8. The cerebralization in Skt. *astamá-* is maintained in *athama* (*divaṣa*) 144 Uo 2, as in Prākrit *atthama* and in the Kharosthī inscriptions of N W India

9 "Ninth" is *navamma* (*maṣami* 500 o 3 *masasya* 663 o 4)

10 As in Skt "tenth" is *daśama* (*varsa* 550 o 2), the locative of which is uninflected in the passage 539 o 3 *śa*[*ratam*]*mi daśama masammi*, therefore, though it is not a deciding proof, *daśammi* 341 o 3 may be the locative of *daśa-*, a word corresponding to *śata-*, both being administrative and fiscal units On the other hand, *dhaśammi*[1] *masammi* 401 Uo 5 offers a locative, which may be a clerical peculiarity, but also intentionally to avoid a confusion with *daśami* "in the *daśa*"

11 For "eleventh" occurs *ekadaśi* (*masasya*) 341 o 3

12 As *dvi-* becomes *bi-*, so to Skt *dvādaśá* corresponds in the NI *badaśi* (*masasya*) in 599 r 1 (cf above Card 12 *badaśa*)

15. The next word in 599 r 1 is *pamcadaśammi* which on account of the preceding *badaśi maṣasya* can be nothing else but "on the fifteenth day", the same wording is met in 368 o 4 *satamma-maṣasya pamcadasami* (15th day of the 7th month) *-daśa(m)mi* must be a locative which is found also in the Kharosthī inscriptions of N W India (cf *CII*, ii, 1, p cxiii), being the pronominal termination of Skt *-asmin* The correct form of *daśa* to be expected would be *daśama(m)mi*, so that *daśa(m)mi* must be explained as analogy to the ten-numeral composed with the numerals below ten *ekadaśi*[2] and *badaśi*, both with following *maṣasya*, look like feminines, but are probably locatives with a debilitated termination *-e*>*i*, due to the accent on the long quantity of the ending vowel of the first part in the compound

18. Accordingly in a date, of which only *masasya* is left, *athadaśami* (354 o 2) must be "on the eighteenth (day)"

[1] Comparing (M A Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, ii, plate civ) the form of *śa* in line 1 (*śa*) and of *ya* in line 2 (*khamiyammi*) there is no doubt that the reading adopted in the text is correct

[2] Cf *CII*, ii, 1, p 22, *sodaśe*, *pamcadaśe* (pp 65, 79) But it is doubtful whether *pamcami*, p 119, is a pronominal termination, or influenced by such one, as Sten Konow supposes (pp cxiii and 119), *pamcame* is regular, ibid, p 28, line 1 No doubt, local peculiarities of the dialect must be taken into consideration, as in *NI*, 661, for the change of *a* > *i*, or *i* > *e* see Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 453, and for the use of cases, p 451 f

C Adjectiva

The compound adjectives with *-guna* as the second part are found in asyndetic connection with *dvi-* (142 r 1) and *tri-* (283 o 2 351 o 2 387 o 2 676 Uo 4) in the meaning "two-, three-fold", especially in the formula that the duty is to be kept two- and threefold according to the order, even at the sacrifice of the life[1] For *dvitɨ tritɨ ga[na]* in 550 o 3 cf above, p 774 *dvaya* "double" occurs 100 r 5, perhaps *traya* (or *treya*?) "triple" r 3

D Adverbia

Iterativa These are formed by *-vara* which is found with cardinalia as well as with ordinalia in disjunctive sense *dvivara trevara* (72 r init.) or *dvi trevara* (634 o 2), *tri trevara* (719 o 2) *pamca sovara* literally "five or six times", but the context requires "for the fifth and sixth time (*evam ca lkkhami paśava kaɨamna p s lekha viṣarjemi* "and thus I write with regard to the small cattle, for the fifth or sixth time I am sending a note") For ordinalia with *vara* may be quoted *dvitɨ tritɨ ɨara* "for the second and third time (45 Uo 3), *bitɨ vaɨa* (56 Uo 3 58 o 1 437 Cr 5), *bhitɨ vara* (120 o 1 425 Cr 3 571 Cr 4), *dvitɨ vara* (262 Uo 2), *tɨitɨ vara* (436 Uo 5), also *bahu ɨara* "many times" occurs 358 o 8 *varaya* in *ekav bhuya* (371 r 3)[2] "once more" is Skt *ekavārakam*, *ekavaɨa* 534 oB 4 must probably be separated from *ekavaraya* and *dvivara* or *prathame va[re]*[3] in 291 o 3, 5 The former inscription contains an inventory (534 oA ff) *[yo ma]hi thavɨtaǵa huatɨ* (oA 1) which may be "what is to be set up for me", this introductory line is followed by a list of objects with signs of numerals, e g *gumoca*[4] *3*, *pučhama*[5] *1*, *dhamnu kada*

[1] Thomas, *AO*, xii, 44 f, n 7, Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 512 *anada* may be an equivalent for *ājñāpitam*, formally it is *ā)ñaptam*, cf *anatena*, but it could be explained also as *ajñā-tah*, cf *ana* 39 Uo 4 492 Uo 3

[2] See Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 787 *ko pi ɨaraga* is, according to Burrow, l c, *ko pitaraga* 'fat", cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 61 In 667 r 5 *ɨaraǵa* is not clear, and seems to have the same sense as *ɨarayam* in 206 Cr 7 where it may correspond to Skt *ɨarāya*, as the next sentence *ma mahi tosa karisyatu* makes likely

[3] See Burrow, l c, Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60

[4] Should it be *guma(m)ca* = *kumbhāh*?

[5] It would correspond to Skt **puḷɨama-* which seems to be unknown In modern East Turkestan exists the word *bodžuma* 'knot, bundle", according to Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte, qazaq boyžama* "1, Kleiner Teppich, 2. Gepackstuck aus Wolle," čagat *boydžama* 'Packtuch", s Menges, *SPAW*, 1933, 1272, s v Perhaps connected with that is *pōtsh*^{u} (*pochu*) "long nightgown-like garment worn by Kāshmīrīs, when made of cotton cloth is called *pōtsh*^{u}", Sir G A Grierson, *Dictionary of the Kāshmīrī Language*, p 808

(bow and arrows), bamboos, knives,[1] silk,[2] carpets,[3] felt rugs,[4] ropes,[5] brass cups [6]; in B 4 appear *pothi ekavara 4 4*. In 17 Uo 2–3 *caṁa pothi* is found which may be "skin-garments",[7] thus *pothi ekavara* would mean "garments made of one piece of cloth" [8] This cannot be applied to *eka vara* and *dui vara* in 291 o 3, 5, the meaning "part" is not likely on account of line 4 (*dui bhaǵa—eka bhaǵa*) The context shows some resemblance to 272 o 6, in both texts *Kuvana* and *yatma Parkutena* (in 291 *Porkota*, apparently the same official's proper name) are mentioned Further, the reading *eka varaya* is impossible, because it would not be in accordance with *dui vara*, then *ya* (= *yā*) corresponds to *sā amna* and relates to *amna* in line 3 (cf *yo amna sa amna* in 100 r 6 and o 1, 2, being the singular), and denotes the plural, indicated by the passive *aṃṣyamti* (active *aṃtamti*) The inscription seems to bring the opinion, i e decision of the great king (*cimditi* [thus to read, see Correct, p 290] *huati*) *ekavāram* = *prathamam vāram* "once" in the sense of "firstly", about the corn "which will be brought into Kuvana",[9] then *dui vara* = *dviti vara* = Skt *dvitīyam vāram* "second time" in the sense of "secondly" about the gathering of fifteen camel-loads of *masu* in Pisalhya [10]

E Various

For distributive expressions no adverbial formations are used, but the reiterated cardinal as amredita-compounds *ekameka* (above p. 763), *tre tre* (*milima*) 291 o 4.

Pronominal adjectives are *ekadara* (307 o 7); Skt *pratyeka*

[1] *kratara* may be Skt *kṛtayaḥ*, a weapon like knife or dagger

[2] *koǰara* = Skt *kauśeya*, Thomas, *AO*, xii, 54.

[3] *tavastaga*, Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 512

[4] M A Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 367, Burrow, l c, 510

[5] *raju*

[6] *kaṁsiya*, in note 4, *-nki-*

[7] Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 78, for *potrī*, cf J J Meyer, Arthaś trs, p 656, note 1 (*Arthaś*, xiv, 3, 178)

[8] *pota* according to *Halāyudha Abhidh*, ii, 393 (not *pota*, as *PW*, s v 3, says, only Medinī has that form and Aufrecht's *Glossary*, p 276, in his ed of Halāy) is "cloth", *taraka* again is explained (*PW*, s v 1) as *potācchādana* "cloak, stuff, tent"

[9] Cf Thomas, *AO*, xii, 61, 5, but here it looks like a place-name as in 272 o 6, 7, the locative of which is regular *Kutaniyammi* against the locative of the term *khuvaneṃci* (489 r 2)

[10] For the use of the cardinal with *vara* instead the ordinal see above, that the enumeration of items in a (royal [9]) document was used can be seen from the fragmentary text 376 where is found *biti*, *triti*, *cathurtha karya* (o 1, 2, 4)

appears as *pajeka* 349 o 8 and as *paḍeka* 431 Uo 1. 432 Uo 2 (*-ekaṃ*). *adha* in 589 Cr 4, 5 and *adha* in 169 oE 3 represent Skt *ardha-*.

Fractions are expressed by *bhaga* or *bhaǵa* (154 oA 3. 211 r 5: *trṭi bhagade eka bhaga* 291 o 4 *duṛ bhaǵa—eka bhaǵa*. Cf. *samabhaǵa* 528 Cr 1, *sarvabhaǵa* 18 o 2) and by *pata* (*pāta*) or *pada*, corresponding to Skt *pāda* "fourth part"[1] 21 Uo 2 *duṛ pata* . . [*du*] . . .; 71 Cr 1 · *duṛ pada* *duṛ pada*, 676 Uo 5 *eka pāta* . . *tre pāta*.

[1] So already Thomas, *AO*, XIII, 78 In 83 Cr 6 *biǰi pata* it is "part" (*bīǰī pādaḥ*) as probably in 152 Cr 4; 666 o 2–3 and 669 o 2 has been restored in the Index, p. 368, s.v. *vamtaṭi* (*-de*) to *śirasā pada* (= Skt *pādayoḥ*) *v*

Tathāgata and Tahāgaya

By E J Thomas

THE term *tathāgata* has been the subject of much discussion, but the latest treatment leaves even the etymology undecided. The conclusion reached by the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* is "derivation uncertain' The question of the meaning is also left almost as vague, for what is there said is that Mrs Rhys Davids, quoting Lord Chalmers, suggests "he who has won through to the truth" But a more important statement in that work is that "the context shows that the word is an epithet of an Arahant, and that non-Buddhists were supposed to know what it meant The compilers of the Nikāyas must therefore have considered the expression to be pre-Buddhistic" To say that they considered it to be pre-Buddhistic perhaps assumes too much. We can take it that the term was current among the non-Buddhist contemporaries of the compilers of the Nikāyas, but how far it may have been pre-Buddhistic depends upon what non-Buddhist sect or sects used the term Who were they? Naturally one thinks of the Jains, but investigation in this direction appears to have been hitherto checked by the supposition that the closest corresponding Jain term is *tattha-gaya* Oldenberg and Rhys Davids in *Vinaya Texts*, i. 82, even suggested this word as the origin of the Buddhist epithet 'Considering the close relation in which most of the dogmatical terms of the Jainas stand to those of the Bauddhas, it is difficult to believe that tathāgata and tatthagaya should not originally have conveyed very similar ideas We think that in the long way from the original Māgadhī to the Pāli and Sanskrit the term tatthagata or tatthāgata (tatra + āgata), 'he who has arrived there, i e at emancipation,' may very easily have undergone the change into tathāgata, which would have made it unintelligible, were we not able to compare its unaltered form as preserved by the Jainas"

The reference given for the word is Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra* (*Jinac* 16), where it occurs in some limping verses at the end of a long eulogy uttered by Sakka in praise of the tīrthakaras and Mahāvīra himself It is also said to occur in the *Rājapraśnī-sūtra*, but there as a repetition in the same eulogy uttered by another god *Vamdāmi*

ṇaṃ bhagavaṃtaṃ tatthagayam ıhagae, pāsau me bhugavaṃ tatthagae ıhagayam. The eulogizer who has "arrived here', ı e has been born ın thıs world, ıs contrastıng hımself wıth the Lord who has "arrıved there", ı e who has reached emancıpatıon The term *tatthagaya* ıs here scarcely an epıthet It ıs a very loose compound and a natural descrıptıon of the state of the Lord, just as *ıhagaya* descrıbes the state of hıs worshıpper Such an ısolated phrase hardly appears sufficient to explaın the orıgın of the Buddhıst term There ıs no evidence for *tatthāgata*, the word formıng the supposed lınk Why should the Buddhısts have corrıpted and made unıntelligıble a perfectly plaın word, and one whıch harmonızed wıth theır theory? Why does no trace of ıts meanıng appear ın the scrıptural ınterpretatıons of tathāgata, ıf the corruptıon took place ın the long way between the Māgadhī and the Sanskrıt, that ıs to say, after ıt had come to form a part of the Scrıptures?

It has been necessary to draw attentıon to thıs passage, because the way ın whıch ıt was adduced ın *Vınaya Texts* has led ınvestıgators to assume that thıs was all that the Jaın texts had to tell about the matter Lord Chalmers ın hıs ımportant artıcle *Tathāgata*,[1] and R O. Franke ın the appendıx to hıs translatıon of the *Dīgha-nıkāya*, when dealıng wıth Jaın ınfluence, do not go beyond the evidence gıven by Oldenberg and Rhys Davıds Franke calls *tatthagaya* the correspondıng Jaın word yet ıt was long ago pointed out by Jacobı[2] that ın ıts Prākrıt form *tathāgata* ıs commıon to Buddhısm and Jaınısm, lıke *jına, arhat, mahāvīıa, sugata, buddha,* and even (though he does not mentıon ıt) *mahāyāna*[3] Wherever the word orıgınated, ıt ıs evidently necessary to find out what there ıs ın common both ın use and meanıng between Pālı *tathāgata* and Prākrıt *tahāgaya* The followıng passages show the term as a regular epıthet of the Jaın leaders

Kau kayār medhāvī uppajjaṃtı tahāgayā,
Tahāgayā appaḍınnā cakkhū logass' anuttarā.
Sūyagaḍa, ı, 15, 20.

"How at any tıme can the wıse ones, the tathāgatas, be born again, the tathāgatas, who are free from undertakıngs, eyes of the world, supreme?"

[1] *JRAS.*, 1898, p 103
[2] *Jaına Sūtras*, ı, xıx, xx
[3] *Jantı vīrā mahāyānaṃ Āyār*, ı, 3, 4.

Aho ya rāo u samuṭṭhiehiṃ
Tahāgaehiṃ paḍilabdha dhammam

Ibid, i, 13, 2.

"Having received the Dhamma from the tathāgatas, who exert themselves day and night"

Bhāsanti ege iha mānavā u jam ass' āiyaṃ, tam āgamissaṃ nāiyam addham na ya āgamissam addham niyacchanti tahāgayā u.

Āyāraṃga, i, 3. 3.

'Some men here say, what was his past, that is his future not past time nor future do the tathāgatas consider"

Except that the term here appears as a regular epithet of the Jain leaders, there is little to indicate its intrinsic meaning, but there is no doubt that a prominent tenet of both sects was the tathāgata's omniscience, and the commentary in the *Abhidhānarājendra* on the last of the above passages has a special interest *tathāgatāṅ yathāvasthitāṅ tathaivāviṭatham jānanti na vibhangajñāṅna iva viparītaṃ paśyanti*, that is, that the tathāgatas know things as they have really happened and not falsely (*viṭatha*), just as in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (D ii, 73) it is said of the Buddhist tathāgatas that they speak nothing false. *na hi tathāgatā viṭatham bhananti*

This is in fact the meaning which has been suggested by Lord Chalmers for the Buddhist term, "one who has come at the real truth,' but it is not the literal and primitive meaning of *tathāgata*. We find this meaning, 'thus gone," or 'having come to such a state" not only in the Epics but also in such different works as Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya* For the Epics the evidence has been collected by E Washburn Hopkins, who has also attempted to define the Buddhist meaning from the epic examples alone.[1]

That the term started with the literal meaning in Buddhism could only be assumed if the Buddhists invented it But it is much more likely that like *arhat* and such words it was taken over from the Jains as an already established term The meaning it would then have would be the dogmatic sense of an epithet already applied to the Master. There are similar instances of terms borrowed from the Jains, as shown by S. Lévi, where it is quite futile to explain the word from its etymology, when it was borrowed as a technical term along with its acquired sense[2] With this agrees the fact that although there are

[1] "Buddha as Tathāgata," *AJP*, 1911, p 205

[2] "Observations sur une langue precanonique du Bouddhisme," *JA*, 1912, p 495

several passages in the Scriptures which show what it meant there, there is no attempt to interpret it according to its literal analysis Such analysis is found first in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla,[1] but they are unable to quote any scriptural passage for their interpretation, as they do for the other meanings. They probably did not invent it, as they give some verses in which it is implied, but they do not attribute these verses even to the porāṇas.[2] Nor do they lead us to think that they ascribed any special authority to the meaning 'gone like previous Buddhas They give half a dozen etymologies, and impartially take every possible or impossible combination *tathā* + *āgata*, *tathā* + *gata*, *tathā* + *agata* (he who has not gone to samsāra), *tathā* + *āgada* (*āgadanaṃ* = *vacanaṃ*) *tathā* + *agada* (medicine). The two last, though as fanciful as the rest, have the interest that they probably point to the existence of a Prākrit form *tahagada*, which actually occurs in the Prākrit of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*

The really significant items of the commentators are those adopted from the Scriptures. It is not fair merely to put them aside as fanciful, for they at least tell us what was held to be the meaning some centuries earlier. In dealing with the Scripture passages the commentators use the word *tatham*, the meaning of which they make more precise by adding *avitatham*, *anaññatham* The *tathāgata* is, then, one who has arrived at the truth, *tathāya āgato*, *tatham gato*, or at the (four) truths, *tathāni* (*tathadhamme*) *āgato*, or he is one who speaks the Truths The passage to which Buddhaghosa refers is in the *Pāsādika-sutta* (D III, 134). It does not use the word *tathaṃ*, but it emphasizes his omniscience and the truth of his knowledge, and gives five reasons why Buddha is called a tathāgata. (1) Wanderers of other schools say that the tathāgata (as opposed to their own tathāgatas) professes knowledge of the past, not of the future, but they are ignorant He remembers as far back as he wishes, and for the future he has the knowledge born of enlightenment He speaks at the right time and speaks the truth, *kālavādī*, *bhūtavādī*, (2) he has been enlightened with all the knowledge that can come through the senses, (3) everything that he speaks since his enlightenment is thus and not other-

[1] Buddhaghosa on *Dīgha*, I, 3 Dhammapāla on *Udāna* and *Itiv.* gives both Buddhaghosa's comment and his own

[2] There is a verse in *Th*, I, 490, where it is said that Gotama went by the same way (*yen' eva maggena*) as previous Buddhas, but no reference to *tathā*

wise, *tath' eva hoti no aññathā*; (4) as he speaks, so he does, *yathāvādī, tathākārī*, and as he does, so he speaks; (5) he is the Master, the unmastered, the complete seer, the controller.

There is no trace here of any explanation as "thus gone" or as "having come and gone like his predecessors", and the fact that it is also absent from the comment in the *Niddesa* (which also quotes the *Pāsādika* passage) is a further indication that the meaning "thus gone" is not an ancient one On the other hand, we do not find the word *tatham* in the sense of truth or true There is an attempt to find significance in *tathā* "thus and not otherwise", "thus doing", and "thus speaking", but it is fairly clear that *tatham* did not exist for the author of this sutta It exists, however, elsewhere, and in the *Sutta-nipāta* (1115) as an adjective, "true, ' *etam ñāṇam tatham tassa brāhmaṇassa vusīmato*

The examples of *tathāgata* in the *Sutta-nipāta*, so far as they are significant, all support the *Pāsādika-sutta* They all refer to his supreme knowledge He knows the end of birth and death (467), he has infinite wisdom (468), he comprehends all the stayings or stoppings of consciousness, and knows him who stays released (1114), and he is the supreme eye of men (347)

Both the *Pāsādika-sutta* and the *Sutta-nipāta* show in what way the term was understood before the close of the Canon They do not give any intelligible etymology, nor do they give any grounds for thinking that they knew one Their first interest was not an etymological explanation, but a dogmatical interpretation; and what they give is far removed from the thought that the tathāgata was he who had come and gone like his predecessors The interpretation that we find agrees with that of the Jains to the extent that by both sects the tathāgata was looked upon as a being of infinite knowledge The disputes turn, not upon the meaning of the term, but upon the question as to which of the rival leaders was truly a tathāgata

But even the etymological sense has not led to any agreement amongst modern interpreters Though starting from the literal sense they do not accept any one of the commentators' meanings, nor do they agree among themselves They translate the word literally, and then insert some quite arbitrary interpretation Childers taking the meaning "sentient being" (*satta*), which the commentators attribute to *tathāgata* when it refers to a released person, took it to mean, "one who goes in like manner, i e one who goes the way of all flesh, one who is subject to death, a mortal." For Oldenberg it means "Der so

Gegangene — namlich so wie man gehen soll," "der Vollendete" Franke gives "Derjenige, der diesen Weg zuruckgelegt hat, und pragnant, derjenige, der diesen Weg (den er lehrt, zuerst selbst) zuruckgelegt hat' His former interpretation was "zur Wahrheit gelangt," which agrees with that of Lord Chalmers, "one who has come at the real truth" But *tatham* meaning true or truth is rare, and is evidently a secondary formation from *vitatha* The literal use of *tathā* in the *Pāsādikasutta* rather indicates that the useful word *tatham* was not yet known

So far it has been assumed that the word in question is *tathāgata*, but the actual word in the Jain Scriptures is *tahāgaya* Nor could the word have been *tathāgata* in the earliest form of the Buddhist Scriptures, for it is generally agreed that their original language was some form of Prākrit and that they were translated into Pāli in some district of Western India Sir George Grierson has given reasons for holding the north-west with the centre at Takshaśilā to have been the neighbourhood [1] R O Franke put it further south, but still in a region far removed from the home of Buddhism and from Māgadhī, which is claimed by the Buddhists as the primeval language When the translation into Pāli took place we do not know, but even as late as Asoka and the Bharhut inscriptions we find no trace of the literary Pāli Schubring confidently declares that old Ardhamāgadhī was certainly the language in which Mahāvīra as well as Buddha preached [2] In any case, both the Pāli of the Singhalese and still more the Sanskrit of the Sarvāstivādins show that there is a Prākrit basis for their common texts.

The word *tathāgata* in this earlier dialect may have been a form like *tahāgaya*, *tahagaya*, or *tahagada* *Tathāgata* is the sanskritization of a Prākrit form, but how do we know that it was a correct sanskritization ? The form may have been a non-Aryan word entirely unconnected with *tathā* and *gata*, but mechanically transcribed as *tathāgata* This would explain why we find no attempt to connect the word with its obvious Pāli or Sanskrit sense until the time of the Singhalese etymologists

If the word belonged to some non-Aryan language, it is unlikely that it was Dravidian The Magadha district is still largely surrounded by non-Aryan languages, but they belong to the Munḍā group [3]

[1] "The Home of Literary Pāli," *Bhandarkar Commemorative Essays*, pp 117 ff
[2] *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p 15
[3] See the linguistic map in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol 1, pt 1

Several such terms have been traced by Przyluski,[1] and their presence in Pāli would be still more likely, for however artificial a language Pāli may be, the old texts go back to popular vernacular speech.

One such example is a group of names in the Pāli, which have every appearance of being non-Aryan In *Anguttara*, v 134, there is a list of theras, and the names of four of them show by the variants and corruptions that they were unintelligible to the scribes The same four names also occur in a list of lay disciples who had died at Nādika (D , II, 92 , S , v, 358) Why they should have been duplicated like this is a curious problem, but this fact makes it more likely that the list is really old and not merely invented *ad hoc* They are . *kakuda* (*kakudha*, *kakkata*, *kukkuta*) , *kalimbha* (*katimbha*, *kalimma*, *kaḷibha*, *kāḷimba*, *kāṇaḷimbha*, *kāḷinga*) , *nikata* (*nikata*, *kaṭa*, *nikkha*) , *katissabha* (*katissaha*, *katimsaha*, *katiṃsasaha*) Besides these the Tibetan has *karkata*, evidently a sanskritized form of *kakkaṭa*.

Some of these (like *katissabha*, **kṛtim-sabhā*) might be referred to Sanskrit roots but even then the result would not be intelligible compounds or names like any known Aryan type , and the variants show that the scribes did not find them intelligible The element *kati-* is evidently common to several of them The form *karkata* appears to be an attempt to give the word a Sanskrit appearance, but it is one which frequently occurs elsewhere as a place-name, usually in the form *kakuda* or *kakudha* [2] We also find the suffix *-ḷimba* in other non-Aryan words The variant *kālinga* is intelligible, and no doubt the result of the scribe trying to find something familiar, and (perhaps for the same reason) the P T S edition has put it in the text.

These are examples of words which have resisted attempts to sanskritize them *Tathāgata* has been sanskritized, but in its use in the Scriptures there is no trace of the Sanskrit meaning contained in *tathā* and *gata* The only safe ground that we stand upon is the meaning that the Scriptures ascribe to it, a meaning that it preserved even in the elaborate tathāgata-doctrine of Mahāyāna For its real etymology more evidence is needed

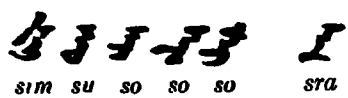
These considerations have largely a negative character, but they may be of use in clearing away unnecessary assumptions It is not now possible with Franke to call *tatthagaya* 'das entsprechende

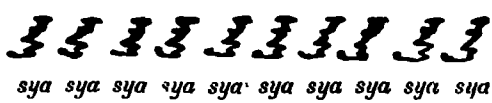
[1] " Emprunts anaryens en indo-aryen," in *Bull soc ling* , vols 24, 25, 26 , " Noms de villes indiennes dans la Géographie de Ptolomée," ibid , vol 27

[2] Also *pakudha* , this interchange of *k* and *p* has been discussed by M Cohen, *Bull soc ling* , vol 28, p 81, and by Przyluski, ibid , vol 27, pp 218 ff

Jaina-wort", or to start with Buddhaghosa's elucidations as if they gave the scriptural use and represented the historical meaning. Nor does the historical meaning of *tathāgata* or *tahāgaya*, as it existed in the Scriptures centuries before Buddhaghosa, show any relation to the meanings deduced by modern interpreters from its etymology. It may be that further examination of the Jain Scriptures will help to decide whether the word is of Aryan origin at all.













FORMS OF *S*, *SY*, *DH*, AND *C* IN KHAROṢṬHĪ DOCUMENT, NO 661

Some words found in Central Asian Documents

By F. W. Thomas

1 Hinajhasya

Mr Burrow's interpretation (*supra, Bulletin*, p 514) of the word *hinajhasya* in No 661 of *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions . transcribed and edited by A. M Boyer, E J Rapson and É. Senart* involves a number of conjectural or improbable elements Thus

(1) It is not more than probable that the Prākrit of the document was of a form current in Khotan The document, found at Endere, a place in the Shan-Shan kingdom, was, no doubt, composed in some area which at the time was subject to the Khotan king Avijitasimha. But, if that area was not Endere, it may have been any other part of the composite Khotan kingdom

(2) If the Prākrit was of Khotan, there is yet no ground for assigning a Saka etymology to the word *hinajha*, unless we have reason to suppose that at the time, or previously, the current speech of Khotan was Saka

(3) If the word *hinajha* were Saka, and if it were correctly etymologized as *hina*, "army,' and *aza*, "leader," so that the whole should mean "general,' there would be no reason for supposing it to be a rendering of any foreign word.

(4) If *hinajha* were a rendering of a foreign word, the Greek στρατηγός, which in the Indian sphere occurs only on a coin of Azes of *c* 20(?) B.C , is too remote in place and time to have *in itself* any likelihood Since Sanskrit and Prākrit were familiar in Khotan at the time, the word translated would be Sanskrit *senā-nī, scnā-nāyaka*

(5) If a Khotan king had a title meaning "General", it would most probably have been conferred by the Chinese court, which was in the habit of bestowing such titles upon rulers within its sphere of influence

In note 4 to the edition of the text attention is called to a possibility of reading the last syllable of *hinajhasya* as *vye* or *nye*. Whatever

may be thought of these alternatives, it is certain in any case that the syllable is not *sya* In the document the syllable *sya* has nine occurrences, and in all these it is formed by the same strokes to the same effect Moreover, there are of *sa* seven occurrences, of *saṃ* one, of *si* one, of *su* one, of *so* three, of *sra* one, and in all these also the formation of the *s* is the same as in the *sya* The here accompanying photographic reproduction, wherein the occurrences are grouped, will make these facts patent to every eye The photograph shows also the occurrences of *dha* and *ca*, the only other *akṣaras* having any similarity to the one in question, which is exhibited with a *.

This confrontation affords the certainty that the syllable following *hinajha* is not *sya* and a high probability that it is *dhe*, since it lacks the curve (derived from a loop) in the head of *ca*

At the recent Congress of Orientalists in Rome Professor Sten Konow, having accepted the reading proposed above and urging that the *aksara* following the *dhe* is not *a* but *va*, a possibility indicated in the Editors' note 5, propounded a redivision of the words in the form *hinajha dheva Vijidasimhasya*, with *dh* for initial *d* in *dheva* according to the practice followed in the document This does indeed seem to posit in *dheva* a semi-dialectical form, since the practice of the document replaces Sanskrit *e* by *i* (e g in *dhinati*, l 7 = *denati*) and *dhiva*, = *deva*, is perhaps actually to be found in *Bahudhiva* (l 7) it also conceives the existence of a king with the name *Vijitasimha*, which I should not have ventured to do If it should prove necessary to accept a reading *dheva* = *deva*, we might perhaps avoid the second inconvenience by understanding °*devavijitasimha* as a compound, which would leave the personal name *Avijitasimha* intact. *Hinajha-dheva* might then be a surname with *deva* for second member, as in *Svarna-deva* (of Kucā), *Vāsu-deva*, and the many Khotan names in *-de* noted in *JRAS* 1930, pp 295–6

In these circumstances it is satisfactory to have at least the certainty of the equation *hinajha* = *senā-nī* or *senā-pati*, which is furnished by the annexed note, kindly contributed by Dr H W Bailey —

hīnāysä ' general "

Stein MS Ch c 001, lines 851–1058, contains the complete Sumukha-dhāranī = Tib Kanjur, rgyud xiii, 416*b* seq (Narthang edition) In turn divine beings come forward offering long life to the reciter of the Sumukha-dhāranī beginning with *Brahmāna gyasta*, Tib *lhahi dban-po brgya byin*

Sixth is *Mahiśvara gyastaṣai*, Tib *lḥahi dban-phyug chen-po*, then the following passage ·—

986 ttīya vā skąndha ąysąnai mista hīnāysa kąma hālai gyasta
987 bąysa vye hāsta amjalā dastyām aurga tsve u gyasta bąysa tta hve

Then Skandha[1] *the youth*[2] *the great general, where the Bhagavān was, thither with hands forming the anjali he went with reverence and thus spoke to the Bhagavān*

Tib 421*b*, 1 de-nas sde-dpon gzonus | bcom-ldan-hdas ga-la-ba der logsu thal-mo sbyar-ba btude | bcom- 2 -ldan-hdas-la hdi skad-ces gsol-to ||

Hence *hīnāysa* (*haina* + *az-*, cf Av *gav-āza-*, *nav-āza* [read *nāvāza-*]) = *sde-dpon* (*sde* = Skt *senā*, *dpon* = Skt *pati*)

2 Kharoṣṭhī s < dh

Professor Luders' identification (Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1933, pp. 1000–1) of the form *masu*, in the Kharosthī documents, with Sanskrit *madhu*, an identification to which a personal adherence has been expressed in *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, p 60, n. 2, encounters a certain reluctance by reason of the unfamiliarity of the transition from *dh* to *s* The change had previously been remarked by Professor Rapson (index) in the word *asimatra* with variants *aṣimatra*, *ajhimatra*, which can scarcely be different from *adhimātra*, which also occurs Consideration of the nature of the change, which Professor Luders refers to Iranian influence, must depend upon further information concerning its range It is therefore of interest to note some examples occurring in the Indian sphere, probably all at an earlier, and one at a very much earlier, date Those which I have found are the following —

1. *sasu* = *sādhu* (Aśoka Edict I. Shāhbāzgarhī, l 2) in *sasumate* = *sādhu-matā*, etc

2 *bosi-satva* = *bodhi-sattva* (Taxila Silver Scroll, l. 3; see *Kharoshthī Inscriptions* ed. Konow, p. 77)

3 *Bosa-varuma* = *Bodha-varman* (Lahore Museum Halo Inscription, ibid, p 115).

In Brāhmī inscriptions I have not found any example, and, so far, therefore, the probability is that the phenomenon was peculiar

[1] Skt. *Skanda* "god of war", called *Skandhakumār-* in Tocharian 370, 5, with *dh* as here in Saka.

[2] Translated Skt. *kumāra*.

to dialects of the north-west By reason of the dates its origin cannot be placed in Chinese Turkestan Its real history, in which some Iranian influence may have been exercised, demands for its elucidation further material.

3. Nīcīri, Nīčhatra, Picara, Picaveti

These four words, equivalents of **naćīri*, Sk *naksatra*, Sk *pratyarha*, Sk. *pratyarpayati*, have a common feature in so far as they all present the vowel *i* in place of *a* three of them—*nīčhatra*, *picaveti*, *picara* (sometimes *pimcara*)—have several occurrences, and the first occurs side by side (in No 565) with the normal *naćhatra* The forms support each other and show that in the milieu wherein they arose—people of the Shan-shan kingdom, of Chinese Turkestan, employing for some purposes an Indo-Aryan tongue—a tendency to pronounce *a* as *i* was able, under some accentual conditions, to fulfil itself when the following consonant was *c* (*cc*) or *ch* But something should be said concerning three of the four words

Nićīri, which occurs in the document No 677, may be regarded as an adjective from the *nacīra* of Nos 13, 15, 156, 509 on the ground of (1) the rarity of words containing *c̄*, (2) the *prima facie* appropriateness of the meaning " not connected with army (*senā*) nor connected with hunting (*nacīra*) in the passage *tasya bhumaṣa na seni na nīćiri harga asti*, where, however, the meaning of *harga* is unascertained But naturally the supposition is a conjecture

Pic[*c*]*ara*, occurring in the complimentary phrase—
picara-divya-varsa-śatāyu-pramāna (Nos 107, 247, etc)
and used also in—
lekha piahuda presiśama yo tehi picaia syati (No 288)
We will send a letter and present such as may be worthy of you "
and similarly, no doubt, in the defective passage—
atra ii[*saji*]*da ya ja ṣa Priyamac picaia siyati* (No 377)
can scarcely be other than = Sk *pratyarha* in the phrase (*Mahāvastu*, ed Senart I, p 467) *pratyarha-saukhya* " happiness according to desert " But the loss of *i* seen in *pic*(*c*)*ara* < *pric*(*c*)*ara* requires consideration The preposition *piati* shows irregularity in the documents, having variant forms *pati*, *padi*, and *prati* (see Professor Rapson's Index, and note *pad'eka* = *pratyeka*), in regard to which we may conjecture different explanations But in the case of *pic*(*c*)*ara* it seems reasonable

to admit a dissimulative influence of the following *r*. A dissimulation in the opposite direction may have worked in the case of *camdri-ka(r)mamta* (No 272) and *cāmdri-ka(r)mmamta* (No. 714), discussed in *Acta Orientalia*, xii, p 46, n. 3 But independent weakness of *r* preceding consonants seems to be evidenced by such forms as *hit-ersi* = *hit-aisi* (No. 511) and Saka-Khotanī *Armatāya* = *Amitāyu* (*Saka Studies*, by Sten Konow, p. 34), etc

In the case of the numerous forms of the verb *pic(c)aveti* = *pratyarpayati* it seems difficult to have recourse to dissimulation, since both *r*'s are wanting If we nevertheless suppose a loss of the second *r*, we might at least expect the *p* to remain, giving *pic(c)apeti* in Prakrit the forms of the verb *paccappinai* (Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 557) always have *pp* But it seems probable that in the dialect which was the source of the verb *pic(c)aveti* there had been a confusion of *arpayati* (from *ar*) and *āpayati* (from *āp*) and that the immediate predecessor of *pic(c)aveti* was *piccāpeti* < *patyāpayati* < *patyarpayati*. That confusion at some early time had taken place between *arp* and *āp* in connection with *prati* appears from the verb-stem of *paccappinai* (i e. °*noti*), in which Jacobi (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 35, p. 573, n 2) rightly recognized a suffixal *-ina*, rejecting Pischel's supposition of a denominative from *arpana*

As regards the meaning of *pic(c)aveti* it may be observed that the sense of "deliver", "render", not "render back", is regular in Prakrit (*nivedane*) and is found in Sanskrit (*Raghu-vamśa*, xv, 41, ap B. and R., s v *ar*)

4. Dapicī

This place, named in the Saka-Khotanī document published in *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang* by F W. Thomas and Sten Konow (p. 148), was not identified either by the editors or in the notes published by Mr G L M Clauson in *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 297–309, where Ī-cū, Phūcamni, and Tsīrikyepi, mentioned in the same connection, seem to be correctly referred to Hami, Pichan, and Sirkip. As Dapicī seems to be the first stage on a route from Ī-cū (Hami), it can hardly be other than the place known to the Chinese as *Na-chih*, at a distance of 120, or 310, *li* west of Hami and at present named Lap-chuk (in Arrowsmith's old map *Labezu*) As Professor Pelliot, who visited the place, points out (*Journal Asiatique*, xi, vii (1916), pp 116–19), it was founded, probably during the sixth century A.D,

by colonists from Nob (Charklik), who named it after their home-city, the original form of the name being *Nap-cik*. Professor Pelliot discusses the phonology of the change from *Nap* to *Lap*, which is familiar in other cases (*Lop* from *Nob*, etc.)

It seems that we must recognize in *Dapicī* a third form *Dap* (the *i* of *Dapi* being merely a Saka-Khotanī orthographical (?) expedient, as in *Nāhi-chittipū*, etc.). In Chinese transliterations syllables (*na*, etc.) beginning with *n* are frequently used to represent foreign *d-*, and inversely Chinese initial *n* appears in Tibetan sometimes as *ḥd* (i.e. *nd*, *JRAS*, 1926 p. 525, 1927, p. 305). Whether in *Dapicī* (eighth century A.D.) the *d* existed in the local pronunciation as a transition stage between *n* and *l* or betrays a Chinese intermediary in the information, we have no means of ascertaining.

It may be remarked *en passant* that, as the places named in the passage here cited seem to form a not very widely extended group, further identifications may be expected. Thus *Ttiyāki* may be Toyuk, an ancient site, as is shown by archæological investigations (Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 613–15), and possibly *Śakāh* may be the Šōga given in a map (Hedin-Herrmann, *Southern Tibet*, vii, pl. xxiii), and others suggest themselves. But there is little profit in such identifications, unsupported by early forms of the modern names.

Sanskrit *ā-kṣeti* and Pali *acchati* in Modern Indo-Aryan

By R L Turner

In a notice [1] of an article [2] full of new facts and invaluable suggestion like all those of the great scholar, to honour whom this volume is designed, I ventured to suggest that the origin of Pali *acchati* was to be looked for in Skt *ā-kṣeti* The assumption of an Old Indo-Aryan form with *ks* was necessitated by the Kashmiri *chuh* 'he is' · for Ksh. *ch* corresponds (except in loanwords) to Skt *ks*, Skt. *(c)ch* > Ksh dental affricate *ch* (*tsh*) Professor J Bloch,[3] while accepting the identity of Ksh *chuh* with MidIA *acch-*, appears to recognize the difficulty of equating Ksh. *ch* with *cch*, but passes over the possibility of *acch-* being derived from *ā-kṣeti* A return, then, to this much discussed question of the derivation of *acch-* is perhaps permissible.

Various forms from five Sanskrit roots had previously been suggested as the origin of *acch- sthā-*, *gam-*, *ṛ-*, *ās-*, *as-* 'to be'.

1 *ā-sthā-* by A F Pott,[4] approved by G A Grierson and A F. R Hoernle,[5] who supposed a metathesis, **ā-thsā-*

2 *gácchati* with loss of initial *g-* by A Weber,[6] E Muller,[7] and E Leumann [8] This was rejected by E W A Kuhn [9] and R Pischel.[10]

3 *ṛcchátι* by Pischel [11] This has more recently received the support of Sir George Grierson himself [12]

4 Hemacandra [13] and Pāli grammarians [14] referred *acch-* to Skt. *ās-*, which was accepted by R C Childers,[15] Pischel,[16] P Steinthal,[17]

[1] *BSOS* v, p 137 ff

[2] *Garbe-Festgabe*, p 24 ff

[3] *L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, p 53

[4] *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*, i, p 459

[5] *A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language*, p 93 ff, where appear most of the references to discussions up to 1885

[6] *Das Saptaçatakam des Hāla*, p 556

[7] *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprâkrit*, p 36

[8] *Das Aupapātika Sūtra*, p 93

[9] *Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik*, p 97

[10] *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung herausgegeben von A Kuhn*, viii, p 144

[11] *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 480, where previous references are recorded

[12] *Garbe-Festgabe*, p 24 ff

[13] iv, 215

[14] *Saddanīti*, ii, *Moggallāna-Vyākarana*, v, 173, quoted in *Critical Pali Dictionary*, s v *acchati*

[15] *A Dictionary of the Pâli Language*, s v

[16] *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prâkritsprachen*, p 155.

[17] *Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā*, p 45

and Hoernle[1] To explain the presence of *cch* Pischel[2] had earlier proposed an inchoative with IE suffix *-ske-* [**ēs-ske-*], which was accepted by W. Geiger[3] Before that G I. Ascoli[4] had proposed a future **ātsyati* or **ātsyate.* (This appears to be accepted by D Andersen and H Smith for Pa 2 sg fut. *acchasi*[5]) Two years later V Trenckner,[6] proceeding from Pa. aorist *acchi* suggested **ātsīt*, aorist of *ās-*

5 Vararuci,[7] Kramadīśvara,[8] Rāmaśarman,[9] and Mārkandeya[9] referred *acch-* to *as-* 'to be' E Kuhn,[10] again to explain *cch*, took the inchoative with IE. *-ske-* In this he has been followed by S. Lévi and A Meillet,[11] J. Bloch,[12] Andersen and Smith[13] E Senart[14] and Johansson,[15] interpreting the *acchamti* (*amchamti* according to Senart) of Aśoka Shāh v, 11, as a future, set out from a future of *as-*, viz **atsyati*

The basic meaning of *acch-* is 'to abide, sit, remain', seen clearly in Pali (cf *samacch-* 'to sit down together') and Prakrit[16] and preserved down to the modern languages in Gypsy *ač(h)-*[17] and Old Hindi *ăchnā*[18] Therefore on the score of meaning alone we may dismiss *gácchati* and *ṛcchắti*[19] Nor is it possible to separate *acch-* 'to abide, sit' from *acch-* 'to be', used so widely in the modern languages both as the

[1] *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p 366, or to *as-*

[2] *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1875, p 627 f, and *Beitrage zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, viii, p 144

[3] *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, § 135

[4] *Studj Critici*, p 352, note 49

[5] *Crit Pali Dict*, s v *acchati*

[6] *Pali Miscellany*, p 61

[7] xii, 19

[8] iv, 10

[9] Quoted by Grierson, *Memoirs of the As Soc Bengal*, viii, No 2, p 88

[10] Quoted by Pischel, *Gr Pkt Spr*, § 480, note 6.

[11] *MSL* xviii, p 28

[12] *La formation de la langue marathe*, p 289.

[13] *Crit Pali Dict*, s v

[14] *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, p 138

[15] *IF* iii, 210

[16] See especially the evidence collected by Grierson and Hoernle in *Comp Dict. Bihārī*, p 93

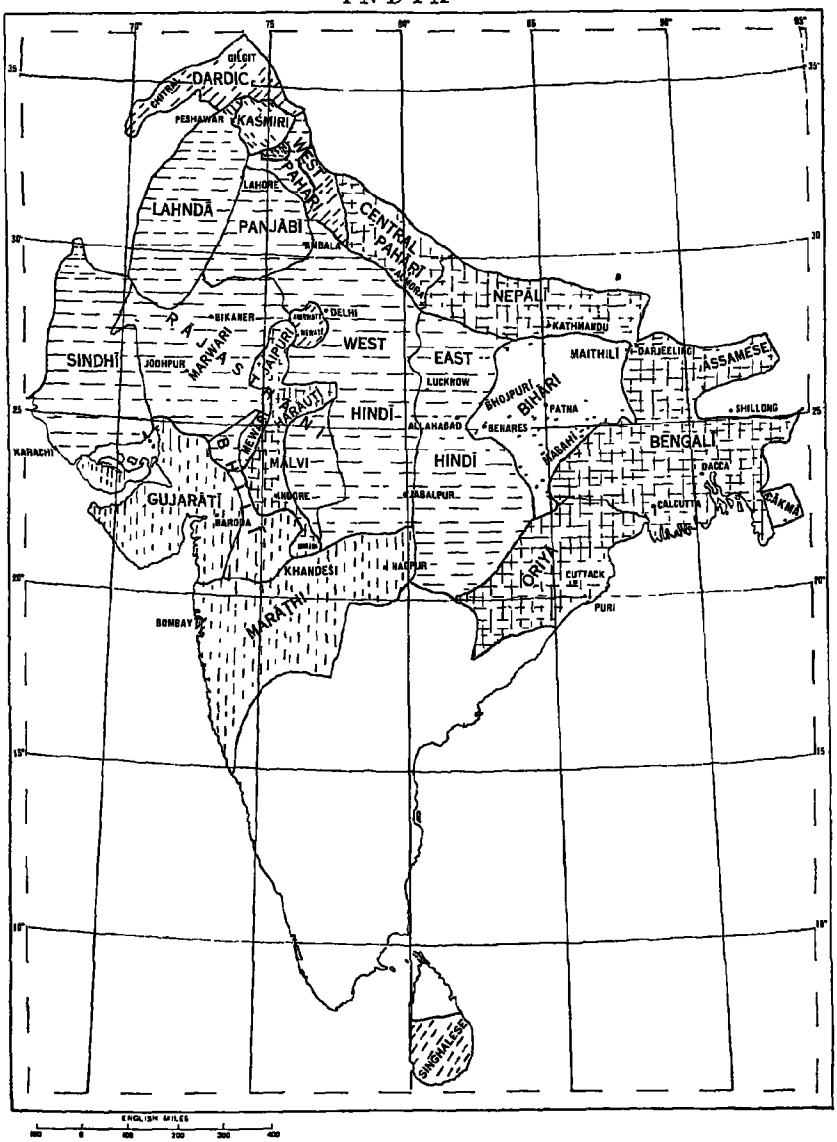
[17] See especially J Sampson, *Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, pt iv, pp 1–2

[18] Śyām Sundar Dās, *Hindī-Śabdasāgar*, s vv *achnā*, *āchnā*

[19] The meanings *indriyapralaya* and *mūrtibhāva* given by the Dhātup for *ṛ-* and referred to by Pischel *Gr Pkt Spr*, § 480, are presumably due to the use of *ṛ-* with abstract nouns in the accusative, e g *yuddharangatām ṛ-* (Nalod 2, 10) 'to become the battleground of' It is true, as Grierson in *Garbe-Festgabe*, p 24, points out, that 'to go' may thus develop into 'to become', as in *gácchati* > Ksh *gachun* 'to become' But *acchati* means 'abides', not 'becomes'

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF *ākṣeṭi* IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN

INDIA



ch-, where Skt. *ks* > *ch*, Skt. *ch* > *ch*

(*ă*)*ch*- or *ăs*-, where Skt *kṣ* > *ch* or *s*

(*ă*)*ch*-, where Skt *kṣ* > *kh*.

(*ă*)*kh*- sporadically, where Skt. *ks* > *kh*

(*ă*)*h*-, where Skt *ks* > *kh*.

(*ă*)*h*-, where Skt. *ks* > *ch*.

Other verbs *as*-, *ās*-, *sthā*-, etc.

substantive verb and as an auxiliary to form participial tenses. The beginning of this development is already found in Pali where, as T Rhys-Davids and W. Stede [1] point out, the use of the present participle with *acchati* is parallel to the similar idiom in Sanskrit of the present participle with *āste* Thus it would appear that IE **es(s)ke-* 'to be' has little chance of being the origin of Pa *acchati* 'abides, sits' We are left therefore with the forms of *ās-* 'to sit', **ācchati* (< **ēs-ske-*) and **ātsīt* or **ātsyati* [2]

All these forms have Skt *cch* or *ts(y)* The group *ts(y)* falls together with *cch* over the whole Middle and Modern IA domain except in a small group of Dardic dialects [3]

Though it may be noted that none of these three forms is actually found in Sanskrit, semasiologically any of them would be satisfactory and on the phonetic side would account for the forms of Pa Pkt *acch-*, Gypsy *ač(h)-*, Garhwālī, Kumaonī, Nepālī *ch-*, Assamese *ās-*, Bengali *āch-*, Oriyā, Maithilī *ach-*, Old Hindī *ăch-*, East Rājasthānī (Jaipurī, Harautī, Banjārī, East Mālvī, Nimāḍī, Central Bhīl dialects), Gujarātī *ch-*, Marāthī *as-*, Khāndeśī *s-*, Konkanī, Halbī *ās-*

But, inseparable from these, there are in both the Middle and Modern languages forms which cannot be brought under the formula of a Skt *cch* or *ts(y)* As already pointed out, Kashmiri has *chuh* 'is', and in Kashmiri *ch* is derived only from Skt *ks* both Skt *(c)ch* and Skt *ts* > Ksh *ch* (dental affricate) [4] On the other hand, in the East, where Skt *ks* > *kkh*, beside the *ch* forms of Garh., Kum , Nep , Maith , Beng , Ass., Or ,[5] forms of the substantive verb are to be found with *kh* Old Maithilī had *akhalu* 'was', with which S. K Chatterji.[6]

[1] *Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, s v *acchati*

[2] Pott's *ā-sthā-* is impossible on phonetic grounds, and was discarded by Grierson and Hoernle

[3] E g Shina distinguishes Skt *(c)ch* and *ts* as *ch* and *ts(h)* *chiyei* < *chidyate*, *chal* < *chagaláḥ*, but *uts* < *utsáh*, *batsho* < *vatsakah*

[4] *BSOS* v, p. 138 For *ts(y)* we have *wochu* < *vatsakah*, *mach* < *mátsyah*

[5] In the Bihārī (except Maithilī), East and West Hindī areas we have no evidence for the existence of *ăch-* as the substantive or auxiliary verb It is not so found to-day In Old Hindī *ăch-* was a verb of fuller meaning 'remain, be found, exist' Śyām Sundar Dās in the *Hindī Śabdakoś*, s vv *achnā*, *āchnā*, gives references to Jaisī, Kabīr, and Bihārī it thus belonged to the vocabulary of literary Awadhī and Braj , and may have entered from the East Rājasthānī dialects, where to-day it provides the substantive and auxiliary verb That in Old Awadhī was *ăh-* (see, e g Grierson and Hoernle's *Index to the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās*, pp 23, 31)

[6] *Varnaratnākara of Jyotirīśvara-kavišekharācārya* (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress*, vol ii), p 69

although he leaves it unexplained, rightly compares Bhojpurī *khe* 'is', *naikhe* 'is not'[1] To these may be added Nagpuriā *nakhī* 'am not',[2] Madhesī *naikhī̃*[3]

Much farther to the East, the existence of a *kh* verb in Bengali is attested by otherwise inexplicable forms of the Cākmā dialect of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Here the substantive verb is '—

	Present		Past	
Sg and pl 1	*āgi* I am	Sg	*ēlun* I was	pl. *ēlan*
2	*āgas*		*ēlē*	*ēlā*
3	*āge*		*ēl*	*ēlāk*[4]

This dialect generally has unaspirated voiced stops corresponding to intervocalic voiceless stops, aspirated or unaspirated, of Bengali The following examples occur in the specimen[5] *ghadaki* = *ghataki*, *egattar* = *ekatra*, *cāgar* = *cākar*, *nigli* = *nikal-*, *bhidar* = *bhītar*, *anudi* = *anuthi*, *hād(-at)* = *hāth* Therefore *āgi* may be derived from **ākhi*, and *ēl* < **āgil* < **ākhil*

Many years earlier J. Beames[6] had perceived the unity of the *kh* and (*ă*)*ch*- forms He invented a Skt root *aks-* 'to appear' (which he based on *áksi* 'eye') to account for the correspondence *kh* = *ch*. Johansson[7] rightly rejected the non-existent *aks-*, but with it wrongly threw over the identity of the *kh* and *ch* forms of the verb.

Since Pa.Pkt *acch-*, Ksh *chuh*, OMaith *akh-* can only be united under a common form containing Skt *ks*, it is imperative to examine again the Aśokan passage in which E Senart[8] read *amchamti*, G. Buhler and A C Woolner[9] *achamti* 'are' or 'will be', Shāh., v, 11, *maa putra ca nataro ca param ca tena ye me apaca achamti avakapam* 'my sons and grandsons and after that those who are my descendants to the end of time'

In the other four versions in which this sentence occurs there is no verb expressed

Mān *maa putra ca natare ca para ca tena ye apatiye me avakapam.*

[1] Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, v, 2, p 51, and *Seven Grammars of the Bihārī Language*, p 41, gives only the negative *na(h)ikh-*

[2] *LSI* v, 2, p 280

[3] *LSI* v, 2, p 305

[4] *LSI* v, 1, p 324

[5] *Ib*., p 327–49.

[6] *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, iii, p 183 (cf. i, p 192 f)

[7] *IF* iii, p 209

[8] *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, p 138.

[9] *Aśoka Text and Glossary*, p 54

Gir. *mama putā ca potā ca param ca tena ye me apacam āvasam-vatakapā*

Kāl *mamā putā cā natāle cā palam cā teh ye apatıye me āvakapam*

Dhau *ye me putā va natī va . m ca tena ye apatıye me āvakapam*

This renders it highly probable that the verb in the Shāh version is the substantive verb, and at the same time that it is the present tense rather than the future (*achamtı* < **atsyantı*) which Senart and Johansson [1] maintained it to be

But E Hultzsch,[2] following A M Boyer,[3] notes that the second akṣara is that which corresponds to Skt *ks* and he transliterates as *ks*, though without prejudice as to its pronunciation E J Rapson [4] agrees with Sten Konow [5] in interpreting the corresponding form with a line over it of the Kharosthī documents from Niya as a compound aksara, viz *ks* Hultzsch, now reading *aksamtı* and finding no Sanskrit equivalent for this word, was apparently tempted to read the first aksara, which presents certain difficulties, as *vra*, making *vraksamtı* This he interpreted as future of *vraj-*, **vraksyatı* (present stem in Shāh *vrac(c)-*) Neither this form nor this use is elsewhere attested for Skt *vraj-*, Pa *vaj-*, Pkt *vaj-*, *vajj-*, *vacc-*, or for the modern languages.[6] A close examination of the plate given by Hultzsch seems to show that the reading supported by Senart, Buhler, and Woolner as *a* is correct All the examples of *v* have a rectilinear angle made by the horizontal and perpendicular lines forming it. This one has the typical curve or hook of the aksara for *a* Only at the bottom appears to be a stroke which Hultzsch read as *r*, but this is possibly a meaningless mark on the rock The word then is *aksamtı* ' exist, are ', and in it we have a word which corresponds exactly with a form of the verb ' to be ' found in the Kharosthī documents from Chinese Turkestan, namely *ačh-*, which as we have seen is probably to be read rather as *ăks-* Of the three certain examples [7] two are the auxiliary and one the substantive verb .—

[1] *IF* III, p 210.

[2] *CII*, vol I (new ed), *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p 55, note 5

[3] *JA* 1911, p 422 f

[4] *Kharosthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p 302

[5] *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1924, p 1902, *CII* vol II, pt I, *Kharosthī Inscriptions*, p cx

[6] See *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, s v *bagnu*

[7] E J Rapson and P S Noble, *Khar Inscr Turkestan*, pt. III, Index, s vv *ačhatı*, *ačhatı*, *ačhatu* Of these the first, in No 506, read by the editors *ačhatı* (not *ačhatı*) is rather, according to a communication from Mr T Burrow, to be read as *aja vı*, which the editors give as an alternative

No 83. *yam kala tuo nıgata rayadvarammı u[kasidavo] ačĥatı* 'when you must go out down to the kıng's court'. *yatı tuo na ukasida[vo] ačĥatu* 'ıf you should not have to go out'

No. 188 . *[yo]* . *tahı karya ačĥatı, sačĥami [a]ham tahı karya karamnae* 'I shall be able to do what busıness there ıs of yours'.

Contamınated wıth *hotı* and *huatı* (< *bhávatı*) thıs verb appears as *hačĥ-*[1] ın seventeen documents Lıke *ačĥ-* ıts use ın condıtıonal and relatıve sentences of the type *yadı bhudartha eva hačĥatı* 'ıf the fact ıs so', corresponds closely wıth the one instance from Aśoka *param ca tena ye me apaca aksamtı* [2] As a form of the *modus ırrealis,* ıt ıs used ın the same way as *sıyatı*, whıch may account for ıts appearance ın one document (No 4), lıke that of *ačĥatu* above, as *hačĥatu yadı uta na vıṣarjıdae hačĥatu* 'ıf the camel should not be sent' [3] On the other hand *bhavısyatı* sometımes replaces ıt, and for the same reason as led Johansson to descrıbe Shāh *aksamtı* as a future, *hačĥatı* could be conceıved of as a future [4], whence doubtless the learned spellıngs ın Nos. 223, 366, and 578 as *hačĥyatı* Not only ıts use, but also ıts form would gıve ıt the appearance of a future of the type Skt *vakṣyátı, bhakṣyatı, śaksyatı* (cf *śačĥamı* above). etc In the same way ın Prakrıt the present stem *gacchaï* became a future,[5] through the ınfluence of futures lıke *lacchaï, bhecchaï, mocchaı* derıvıng from Sanskrıt forms wıth *-psy-, -tsy-, -kṣy-* [6]

In Prakrıt a sımılar contamınatıon of *ho-* wıth the descendant of *ākṣetı* attests the exıstence of a *kkh* form of thıs verb The realıty of AMg. *hokkhaı* whıch, though frequent, Pıschel [7] wrongly sets down as a false readıng of a form restıng on a **bhosyatı*, ıs proved by the

[1] Rapson and Noble, *Khar Inscr Turkestan,* pt ıı, Index, s vv *hačĥatı, hačĥatu, hačĥyatı* T Burrow, *JRAS* 1935, p 669, consıders *ačĥ-* to be derıved from *hačĥ-* wıth the loss of ınıtıal *h-* seen occasıonally elsewhere ın these documents. e g *astammı* = *ha°, uhatı* = *huatı* But there seems no reason to doubt that *ačĥ-* may be the orıgınal form

[2] See above, p 799

[3] Cf the ınvasıon of the 2 sg optatıve by the ımperatıve endıng *-su,* Pıschel, *Gr. Pkt Spr*, § 461 But accordıng to Burrow ın hıs thesıs *A Grammar of the Language of the Kharosthī Inscrıptıons* (deposıted ın the Cambrıdge Unıversıty Lıbrary) these, wıth other forms ın *-tu,* are 2 sg (*-tu* < *turám*)

[4] F W Thomas, *Acta Orientalıa,* xıı, pp 61–2, translates two examples ın No 165 as futures *yo puna tahı karyamı hačĥamtı* 'whatever requırements of yours shall come', *yo atra śubhāśubhaṣa pravrtı hačĥatı* 'whatever occurrences of good and bad there shall be'

[5] R Pıschel, *Gr Pkt Spr*, § 523 *gaccham, gacchımı,* etc , though Pıschel's proposed **gaksyāmı* has no foundatıon

[6] *BSOS* vı, p 535 , cf Aśoka Kālsī, etc , *ka(c)chatı* replacıng ambıguous **kassatı.*

[7] *Gr Pkt Spr*, § 521

existence of the 'strong auxiliary verb' *hokh-* 'to be, become' in Bhojpurī [1] and in the Magahī west of Gayā [2] It might, it is true, be urged that a future *hokkhaĩ* was formed direct from the root *ho-* after the type *bhóẏate bhokṣyate* (cf Pkt *bhoẏavva- bhokkhaï = hoẏavva-hokkhaï*) But Magahī of South Patnā and Gayā itself has emphatic forms of the present of the verb 'to be' which correspond exactly in form with *hačĥate* of the Kharosthī documents, viz 1 sg. *hakī*, 3 sg *hakaï*, 3 pl. *hakhin* to this last form Grierson [3] adds the significant note 'Forms such as this, containing *kh*, are much used by Kayasth women' For women especially preserve archaic forms

A similar, but probably independent, contamination of the two stems exists in the 'optative' of the verb 'to be' in the Nuri dialect of Asiatic gypsy —

sg	1 *hócam*	pl	*hócăn*
	2 *hóci, hósi*		*hócēs*
	3 *hócer*		*hócănd* [4]

In the Middle Indo-Aryan, then, of Shahbazgarhi and of the Kharosthī Documents we have words for the verb 'to be'—*ăks-* and *ăčĥ-* —which correspond in form and meaning with Ksh *chuh* and Maith *akh-*, and attest once again that the *cch* of Pa *acchati* is derived from Skt *ks*, as Beames saw If he had not had recourse to the imaginary root *aks-*, he would have found its obvious origin in Skt. *ă-kseti* 'stays, remains, exists' [5]

Even in causative stems MidIA *e* < Skt *aya* was often in Prakrit replaced by *a* [6] In most modern languages the inflection is identical

[1] G A Grierson, *Seven Gr Bihārī*, pt II, p 51

[2] *Ib*, pt III, p 31

[3] *Ib*, pt III, p 31

[4] R A S Macalister, *The language of the Nawar*, p 36 J Bloch, who was the first to recognize the existence of *acch-* in this dialect, *Journ Gypsy Lore Soc*, 3rd ser, XI, p 32, explains this paradigm a little differently as a compound tense containing "le radical (ou l'absolutif ?) du verbe *ho-*, suivi d'un verbe conjugué signifiant lui-même 'être'"

[5] *ā-kṣi-* according to Grassmann occurs six times in RV, BR give four references to AV and none to any subsequent text *ākṣit-* once in RV, *ánākṣit-* in ŠBr An **āksaya-* m 'resting-place' possibly survives in Sindhī *ākheṛo* m. 'bird's nest' I have found no other surviving verbal form of *kṣi-* in the modern languages *kséma-* (Pa Pkt *khema-*, Khar Doc *čhema-*, Si *khĕ* f 'welfare', Guj *khem* n (?) 'well-being', Mar *khev* m 'evil accident', Sgh *semin, hemin* 'slowly, softly', *kema* 'magic to avert mischief', *yogaksemá-*, see *Nep Dict* s v *jokhim*) and especially *kṣétra-* (see *Nep Dict* s v *khet*) have had a considerable fortune

[6] Pischel, *Gr Pkt Spr*, § 553

for both *-a-* and *-aya* stems.[1] Already in Aśoka in a verb without causative meaning Kāl has pl *kalamtı* beside sg. *kaleti*[2] (cf. Shāh. pres part *karamtam*[3] beside *karoti*) In Pkt. *neı* (< *náyatı*) stands in contrast to *ānaı* (< *ánayatı*) Since the suffix *-e-* (< *-aya-*) is predominantly associated with transitive (causative) verbs, a pre-eminently intransitive verb like *ákseti* would all the more easily be replaced by *ăksatı*, a process doubtless assisted by analogies within the form-group itself, such as *carıta- caratı* = *āksıta-* · *ākṣatı*

Nevertheless, in the conservative languages of the West and North-West, namely Sindhī and Lahndā, there is evidence that this verb contained an *e* Sindhī distinguishes the conjugation of *-a-* and *-aya-* verbs of Sanskrit in the old present —

sg	1	*carā̃* (cf Pkt *carāmı*)	*cāriā̃* (cf Pkt. *cāremı*)
	2	*car-ẽ, -ī̃*	*·cār-ıẽ, -ẽ, -ī̃*
	3	*care*	*cāre*
pl.	1	*carū̃*	*cārıū̃*
	2	*caro*	*cārio*
	3	*caran*[4]	*cārĭ̃n*[4]

Although the second or *-i-* conjugation is otherwise confined to transitive verbs, yet the substantive and auxiliary verb *āh-*, which is probably < *ākh-*[4], belongs to this conjugation .—

sg	1	*āhıā̃*	pl. *āhıā̃*
	2	*āh-ẽ, -ī̃*	*āhıo*
	3	*āhe*	*āhĭn*[4]

In the Lāru[5]

sg.	1	*āyā̃*	pl. *āyū̃*
	2	*āī̃*	*āyo*
	3	*āhe*	*āhin*[6]

This, so contrary to the conjugational system of Sindhī, can only be the result of a MidIA form with *-e-*, such as might rest upon a Skt. *ákṣeti*. The retention of *-e-* in the MidIA. ancestor of Sindhī in contrast to Pa *acchatı* is paralleled by *ānmā̃*, etc. (< *ānemı*) beside MPkt. *ānaī*

Lahndā of the Salt Range has 1 sg *ehwā̃* (< **āhıwā̃*), 3 pl. *āhin*[6]:

[1] Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p 243.
[2] Hultzsch, *CII* vol ı, *Inscr. Aśoka*, p. lxxxı.
[3] *Ib*, p xcv
[4] See below, p 810
[5] *LSI.* vıı, ı, p. 59
[6] *LSI.* vıı, 1, pp 440, 441.

the same dialect contrasts *mārin* < Pkt. *mārentı* with *maresan* < Pkt. *māressantı*.

The existence of the *-a-* form so early and in so conservative an area as Shahbazgarhi may be at first sight unexpected. But we have seen some indication that the plural *-entı* was replaced by *-antı* earlier than the singular *-etı* by *-atı* It is possible, though not demonstrable, that Aśoka Shāh had singular **ăkseti* to plural *ăksamti*

We cannot demarcate with exactness the areas comprising the two main developments of Skt *ks*.[1] In the North-West, from the evidence of the Shahbazgarhi and other Kharosthī inscriptions [2] it remained till a comparatively late period as *kṣ* In the Dardic languages it is still differentiated from Skt. *(c)ch* e g as cerebral *ch* opposed to palatal *ch* in Pashai, Khowar, Palula, Dameli, Bashkarik, and Shina, as *ch* opposed to dental affricate *ch* in Gawarbatī, and as *ch* opposed to *ch* in Tirāhī and Kashmīrī

In Maharāstrī Prakrit as *(c)ch*, and in Marāthī as *s*, it has fallen together with Skt *(c)ch* It may be that this development was proper to other dialects also *(c)ch* forms are more common in Ardhamāgadhī than in Śaurasenī,[3] but these may be due to the greater influence of Maharāstrī on the former Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the ancestor of Singhalese, which has some very striking resemblances with Ardhamāgadhī,[4] was a *ch* language [5] As for Gujarātī, which I previously [6] grouped with the *kh* languages, Bloch points out that it shares with Marāthī a small residuum of words in which *ks* is represented by *ch* (*s*), and which are not generally found in this form elsewhere [7] In the time of Aśoka the language of Girnār, where

[1] See J Bloch, *Langue marathe*, § 104

[2] Sten Konow, *CII* vol II, pt I, p cx

[3] Pischel, *Gr. Pkt Spr* §§ 317–320

[4] *-tr-*, preceded by a long vowel, > *-t-* which subsequently was lost like original Skt *-t-* (see W Geiger, *A Dictionary of the Singhalese Language*, p xix), the group *rt(h)* > *at(h)* > *al*

[5] W Geiger, op cit, p xxi, and *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p 42

[6] *JRAS* 1921, p 539

[7] He instances, *op cit*, p 113 Guj *chũdıũ* [but also *khũdvũ*] 'to pound' = Mar *sũdnẽ*, but Ass *khundıba* to pound', Hi *khũdnā* 'to trample' (Skt *ksunattı*, Pkt *chumdaï*, *khumdaı*); Guj *vichalıũ* 'to rinse' = Mar *vısalnẽ* (cf Skt *vıksālıta-*) Guj *taras* 'hyena' = Mar *taras* (Skt *taraksa-*, Pk *taraccha-*) and *ũs* 'sugarcane' = Mar *ũs* (Skt *ıksu-*, Pkt *ucchu-*) are loans from either Mar or North Guj. where *ch* > *s* (*JRAS* 1921, p 540) I find also Guj *cho* 'plaster, mortar', *chovũ* 'to plaster', but Beng *kho* 'broken brick', Hi *khoā* 'broken brick, mortar' (Skt *ksoda-*, *ksódatı*, *ksodayatı*, Pkt *khoa-* 'powder'), Guj *lācho* 'fomenting or burning feet with a hot iron' = Mar *lās* 'mark made by cautery', *lāsẽ* n spot, discoloration' (Skt *laksá-*, *Nep Dict*, s v *lākh*)

Gujarātī is now spoken, certainly shows *ks* > *cch*[1] It has only two words with (*k*)*kh* *uthījhakha* (cf. Skt *stryadhyaksa-*) which with its assimilation of *s* and *r* is certainly an Eastern form of an administrative term, and *samkhitena* which as a somewhat technical expression may also be an Eastern form That this development was proper to Girnār is strongly supported by the unique *sachāya* (Gir, XIV, 5), which Hultzsch[2] rightly explains as equal to **samkśāya* Elsewhere, even perhaps in Sanskrit (*kśā-* = *khyā-*) *kś* > (*k*)*khy*, and even Shahbazgarhi, which still maintained *ks*, has *kh* in *samkhaya* Further. this implies that *ch* < *ks*, since it apparently coincides with *ch* < *kś*, was palatal (a pronunciation borne out by the modern languages, Marāthī, Gujarātī and Singhalese in which Skt (*c*)*ch* and *ks* > (*c*)*ch* fall together), and that the South-Western change of *ks* > (*c*)*ch* was independent of the North-Western *ks* > cerebral (*ç*)*ch*, by which Skt *ks* is still distinguished from Skt (*c*)*ch*

Forms of Indo-Aryan acquired by non-Aryan jungle tribes sometimes retain archaisms which are lost in the neighbouring standard languages We have seen the survival of **ākhi* as *āgi* in a jungle dialect on the extreme east of Bengali[3] The survival of a word with *ch* < *ks* in the Bhīlī dialect of Naikadī, which is used in the wildest parts of the Panch Mahals and Rewakantha immediately west of the Gujarātī area, and which apparently alone among the languages of the West preserves the archaic *ach-*[4] is not without significance as to the possibility of an earlier and wider extension of *ch* forms in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan region In the specimen from Lunawada State, Rewakantha,[5] *chetar* occurs for 'field' The preservation of *r* in the group *tr*, as in Girnār and still in some dialects of Gujarātī, precludes us from supposing an influence of Mahārāstrī *chetta-* (> Mar *śet*) in which *r* was assimilated at a much earlier date

In the East and Centre, but extending into Panjābī, Lahndā, Sindhī, and some of the West Pahārī languages, *ks* > (*k*)*kh* Even in our earliest MidIA documents there is much mixture of vocabulary in this respect[6], but where *ch* forms have entered *kh* dialects as loans the *ch* is indistinguishable, as in Marāthī, from original Skt (*c*)*ch*

[1] Cf T Michelson, *JAOS* 1910, p 88, quoted by Bloch, loc. cit.
[2] *CII* vol I, *Inscr Aśoka*, p 26, note 6
[3] See above, p 799
[4] *āchi* 'is', *āchatī* f 'was' beside *chũ* 'am', *LSI* IX, 3, p 89
[5] *LSI* IX, 3, p 89
[6] J Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p 81

e.g. Hi. *tāchnā pūchnā* (Skt *tákṣatı, pṛcchátı*) like Mar. *tāsnē . pusnē* (contrast Ksh *tachun prıchun*)

It appears, then, that Skt *ákṣetı* has ıts proper phonetıc form ın Shāh *ākṣamtı*, Khar Doc *(h)ačh-*, Ksh *chuh*, MPkt *acchaī* and Mar *ăsnē* and perhaps Guj. *che*, OMaıth *akhalu*, Bhojp *naıkhe*, Nagpurıā *nakhī*, Madhesī *naıkhī*, and EBeng (Cāmkā) *āgı*. It is possible that AMg *acchaī* also corresponds directly to Skt *ákṣetı* It ıs remarkable that, judgıng from Pischel's collectıon of forms,[1] *acch-* dıd not exıst ın Śauraseṅī (ın whıch *ks* > *kkh*), ıt ıs most common ın Mahārāstrī, comıng second ın frequency ın Ardhamāgadhī

Among the modern languages the *ch* forms are to be consıdered loanwords ın Hındī, Central and Eastern Pahārī, Mod Maithılī, Orıyā, Bengalı,[2] and Assamese, perhaps ın Gujarātī and Eastern Rājasthānī Thıs rather extensıve spread of a *ch* form over *kh* dıalects ıs not surprısıng when we fınd the *cch* form already establıshed ın the lıterary languages of Buddhısm and Jaınısm

As so often wıth the ındıvıdual facts of vocabulary ın Indıa, we cannot tracc the exact path or paths by whıch *acch-* spread from the West ınto thıs Eastern group But ıt occurs twıce ın the Old Bengalı of the Caryās of Kānha,[3] as the pres part *acchante* ' exıstıng, beıng Sınce generally the language of the Caryās show double consonants shortened wıth compensatory lengthenıng of the previous vowel,[4] the presence of the short vowel wıth double consonant ın thıs word (contrast, e g *nācaa* < Pkt *nacc-* and *puchamı* < *pṛcchámı* ın No 3) suggests that ıt ıs a loan-word And, ın fact, ıt occurs quite frequently ın the ' Buddhıst Apabhramśa ' of the same school, ın the Dohākośa [5] Shahıdullah [6] places theır compositıon at the begınnıng of the eıghth century A D , Chatterjı [7] at the end of the twelfth P C Bagchı [8] has found ın Nepal a fragmentary palm-leaf MS of the Dohākośa of Saraha dated 220 Nepal samvat = A D 1100

The further extensıon of *ch* forms can be traced ın more recent tımes

[1] *Gr Plt Spr*, § 480

[2] *ch* forms have not completely drıven out the older forms ın Bengalı as ın the negatıve substantıve verb, see below, p 810

[3] M Shahıdullah, *Les Chants mystiques de Kānha et de Saraha*, p 116 (No 11) From the other Caryās S K Chatterjı, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p 931, quotes 1 sg *acchahu, acchamı*, 2 sg *acchasi*.

[4] S K Chatterjı, *Bengalı Language*, p 118

[5] Shahıdullah, *op cit*, pp 99, 203

[6] *op cit*, p 28

[7] *op cit*, p 119

[8] *Indian Linguistics*, v, p 352

As we have seen, the *Varnaratnākara* attests the existence in Maithilī of *akhalu* till probably the beginning or middle of the fourteenth century A D [1] By the end of that century or the beginning of the fifteenth Vidyāpati, who was born in the latter half of the fourteenth century,[2] regularly uses forms of *ach-* [3] Modern Maithilī has *ch* forms only [4]

In Bhojpurī the substantive verb is *bāt-*, *bār-* < Skt *vártate* But in North Muzaffapur, on the edge of the Maithilī area, forms of *ch-* (*chī*, *chā*, *chath*) are also used in the masculine plural [5]

Elsewhere the contest between (*ā*)*ch-* and (*ā*)*h-* (whether < *ākh-* [6] or < *ās-* < *ách-* [7]) and the extension of one at the expense of the other can be observed From the numerous examples of Bhīlī dialects collected by Grierson [8] we can establish three areas distinguished by their forms of the verb ' to be '.

1. The Northern with *h-*, comprising Māgrī, Khadak and Kotra (both in Mewar), Nyār, Vāgdī, and Dhar This forms a continuous area with the *h-* dialects of West Rājasthānī (Mewārī and Mārwārī)

2 The Central with (*ā*)*ch-*, comprising Naikdī Alirājpur, Baria, Cāranī, Ahīrī of Kacch, Barēl, and Pāvrī This forms a bridge between the *ch-* areas of East Rājasthānī (Jaipurī, Harautī, and part of Mālvī) on the east, and Gujarātī on the west

3 The Southern with (*ā*)*h-*, comprising Māvcī, Norī, Rānī Bhīlī, Codhrī, Gāmtī, and Dhoḍiā Konkanī This is contiguous to the (*ā*)*h-* area of Khāndeśī and Marāthī

Situated on the borders of the Northern and Central areas is the Bhīlī of Ratlam Here we find *he* or *chai* [9]

Lying between the Central and Southern areas the dialect of Rājpiplā shows a mixed paradigm —

Sg. 1	*chũ* or *āhe*	Pl. 1	*āhe*, *hẽ*
2	*che* or *āhe*	2	*āhe*, *he-rā*
3	*āhe*, *he*	3	*āhe*, *he-rā* [10]

[1] S K Chatterji, *Varnaratnākara*, p 1

[2] G A Grierson, *Introduction to the Maithilī Language*, pt II, p 34

[3] See references in A F R Hoernle and G A Grierson, *Comp Dict. Bihārī*, s v. *achh-*

[4] *LSI*, v 2, p 27.

[5] G A Grierson, *Seven Gr Bihārī*, pt. II, p. 44.

[6] See below, p 810 [7] See below, p 809.

[8] *LSI*. IX, 3, pp. 1–201

[9] *LSI* IX, 3, p 35 In the specimen on p. 36 occur 1 sg. *marũ hũ*, *nī hũ*, *nī ũ*; 3 sg *wāce hai*, *karayo he*, *karayo che*

[10] *LSI* IX, 3, p 85

The East Rājasthānī dialect of Nimāḍī, isolated in the South between the *h-* dialects of Mālvī on its north and the *(ā)h-* of Khāndeśī on its south, shows a paradigm in which *āh-* has invaded the 1 pl. —

Sg.	1 *che*	Pl.	1 *āya*
	2 *che*		2 *cho*
	3 *che*		3 *che* [1]

Replacement of a homonym is a circumstance favourable to dialectal borrowing. Thus Sindhī, among other languages, in which *rt* > *t(t)*, has *katanᵘ* 'to spin' (< *kart-*, cf. Skt *kṛnáttι* and Pkt *kattaι*), but uses an Eastern form *katanᵘ* 'to cut' (< Skt *kártaτι*, cf. Pkt *kattaï* and *kattaι*) In those languages in which *ks* > *kkh*, *ákseτι* would become homonymous with *ákhyaτι* 'says', which does, in fact, survive in Pa *akkhāτι*, Pkt *akkhāi*, Ksh (Dodā Sirājī) *ākho* 'word', Pj. *ākkhnā* 'to say'. Lah. *ākhan*, Si *ākhanu*, Guj *ākhvũ*, Bhīlī and Rājasth *ālh-*, OHi *ākhnā* Conversely, it would seem to be not mere chance that in the East, where on the evidence of dialects in the Bihārī and Bengali areas *akkh-* < *ákseτι* survived, there is now no trace of **akkh-* < *ákhyaτι*

It may now be agreed that a verb, for which in respect both of meaning and form Skt *ákseτι* provides an acceptable origin, appears as the substantive and auxiliary verb 'to be' in its expected dialectal form in various parts of the Indo-Aryan domain, although one form, that of the West or South-West, has spread beyond its proper boundaries Like the verb 'to be' in many other languages, it has been liable to various shortenings which have not affected normal full words In OMaith we have *akhalu*, not **ākh-*, though it is impossible to say whether this was a shortening of *ākh-* or an earlier change of **akkh-* to *akh-* Bhojpurī *khe* has lost the initial vowel altogether, like many of the languages with *ch* forms, such as Ksh *chuh*, Nep *cha*, Guj *che* If Bengali still has *āche* in the present, it has lost its vowel in the past *chila*, and even in the present when it is used as an auxiliary, *kari(te) āche* > *korce*

It has been established that not only vowels, but also consonants, in inflectional elements, in certain frequently used adjectives and verbs, in pronouns, and terms of address and postpositions, have experienced changes not found in normal full words In inflectional elements *-ss-* > *-s-* and *-s-* > *-h-* [2], in the adjectives 'big', 'good',

[1] *LSI* IX, 2, pp 315–16
[2] *JRAS* 1927, p 232 ff

'all' double consonants have been shortened, e g Panjābī, which maintains double consonants, has *vadā*, *bhalā*, *sab* < Pkt. *vaḍḍa-*, *bhalla-*, *savva-* In the verb 'to say' Pj *-kh-* > *-h-*, *āhnā* [1] beside *ākhnā*, in the verb 'to go' Bhad. *-ch-* > *-h-* *gāhnū* < *gácchatı*; in the verb 'to be' *-t-* (< *-tt-*) > *-r-* or disappears altogether Bhojpurī *bāte* > *bāre* and *bā* In postpositions *-jh-* and *-kh-* > *-h-* in OHi. *māhı* 'in' < *mājhı* (cf *mājh* 'middle'), OHi. *kăhu* (> Hi *ko*) < **kākhu*, cf OBeng. *kakhu* [2] (beside *kāḷh* 'armpit'), OGuj *pāhaĩm* 'by, near' is perhaps < *pākhaım* (cf Guj *pākh* 'side, party') rather than OGuj *pāsaĩm*, which survives as *pāse* [3]

Similar developments are certainly to be expected in the verb 'to be', and in Skt *bhávatı* we have evidence, not only, according to J Wackernagel,[4] that *ava* became *o* as early as the Vedic period, but also that in the earliest MidIA documents the initial consonant has already lost its occlusion, Pa *hotı*, etc

Bloch [5] derives Mar *asnẽ* 'to exist, be', from Pkt *acchaï*, but, unlike J T Molesworth,[6] he separates this from *āhnẽ* 'to be', for which together with Si *āh-*,[7] OHi *ah-*, Pj. Hi, etc, *h-*, he tentatively suggests Skt *ábhavatı* But *ábhavatı* does not occur in Pali, and Prakrit according to the *Pāiasaddamahannava* of H T. Seth has only the past participle *āhūa-* Apart from the fact that the modern languages show no trace of *o* or *u* (< *ava*), it appears unlikely that a verb so widely represented in the modern languages should have left practically no trace in MidIA Far more likely is it that *asnẽ* or **āsnẽ* became *āhnẽ* in the function of the simple substantive verb This accords with the difference of meaning as defined by J Stevenson [8] *asnẽ* 'to be usually, continue to be', *āhnẽ* 'to be' Both forms occur as auxiliaries in the *Jñāneśvarī*, written in A D 1290 but revised later [9]

This assumption is rendered still more probable when we consider

[1] In view of the phonetic weakness of the verb 'to say' in several languages this derivation is far more probable than that it is < Skt *ādha*

[2] Beames, *Comp Gr*, II, p 257, and S K Chatterji, *Bengalı Lang*, p. 761

[3] T N Dave, *A study of the Gujarātī Language in the Sixteenth Century V S*, p 161

[4] *Altındısche Grammatık*, § 108

[5] *Langue marathe*, p 289

[6] *A Dictionary, Maráthí and English*, s v.

[7] The root is more properly *āh-* The nasalization, when it appears, depends upon the nasalization of a terminational syllable thus *āhe*: *ā̃hā̃*.

[8] *Principles of Murathee Grammar*, pp 113, 114

[9] J Bloch, *op cit*, p 35

the *kh* forms derived from *ākṣeti*. Magahī beside emphatic and archaic (women's) 3 pl. *hakhin* 'are' has unemphatic *hahin*[1]

It may be observed from the English sentences *he's here* *he isn't here*; *they're here* *they aren't here*, that in the negative sentences the verb may carry more stress than in the positive. In Nepali, where an original monosyllable maintains its length (e g. *so*, *ko*, *jo* < Skt. *só*, *kó*, *yó*), **chai* (< *acchai*) became *cha*, but remained in the negative *chaina* So in the Bihārī dialect of Kurmālī Thār[2] we have *nekhe* 'is not' beside *āhe* 'is', and Nagpurīā[3] *nakhe* beside *ahe*. There can be little doubt that in these cases the *ǎh-* forms are derived from *ǎkh-* forms It may be further presumed that in languages, which no longer preserve any trace of *kh* forms, their *ǎh-* is the unemphatic derivative of earlier *ǎkh-* Traces of this *ǎh-*, not entirely driven out by Western *acch-*, are to be seen even in Bengali; for corresponding to the present of the positive substantive verb *āchi*, etc, we have the negative —

nahi	*nahi*
nahis	*naha*
nahe	*nahen*[4]

Lastly, among these languages some, beside *ǎh-*, have less emphatic forms beginning with *h-*. Thus in East Hindī. Baghelī 3 pl *ahen* beside *haĩ*[5], West Hindī· Bundelī 3 sg *āy* beside *he*,[6] Kanaujī 1 pl *āhinu* beside usual *hanu*,[7] Banāpharī 3 sg *āhai* beside *hai*.[8] It is clear that the *h*-forms are derived from *ǎh-*, and that this derivation, as Bloch suggested, must be extended to those languages, such as Standard Hindī, which possess only *h-* forms, e g. Hi *hai*.[9]

This (*ǎ*)*h-* provides the present, and in some cases the past, of the substantive and auxiliary verb over the whole of the Central and North-Western area of India proper, namely Bihārī (except Maithilī with *ch-* and Bhojpurī with *bāt*, *bār-*), East and West Hindī, Panjābī,

[1] G A. Grierson, *Seven Gr Bihārī*, pt III, p 32
[2] *LSI* v, 2, p 148.
[3] *LSI.* v, 2, p. 280
[4] J D Anderson, *A Manual of the Bengali Language*, p 15
[5] *LSI* vi, p. 22
[6] *LSI* ix, 1, p 93
[7] *LSI.* ix, 1, p 402
[8] *LSI* ix, 1, p 483
[9] I was clearly wrong in *Nep Dict* s v *hunu* in connecting these forms with Hi *honā*, Nep *hunu*, etc, which are < Skt *bhávati*, though the two verbs have exercised mutual influence on each other There is much chance of confusion when the two words differ only in their vowels Hi *hai* 'is' < *ākṣeti*, *hoy* 'may be' < *bhávati*

West Pahāṛī,[1] Lahndā, Sindhī, and West Rājasthānī. It will be observed that except for a small enclave in West Pahārī (viz. Bhadrawāhī and Bhalesī in which Skt *ks* > *ch*) this area coincides with that to which the change, *ks* > *kkh*, belongs.

To sum up, Skt *ā-kṣeti*[2] provides the present tense of the substantive and auxiliary verb over almost the whole domain of Modern Indo-Aryan. It has in a few regions been supplemented, and here and there replaced, by *rah-* 'to remain' and by descendants of Skt *vártate*. Only on the fringes are other verbs employed in Singhalese *as-*, *sad-*, *sthā-*, in Gypsy[3] and Dardic[4] and a little group at the east end of West Pahārī forms of *as-* or of *ās-*. The isolated Rājasthānī group

[1] Manḍeālī, *LSI*. ix, 4, p 724, Mandeālī Pahāṛī, p 746, Cameālī, p 780, Gādī p 799, Curāhī, p 825, Pangwālī, p 851, Bhadrawāhī and Bhalesī, p 893, Pāḍarī, p 906

[2] Bloch (*Ind Ling*, ii, p 32) showing that the *s* of Kashmiri 1 sg *chus* is < *(a)smi*, supports Grierson's assumption (*Garbe-Festgabe*, p 30) that this tense with its variation for gender is derived from a past participle, Pkt *acchia-* [= Skt *ākṣita-*] But with the exception of this and perhaps the Hunza Dom verb referred to below (note 4), the forms of the present tense everywhere seem to be derived from the present tense of Sanskrit (*BSOS* v, p 138) Where, as in Maithilī, there is differentiation of gender, it has been introduced secondarily through the influence of the participial tenses In the Nepalī paradigm —

	Sg		Pl	
	m	f	m	f
1	*chũ*	*chũ*	*chaũ*	*chaũ*
2	*chas*	*ches*	*chau*	*cheu*
3	*cha*	*che*	*chan*	*chin*

the separate feminine forms may be due to a purely phonetic change, whereby *cha-*, preceded by the final -*ĭ* of a feminine substantive, adjective, or participle, became *che-* (which before a nasal regularly > *chi-*) The 1 pl f *chaũ* (instead of **cheũ*) is due to the analogy of the 1 sg *chũ*, in which there is no *a* to be influenced by a preceding -*ĭ* The present tense with its special feminine forms,

2 sg m *carchas* < **caradu* (or *-o*) *chas* < *caramto* (or *-ao*) *acchasi*
f *carches* < **caradi* (or *-ī*) *chas* < *caramtī* (or *-ā*) *acchasi*,

provides a marked contrast with the future in *-ne*. Here in the feminine no *-ī* precedes the auxiliary, and consequently, as Rājguru Hemcandra in his *Gorkhā-bhāsā-vyākaraṇ*, p. 89, specifically points out, there is no change for gender in the auxiliary —

	Sg	Pl.
	m and f	m and f
2	*garne chas*	*garne chau*
3	*garne cha*	*garne chan*

[3] J Bloch, *Indian Linguistics*, ii, pp 27 ff

[4] Nevertheless, Lieut -Col D L. R Lorimer in a letter dated 2nd October, 1935, informs me that in the language of the Doms of Hunza, of which the vocabulary is largely Shina or akin to Shina, the present tense of the verb 'to be' is —

Sg	1	*cis* (or *ch-*[?])	Pl 1 *cõ*
	2	*cāi*	2 *cōt*
	3	m. *cā*	3 *cē*
		f *cī*	

with *s-* in Mewātī and Ahīrwātī and the Bhīlī of Mahikantha, Jhabuā, and the Panchmahals, are perhaps formations from the past tense which Bloch has shown to be very widely based on the imperfect of Skt *as-*[1]

The descendants of *ākṣeti* appear in their normal phonetic form with *ks* in the Shahbazgarhi inscription of Aśoka and in the Kharosthī documents from Niya, with *ch* (distinguished from *ch* < Skt *cch*) in Kashmīrī and its closely related dialects of Poguli, Doḍā Sirājī, and Rāmbanī, with *cch* (which falls together with original Skt *cch*) in Prakrit (especially Mahārāṣṭrī), becoming *ch* in Gujarātī and *s* in Marāthī, with *kh* in isolated parts of Bihārī and the extreme east of Bengali If *kh* forms existed generally in the East, they have been driven out by *ch* forms of the West We were able to trace the process of replacement in the Maithilī area

Where *ākh-* persisted, we observed the tendency in the unstressed forms to change *-kh-* to *-h-*, which supported the derivation from *ākh-* of the *(ā)h-* forms found over the whole of the rest of the *ks* > *kh* area The Sindhi *āh-*, preserving evidence in its paradigm of an original stem ending in *-e-*, added cogency to this assumption

[1] *BSL* xxxiii, pp 55 ff.

Some Dravidian Prefixes[1]

By Edwin H. Tuttle

BRÂHUI regularly has *a* for ancient short *e*, and *e* for ancient weak-stressed *ai*. Brâhui *kane* (me) corresponds to a blend of Tamil dative *enakku* and accusative *ennai*, with the dative-formant prefixed instead of being suffixed *kane* < **kenai* This inversion of the usual arrangement, parallel with English *thereby* = *by that*, is one of the few cases where a prefix is plainly visible in Dravidian Another example, explained below, is to be seen in Brâhui *dēr* (who) for **ēr*, and in the equivalent Kanara *dāru* beside *āru* and *jāru*, corresponding to Tamil *jār* < **ehar* With regard to recognized elements of inflexion and word-formation, Dravidian is nearly always suffixal, not prefixal this is why I have ventured to compare Dravidian with Nubian, which is likewise usually suffixal and only rarely prefixal (*JAOS*, 1932, vol 52, p 133)

In the *American Journal of Philology*, 1919, vol 40, p 84, I have shown that initial *sn* became *h* in Brâhui, *h* (from *s*) in Gôndi; *s* in Kui; *t* in Malto, *n* in Kanara and Tamil, *t* in Telugu, *t*, *s*, and *h* in the three dialects of Tulu Afterward, in order to explain a similar variation of initial sounds, I evolved the theory of an ancient *zn*, supposed to make *n* in the southern tongues, *d* in Brâhui; *h* or zero in Gôndi, *s* in Kui, *t* in Kurukh-Malto (*A J Ph*, 1923, vol 44, p. 71) The evidence for the assumed developments was taken mainly from the following words. Kanara *nālige*, Tamil *nā*, *nākku*, Telugu *nālike*, *nāluka*, Tulu *nālāja*, Brâhui *duī*, Kurukh *tatxā* (tongue), Kanara *nettar*, Telugu *netturu*, Brâhui *dutar* (blood), southern *nīr* and *nīru*, Brâhui *dīr*, Gôndi *ējar*, *ēr*, *jēr*, *jār*, Kui *siru* (water), Telugu *nōru*, Brâhui **dōr*, Kui *sudā*, Malto *toro* (mouth), Gôndi *mussōr* (nose) Brâhui **dōr* is apparently represented by Dardic *dōr* (mouth), former contact of Brâhui and Dardic is shown by Brâhui *dū* = Dardic *du* (hand). Gôndi *mus-* in *mussōr* corresponds to Malto *muso* (nose), *ss* being kept where a simple *s* should have become *h* or zero The ending of Kui *sudā* seems to have come from a Kolarian equivalent **moda* or **muda* represented in the compound *tomod* (*JAOS*, 1926, vol. 46,

[1] In the following remarks, as in my other writings on Dravidian, I use *j* with the value of Dutch *j*

p 310). The ending of Tulu *nālāǰi* was evidently taken from Tulu *bāǰi* (mouth).

Singhalese regularly has *d* for an ancient initial voiced palatal occlusive, as in *dana* (knee), *diva* (tongue); the development was probably through *dž*, *dz*, *δ*. Apparently an older form of Brâhui *duī*, such as **dɨu* or **dɨv*, was taken from Singhalese before that tongue emigrated from Northern India In constructing the *zn*-theory, I overlooked the probable source of Brâhui *duī* The word must be removed from the list Contact of Brâhui and premigrational Singhalese is apparently shown by Brâhui *ē* (that) and *ō* (that), corresponding to the equivalent Singhalese *ē-* and *ō-*

The *zn*-theory, upset by a belated discovery of Gôndi *nattur* (blood), must be discarded Such a word as "hare" might well travel—with the thing so named—from Gôndi to other Dravidian tongues Kanara *mola* (hare), instead of a normal **mosal* corresponding to Tamil *muǰal* and *muçal*, is evidently based on an older form of Gôndi *malōl* < **molal*, and Brâhui *murū* likewise looks like a borrowing from the Gôndi word But it is hard to believe that tribes of hunters could have lost their word for 'blood" and then taken it from another Dravidian tongue

In literary Kanara the word *adu* (that thing) is sometimes prefixed to an interrogative, as *adār* (who) for simple *ār* This queer construction is probably derived from the sentence *ad ēn* (that [is] what ?), misunderstood as a simple word (what), and explains the *d* that is prefixed to Brâhui *dēr* and Kanara *dāru* (who) It also gives a clue to the explanation of *d* in Brâhui *dɨtar*, *dīr*, **dōr*

In most varieties of Dravidian we find at least two simple vowels used as demonstrative adjectives Ordinary Gôndi has lost the demonstrative adjectives, and uses pronouns instead, as *ad malōl* beside Kanara *ā mola*, Tamil *a mmuǰal* or *a mmuçal* (that hare) We may assume such a use of pronouns in other varieties of early Dravidian Thus it is easy to explain Brâhui *dīr* as owing its *d* to **ad* **īr*, compare English *the tother* from *that other* I now believe that an initial *d* in Brâhui nouns, where it corresponds to a southern *n*, or to southern zero (if there are any such cases), is a prefix of the kind just stated It is also possible that a sentence like **ad* **īr* (that [is] water) was mistaken for a simple noun (water) and reduced to *dīr*

Ancient *s* has generally disappeared in Southern Dravidian, and seems to be lost medially in Gôndi-Kui and initially in Kurukh-Malto (*A J Ph*, 1919, vol 40, p 83) The lost medial *s* may be replaced by

hiatus-filling $v < w$ or $g < gw < w$ Thus **asan* (he) is the basis of Kurukh *ās*, Gôndi *ōn-* < **aun* < **awan*, Kui *aan-*, *avan-*, Telugu *vān-* < **awan*, Kanara *ava*, Tamil *avan* Kurukh has added *n* to *nē* (who) by misdivision of **asan *ē* (he [is] who ?) when **asan* was reduced to **asa* before consonants, the group **asan *ē* kept *n* and was misdivided as **asa nē* English was formerly encumbered with sexless genders like those of Latin, it has lost them, aside from a feminine applied mainly to artificial objects We may assume that early Dravidian possessed sexless genders, and that in *nīn* and perhaps other such words the *n* came from the end of a prefixed **asan*, the masculine demonstrative, compare English *a newt* from *an evete*.

Another explanation of prefixed *n* is possible Beside the inflected genitive *ena*, Tamil has *en* (my) without any suffix This form becomes *enn* before a vowel If a similar **enn* was formerly used in the other Dravidian tongues, we might assume that its final *n* became by misdivision the initial *n* of words often combined with "my", such as *nālige*, *nettar*, *nōru*

Ancient initial *sn* became *s* in early Gôndi-Kui and *t* in Kurukh-Malto By assuming a reduction of prefixed **asan* through **asn* to **sn*, or a misdivision of **asn* combined with a noun, we have an explanation for the *s* of Kui *sudā*, Gôndi *-sōr*, and for the *t* of Kurukh *tatxā*, Malto *toro* Kui *siru* seems to represent **asir* < **icar*, beside Kanara *esaru* < **icar* (boiled water), but **icar* is apparently a compound corresponding to Gôndi *atjār* (boiling water), from *attānā* (boil) and a variant of *ēr* not otherwise in use

In conclusion I would assume that, aside from *duī*, the words listed above may have had the basic forms **ālak* (tongue), **idhur* or **udhir* (blood), **ihar* (water), **or* (mouth) The word for "tongue" is similar to Kolarian *alaŋg* or *lāŋg* The word for "water" is similar to Malay *ajer*. The word for "blood" looks like Aryan *rudhira*

It is probable that further research would reveal other Dravidian words having consonants prefixed in some way or ways like what I have suggested An obvious example is Tamil *neruppu* (fire) beside *eri* (burn).

Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbing, author of the First Hindūstānī Grammar

By J. Ph. Vogel

In his *Linguistic Survey of India*,[1] Sir George Grierson has drawn attention to the first Hindūstānī grammar, and given some particulars about its author, Joan Josua Ketelaar, who was a German in the service of the Dutch East India Company In the present paper I wish to supplement the information regarding Ketelaar's career by means of some biographical data mostly drawn from the Company's records preserved in the "Rijks Archief" at The Hague.[2]

Ketelaar's real family name was Kettler. He was born at Elbing on the Baltic, 25th December, A D 1659, as the eldest son of the bookbinder Josua Kettler The future ambassador to the Great Mogul and to the Shāh of Persia started his career in the humble profession of his father. But while a bookbinder s apprentice, he grossly misbehaved, robbing his master and even trying to poison him. It may be that the master-bookbinder was a disagreeable person. Anyhow, young Kettler was dismissed, and went off first to Dantzig, where he committed another theft, and then to Stockholm. This happened in the year 1680.

Two years later we meet him again at Amsterdam, where he takes service under the East India Company, which used to draw a large number of its lower personnel from Germany Kettler now becomes "Ketelaar", and it appears that with his name his conduct also changed In May, 1682, he sailed to Batavia in the ship *'t Wapen van Alkmaar*, and in 1683 was sent from there to Surat, where he started as a "pennist" or clerk Evidently he did well, for he made quick promotion In 1687, his chief, Anthony Vogel, who was Senior Merchant and Deputy Director of the Dutch factory at Surat, made him "Assistant" at fl 20 p m

[1] *L S I*, vol ix, Calcutta, 1916, part i, pp 6–8 Cf also *Proc A S B*, May, 1895

[2] I wish here to give expression to my gratitude for assistance kindly rendered by Dr R Bylsma, Keeper of the State Records, The Hague, Dr F W Stapel, and Dr A. J. Bernet Kempers To Dr Stapel I owe most of the information regarding Ketelaar's career in India

In 1696 he was promoted to the rank of accountant ("boekhouder") on a monthly pay of 30 guilders In this capacity he was employed first at the Company's head office at Surat, subsequently as deputy ("secunde") in the factory at Ahmadābād and, from 1700, as chief of the factory at Agra In 1701, on account of his ability, he was raised to the rank of a Junior Merchant ("onderkoopman") at fl 40 p m for a period of five years

During the years 1705–8 he was twice deputed to Mokka in Arabia, with the object of purchasing coffee Notwithstanding great difficulties, including an encounter with a French pirate, Ketelaar fulfilled this task to the satisfaction of his superiors After his return from his first voyage to Arabia he was promoted to the rank of "Merchant" on a salary of fl. 65 p m. This happened by a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, dated 15th December, 1706.

Ketelaar was still away on his second Arabian expedition when the Central Government at Batavia decided to employ him again at Surat, "on account of his experience and capacity in the Moorish language and customs" This was on 7th September, 1708 By the same Resolution he was appointed "Senior Merchant" at a monthly salary of 75 guilders About this time, the Governor-General and his Council had projected an Embassy to be sent to the successor of Aurangzeb, who had died in the preceding year, as soon as the chance of war would have decided who of his sons was to be that successor It was thought that Ketelaar might be usefully employed in this important mission

The man first intended to be the Company's ambassador to the Great Mogul was Cornelis Besuyen, the Director of the Surat factory, and Ketelaar was selected to be his deputy But when the former died after a lingering illness, Ketelaar took his place, both as Director of Surat and as head of the Embassy. The respective Resolution of the Governor-General in Council is dated 1st August, 1711

By this time Ketelaar had already started on his expedition,[1] which took him to Lahore, where Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh was encamped. While the negotiations were still in progress, that emperor suddenly died on 28th February, 1712; the Dutch Ambassador then became a witness of the series of fights fought under the walls of

[1] An English translation of the journal of Ketelaar's Embassy was published in the *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society*, vol X (1929) An edition of the original document is in preparation

Lahore by the four sons of the deceased emperor, and ending with the victory of the eldest son, Jahāndār Shāh. The Dutch Embassy accompanied the new emperor on his march to Delhi in the hot season of 1712, and stayed in the capital during the ensuing rains. All the time the negotiations about the *firmāns*, the acquisition of which was the chief aim of Ketelaar's mission, were protracted, and at last, after incredible procrastination, the coveted documents were obtained

In October, the Ambassador started on his return journey by way of Agra, Gwalior, Narwar, Sironj, Sārangpur, Ujjain, Dohad, and Godhra. On their journey from Surat to Agra the Hollanders had travelled through Rājpūtānā not by the usual road, but by a shorter route, which took them through Mewār The rulers of Rājpūtānā, whose territories they passed, and especially the Rānā of Udaipur facilitated their progress It was the high-handedness of an imperial officer subordinate to the *sūbahdār* of Ajmīr, which caused serious trouble They also had to pay considerable sums on account of *rāhdārī*, especially when crossing the dominions of the Jāt chief Churāman.

On their return journey through Central India they met with much more serious difficulties, and had repeatedly to fight their way through the peasantry in revolt They encountered almost every species of brigands by which the highways of India were then infested—Mewātīs, *grasias*, Bhīls, and Kōlīs Besides, large sums had to be spent to secure the necessary escorts from the Rājpūt chiefs of Mālwā, although on the whole these petty rulers were friendly. The passage through the mountainous regions of Jhabua and Bāriya was attended with great hardships When, at last, the Embassy reached Gujarāt, they were greeted with the unpleasant news of Jahāndār's defeat. The victory of Farrukhsiyar meant that all hardships had been sustained in vain, for it was not to be expected that the new emperor would acknowledge the privileges granted by his uncle This was all the more disappointing, as the expenditure incurred on the Embassy had been enormous No wonder that the authorities at Batavia were little pleased with the negative results of the costly mission The blame was laid on the ambassador, although it could not be denied that Ketelaar had shown throughout a remarkable courage, tact, and patience

That this was silently recognized we may infer from the fact that in 1715 he was entrusted again with an important mission to the Persian Court We do not wish here to give an account of Ketelaar's

Persian embassy.[1] It may suffice to state that on this occasion, too, he exhibited a remarkable ability But both on the journey from the coast to Ispahān and during his prolonged stay at the capital he suffered from ill-health, and after his return he died at Gamroon (Bandar Abbās) on 12th May, 1718 His remains were buried in the Dutch cemetery outside the town, and a monument, described as a "pyramid, 30 cubits high", was erected over his grave. This monument is no longer extant[2]

Ketelaar had bequeathed a large sum of money to the Protestant churches in his native town, Elbing One of these churches, named "Zum heiligen Leichnam', purchased for the money a new organ, which was erected against the western wall. The cost was 1,562 florins 29 groschen An oil-painted portrait of the donor may still be seen at the side of the organ. It shows a full face, with a straight nose and resolute chin, covered with a profuse periwig according to the fashion of the period In a Latin work, *Elbinga Litterata* (Elbing, 1742), p. 90, it is recorded that Ketelaar's nephew, Samuel Grutner, who had accompanied his uncle on his Persian embassy, and was the executor of his will, thus became the owner of three large-sized volumes in which Ketelaar had given his own biography in the Dutch language The author calls these volumes "publica luce, si quid recte judico, dignissima"; but, unfortunately, they are no longer traceable It is very much to be hoped that some day they may come to light again.

A manuscript copy of Ketelaar's Hindūstānī grammar is preserved in the "Rijks-Archief" at The Hague It has the following title: "Instructie off onderwijsinge der Hindoustanse, en Persiaanse Talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugatie, als mede vergeleykinge der hindoustanse med de hollandse maat en gewighten mitsgaders beduydingh eenieger moorse namen etc door Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem en gecopieert door Isaacq van der Hoeve, van Uytreght

[1] Sir George Grierson has quoted some particulars from the curious account of a German soldier, named Johann Gottlieb Worms, who belonged to the ambassador's bodyguard. It was published with some other writings of the same author at Dresden in 1737 under the title *Ost-Indian und Persianische Reisen* by a German pastor, M Crispinus Weisen A second edition appeared at Leipzig in 1745

[2] The British Consul at Bandar Abbās has informed me that there existed "a very old ruin in the shape of a monument situated on the border of the oldest part of the town (once Gambroon), which was known as 'Goor-i-Feiangh' (Europeans' grave), but this ruin, and others in close vicinity to it, were demolished about twenty-five years ago, when it was decided to build new houses on the site"

Tot Leckenauw A° 1698." In English "Instruction or Tuition in the Hindūstānī and Persian languages, besides their declension and conjugation, together with a comparison of the Hindūstānī with the Dutch weights and measures, likewise the significance of sundry 'Moorish' names, etc, by Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem, and copied by Isaac van der Hoeve of Utrecht At Lucknow, A° 1698"

We have seen that in 1700 Ketelaar was put in charge of the Dutch factory at Agra In a letter dated 14th May of that year the Director and Council of Surat sent instructions to Ketelaar and his deputy Isaac van der Hoeve regarding the management of the Agra factory which was then re-established From this letter it is evident that both Ketelaar and his assistant had been employed in those parts before for a considerable time This is a point of some importance, as we may conclude that Ketelaar had acquired his knowledge of the language not only in Gujarāt, but also at Agra and Lucknow, where Hindūstānī is spoken in a much purer form The copy now at The Hague was written by Ketelaar's assistant at Lucknow in 1698, and we may perhaps assume that the grammar had been completed by its author in the same year or shortly before

The Dutch original was never printed and the manuscript copy at The Hague is the only one known to exist. A Latin translation of it was published by David Mill(ius), professor of Oriental languages in the University of Utrecht, in his *Miscellanea Orientalia.*[1] It is through this work that the grammar has become known

Dr. Sunīti Kumar Chatterji[2] has given a detailed account of Ketelaar's Hindūstānī grammar in its Latin garb He arrives at the conclusion that the Hindūstānī on which the grammar is based is not a very pure language, but the patois spoken in the bāzārs (*bāzārū bōlī*) at Bombay and Surat I doubt whether this qualification is quite correct It is perhaps largely due to the transliteration of the Hindūstānī words which is necessarily unsatisfactory and clumsy, as it is not based on a scientific system In all probability Ketelaar could neither read nor write Hindūstānī, he had to depend on hearing and produced the sounds in writing as best as he could, according to the spelling of the Dutch language The difficulty came in when he had to deal with phonetic values which do not exist in that language, such as the palatal and cerebral consonants

[1] Mill's *Miscellanea Orientalia* forms part of his *Dissertationes Selectae*, published at Leyden in 1743

[2] Dvivedi Abhinandan Granth, Benares, 1933, pp 194–203

It does not seem very likely that a man in Ketelaar's position derived his knowledge of Hindūstānī mainly from the bāzār He had no doubt daily dealings with people of the lower classes, such as the "peons" in the service of the East India Company, but his work brought him also into contact with respectable Indians belonging to the commercial caste These were in the first place the brokers (*dalāl*) or agents (*wakīl*) who played such an important part in the trade of the Europeans in India They were invariably merchants of good standing, such as Mohan Dās whose fame for charity was so great that his house was spared when Shivaji plundered Surat

In the course of his mission to the Imperial Court, we see Ketelaar in touch with the highest dignitaries In the journal of the Embassy, it is mentioned that, when paying a visit to the amīr-ul umarā Zulfiqār Khān, he conversed with the latter in Hindūstānī, whilst his deputy, Rogier Beerenaard, made use of Persian We also find it stated that the ambassador was on friendly terms with a man like Amānat Khān, who was the *sūbahdār* first of Gujarāt, and later of Mālwā

It occurs to me that the versions of sacred texts reproduced from Ketelaar's grammar by Sir George Grierson and Dr S K Chatterji do not reflect the language of the bāzār How far his Hindūstānī has been influenced by Gujarātī or by the patois of the Western ports I am unable to decide As a first attempt Ketelaar's "Instructie" may be regarded as a creditable production. Although obviously intended to serve the practical purposes of trade, it betrays a scholarly curiosity which is also noticeable in the account of his Indian Embassy

Altindische und mittelindische Miszellen

Von J. Wackernagel

1. subhṛtam bhṛ-

Altpers *ubṛtam abaram* ist von Tedesco, *Zschr fur Indol.* 2, 44 ff, und von Altheim ebenda 3, 33, zu richtiger Deutung ähnlicher Awesta-Stellen verwertet worden (Vgl auch Lommel, *Or Literatur-Ztg* 1934, 180, der eine leise Abweichung zwischen den beiden Sprachen in der Verwendung der Phrase feststellt) Merkwürdiger Weise hat keiner der beiden Gelehrten darauf hingewiesen, dass sich dieselbe Wendung auch im Indischen findet Schon der Rigveda bietet 4, 50, 7c, *bṛ́haspátim yáh súbhṛtam bíbhárti* „der den Bṛhaspati hoch in Ehren hält" und 9, 97, 24d *ṛtám bharat súbhṛtam cárv índuh* „Indu trägt gut die schöne Ordnung" Dazu kommt aus der Brāhmaṇa-Prosa PB. 8, 8, 16, *tā abruvan „subhṛtam no abhārsīr" iti, tasmāt saubharam* „sie sagten ·, wohl gepflegt hast du uns'; daher der Name saubhara", und die entsprechende Stelle JB. 1, 187, *so 'bravīt „subhṛtam vā imāh prajā abhārsam" iti, tad eva saubharasya saubharatvam, subhṛtaṃ prajām bibharti, ya evam veda*

Die Überlieferung gibt an diesen Stellen das mit *su-* beginnende Wort nicht ganz gleichmässig wieder Im PB neben dem pluralischen Akkusativ *nah* mit der Endung *-tam*, im JB. an der ersten Stelle neben dem pluralischen *imāh prajāh* ebenso (allerdings in der Entstellung zu *suvratam*), während an der zweiten Stelle neben dem Singular *prajām* die Handschriften zwischen *subhṛtam* und *sabhṛtām* schwanken. Caland schreibt im JB durchweg *subhṛtam*; es wäre dann anzunehmen, dass in der Prosa das mit *su-* beginnende Adjektiv, das im RV wie im Iranischen mit dem substantivischen Objekt kongruierte, erstarrt wäre Man könnte geneigt sein statt dessen vielmehr die Kongruenz das Adjektivs auch an den Stellen der Brāhmanas durchzuführen, also im PB *subhṛtā(h)*, im JB. *subhṛtā(ḥ)* und *subhṛtām* zu schreiben Aber das Schwanken der Endung wiederholt sich, wie wir gleich sehen werden, anderwärts.

Die Wendung erhält sich in weiterer vorklassischer Prosa mit *su-sambhṛta-* Baudh 2, 6 (p. 43, 8), *etān susambhṛtān sambharān punar eva sambharati*, 7, 6 (p. 208, 8), *susambhṛtam saṃbharanyām saṃbhṛtya* (Caland, *Das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p 52)

Also mag die altpersisch-awestische Wendung *hubrtam bar-* zwar „une locution traditionelle et religieuse" sein, wie Benveniste in *Bull Soc ling.*, 31, 63 f, und S 220 Anm. seiner Neubearbeitung von Meillets *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* meint, aber man hat kaum einen Grund mit ihm dahinter „une action mède" zu vermuten Vielmehr liegt darin ein viel alteres den Indern und Iraniern gemeinsames Erbstuck vor

Eine Menge solcher den beiden Sprachen gemeinsamen Wortgruppen und Phrasen ist langst nachgewiesen Noch neuerdings hat Lommel (*Zschr fur Indol*, 8, 270 ff.) auf den schon von Bartholomae bemerkten Parallelismus zwischen jAw *ərəδwå hištənta* „standen hilfsbereit" und vedischem *ūrdhvó asthāt* usw hingewiesen. Vgl. auch *azd(ā)-karā*, „Kundmacher" in Elephantine mp *azdegar* (Schaeder, *Iran Beitr*, 1, 66) gegenuber ai *addhā-kṛ-* [1], das zu der Entsprechung zwischen gAw *vistō azdā* ved *addhá vid-* „zuverlassig wissen" hinzukommt, nicht zu gedenken der zahlreichen gemeinsamen nominalen und verbalen Komposita (Vgl *upari-śyena-* unten)

Ubrigens ist weder die Wendung *hubrtam bar-* im Iranischen, noch deren indische Entsprechung im Indischen isoliert Schon Benveniste aaO. hat auf das vollig gleichartige altpersische *ufraštam* (bzw *ufraštā*) *pars-* hingewiesen, das neben singularischem und pluralischem Objektakkusativ „grundlich strafen" bedeutet Aber auch awestische Parallelen sind, allerdings in anderem Sinne, schon beigebracht worden So Yt 10, 68, *yaṯ dim hu-irixtəm irinaxti* „wohin er ihn machtig dahinschiessen lasst", Visp. 14, 1, *gāθą hufrapaiətą frapairəmną, hufrāyaštą frāyaēzyantąm* (ahnlich 16, 0 *yasnəm -əm*) „die Gāthā gut hersagend, gut weihend"

Aus dem Altindischen liefert die Brāhmana- und die Sūtraprosa weitere Beispiele KB 2, 1 (4, 8 L) *supratyūdhān angarān pratyūhet* „er schiebe die Kohlen gehorig zuruck" (vgl. ŚŚS 2, 8, 15 [*angarān*] *supratyūlhān pratyuhya*), Vādhūlas. 59 (ed. Caland, *Acta or.*, 4, 165 f.) *etat supratiptiktam pratipya* „diesen (Kopf) tuchtig ausgekocht habend" Ferner (Caland, *Das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana* 52 u Pitṛmedh p xiii) Baudh. Śr 5, 1, 18 (27, 4) *tryangulam . . susamtṛptam samtarpya*, 6, 25 (185, 16) *athainām sūparibaddhām upanibadhnāti*, Baudh Pitṛmedh. 3 (7, 10) *cārusthalīm susambhinnām bhinatti*, 11 (16, 10) *etad ādahanam . svavoksitam avoksya* und (17, 1)

[1] ai *addhā* mit *kṛ-* ist bis jetzt anscheinend nur in dem Gana *sāksāt* bezeugt, nun dient die iranische Entsprechung zum Beweis dafur, wie echt das Zeugnis des Ganapātha und wie alt die Verbindung ist

athainam susamcitam samcitya , Hiranyak. Pitṛmedh. 3 (36, 4) *kapalāni susambhinnāni sambhinatti* , 10 (42, 5) *śarīrāni susaṃpiṣṭāni peṣayitvā* , vgl auch 9 (41, 11) *susamcitam samcinvanti.*

Sogar dem Pāli ist diese Ausdrucksform nicht fremd ; z.B. Jāt. 1, 222, 26 *tam sugahitam gahetvā* „ dich fest packend ", und so mehrfach in demselben Text

Verwandt damit sind die Falle, wo kein substantivisches Objekt da steht, sondern bloss *su-tam* das Verbum bestimmt TS 1, 6, 10, 5 *yáthā vái parjányah súvṛstam vársati* „ wie Parjanya tuchtig regnet " (ahnlich TB. 3, 11, 10, 3 *yáthā vái parjányah súvṛstam vṛstvá prajábhyah sárvān kāmān sampūrayati*) Aus dem Iranischen steht diesem Beispiel zur Seite Yašt 10, 21 *yaṯ čiṯ hvastəm anhyeiti* ., wenn er gut wirft ".

Gewiss werden besser belesene Forscher noch weitere indische, vielleicht auch iranische, Belege aufstobern konnen Dringender ist die Frage nach Alter und Herkunft der Wendung Was Benveniste *Mém Soc ling* 23 (1935), 396 bemerkt „ l'iranien ne possédait pas d'adverbes tels que *bene, male,* εὖ, κακῶς, mais seulement des préfixes *hu- duś-* . . Le participe aura donc pour seule mission de fournir un support au préfixe," erklart zwar gut warum man gern nach der Wendung griff, lasst aber (abgesehen von der irrtumlichen Beschrankung des Ausdrucks auf das Iranische) die Frage offen, wie man dazu kam, die Wendung so zu formen, und ob ausserhalb des Indoiranischen Spuren von ihr zu treffen sind Noch immer verdient Beachtung, was Zubatý IF 3, 125 ff (und schon vorher in einer 1884 in Prag erschienenen Abhandlung) uber sie vermutet hat Er knupft sie an eine Form der sogen , figura etymologica " an, bei der einem Verbum oder Nomen verbale der Instrumental eines mit *su* zusammengesetzten Verbalabstraktums aus derselben Wurzel beigefugt wird, wie im Rigveda z B. *susamídhā sám īdhire. susamídhā sámiddhah, sunidhā níhitah, sunirmáthā nírmathitah, sánema tát susanítā sanitvabhih, surúcā rucānáh* Auch den Spruchen ist diese Form nicht fremd Vgl etwa TS 2, 5, 9, 4 *suyájā yaja* KŚS 2 2 23 *suvimucā vi muñca* , und besonders, in Rucksicht auf die Wendung mit *súbhṛtam* von der wir ausgegangen sind, TS 1, 1, 2, 2 *susambhṛtā tvā sám bharāmi.*

Zubatý lasst auf jetzt nicht mehr gangbarem Wege unter Annahme von alten Instrumentalen auf *-m,* unsere Wendung auf solche alte Instrumentale zuruckgehen Besser wird man sich damit begnugen die Ahnlichkeit und innere Verwandtschaft dieser Ausdrucksformen zu betonen und dabei anzunehmen, dass sie schliesslich in grundsprachlicher Neigung zu derartigem Ausdruck wurzeln. Vgl uber

diese in vielartigen Wortverbindungen zu Tage tretende Neigung (ausser den Ausführungen Zubatý's) besonders Schulze *Quaest epicae* 509 (Nachträge zu 57 f) und was Delbrück *Vergl. Syntax* 1, 256 f über den „ausmalenden" Instrumental beim Verbum vorträgt (Vergleiche auch *Bartholomae Stud* 2, 141 über umbrisch *subocau suboco*) [1]

Daneben sei noch auf RV 1, 162, 10c hingewiesen *sukṛtā́ tác chamitā́rah kṛnvantu* „das sollen die Zurichter wohl beschaffen machen" Gemäss den oben besprochenen Ausdrücken erwartet man *súkṛtam* statt des oxytonierten *sukṛtā́*, Grassmann hatte Lust jenes in den Text zu setzen Aber Geldner in einer Anmerkung seiner Übersetzung meint, dass in dem überlieferten *sukṛtā́* vielmehr der Anfang der merkwürdigen noch unerklärten Adverbialbildungen auf *-ā́* vorliege, die nach Pān 5, 4, 58–67 in Ausdrücken mit *kṛ-* gebildet werden.

2 Zum Jaiminīya Brāhmana

Über die sprachliche Ausbeute, die dieses altertümliche Brāhmana liefert, hat teils Caland in den Abhandlungen der Akademie von Amsterdam, 1915 („Verslagen en Mededeelingen Letterkunde" v, 1, 1915, p 20 ff) und in den Anmerkungen zu seiner Auswahl Bericht gegeben, teils Oertel in verschiedenen Abhandlungen, zuletzt im *Journal of Vedic Studies*, 1 („Roots and Verb-forms from the unpublished parts of the Jaiminiya Brahmana") Es sei mir gestattet, hier aus demselben Texte ein paar einzelne Wörter und Formen, die einer sprachgeschichtlichen Betrachtung rufen, herauszuheben

2, 37. *prānapānāv utkhidanti, sa yah brūyāt, prānāpanāv udaktvāsuh marisyanti* sie zerstören den Aus- und Einhauch Wenn einer sagen würde „Sie haben den Aus- und Einhauch zerstört, sie werden sterben." Caland Auswahl S 134 hat erkannt, dass in der unförmlichen 3 pl *udaktvāsuh* ein Aorist stecken muss und zwar ein zu dem unmittelbar vorausgehenden Präsens *utkhidanti* gehöriger, er schreibt *udakhāsuh* und führt diese Form auf eine Wurzel *khā-* zurück

Aber wenn es eine solche Wurzel überhaupt gegeben hat, kann sie hier nicht in Betracht kommen Das im Dhātupātha verzeichnete

[1] Unter den griechischen Belegen der „figura etymologica", die Lobeck Paralip, 2, 501 ff aufführt, kommt den obigen Fällen am nächsten ἡχεῖν εὐηχήτους ὕμνους bei Euripides (Ion 883), unterscheidet sich aber von ihnen dadurch, dass das mit εὐ- beginnende Adjektiv nicht als sogen prädikatives Attribut dient, sondern einfach adjektivische Bestimmung zu ὕμνους ist „wohlklingende Lieder erklingen lassen"

khan- ist nur in Bhatt 17, 58, und zwar in der Form *prodakhāyan*, mit der von Vopadeva gelehrten Bedeutung des Grabens belegt · „Sie gruben aus", also, obwohl auch hier *ud* erscheint, in einem für die obige JB -Stelle nicht verwendbaren Sinne Übrigens ist ein solches *protkhāyati* „graben aus" von dem synonymen *prot-khanati* nicht zu trennen Das junge Prasens *khāyati* wird aus dem von der TS und MS. an belegten Passiv *khāyate* von *khan-* zurückgebildet sein; vgl *tāy-* aus *tāyate*.

Caland hat das in der Überlieferung gegebene *t* nicht verwertet, es gehört vor das *s*, offenbar ist der geforderte Aorist zum Prasens *utkhidanti* in der Form *udakhātsuh* herzustellen Pānini 6, 1, 52 lehrt, dass „im Chandas" bei *khid-* in Formen mit hochstufiger Wurzel *ā* statt *e* und *ai* eintreten kann Danach muss man in einem vorklassischen Text als *s-* Aorist von *khid-* neben oder statt des von den indischen Erklärern des Dhātupātha gebildeten *akhaitsam* die Form *akhātsam* geradezu erwarten Solch ein Aorist stimmt zu dem ebenfalls zu *khidati* gehörigen Perfektum *cakhāda*, das, von der Kāśika zu P. 6, 1, 52 gebildet, von Eggeling, *Sacred Books* 26, 151 Anm. aus ŚB. 3, 6, 2, 12 (p 282, 10) *ā cakhāda ākhidat* nachgewiesen und schon 1879 von Saussure Mém 176 (= *Publications scientif* 165) in den richtigen sprachlichen Zusammenhang gestellt wurde Aus dem Rigveda gehört wohl *ā-cakhāda* 6, 61, 1c auch dahin Dass der vedische Nominalstamm *-khāda-* entsprechend der Lehre Pāninis ebenfalls zu *khid-* gehört, erkannte wohl zuerst Aufrecht bei Bohtlingk *Wörterbuch Nachtr* 5, 246 s v *avakhāda-* Auf dieser Erkenntnis haben dann weitergebaut Fleet *JRAS* 1909, 426 f (im Anschluss an eine begrifflich zutreffende Feststellung von Keith S 423) und Charpentier ebenda 1928, 132

Erst verhältnismässig spät wird *khād-* als Hochstufenform von *khid-* durch *khed-* verdrängt Zwar lehrte einst Roth für *khédā* im Rigveda, als ob es zu *khid-* gehöre, die Bedeutung „Hammer", aber diese Deutung des Substantivs ist längst aufgegeben, vgl Oldenberg Anm zu 10, 116, 4 (p 337) und Geldner. Ältester Beleg von *khed-* als Hochstufenform von *khid-* ist anscheinend *utkhedana-* bei Baudhāy 21, 5 (3, 78, 1), vgl Caland Baudh p 59 (Doch verdient die Variante *utkhidana-* ernsthafte Beachtung, Tiefstufe der Wurzelsilbe bei Bildungen auf *-ana-* neben tiefstufigem Präsens und unter dessen Einfluss ist von vedischem *khidána-* und *píśana-* neben *khidáti* bezw *spíśati* an in allen Typen des Altindischen zu treffen). Diese späten Bildungen beweisen natürlich nichts Es ist unbegreiflich,

dass noch in neuesten indogermanischen Etymologika *khid-* ohne Berucksichtigung der Hochstufe *khād-* mit lat. *caedere* gleich gesetzt wird (Falsch auch Kuiper *Acta orient* 12, 200 Anm. 2)

JB. 2, 238. *Abhipratāraṇa īje prajākāmaś ca khalatī ca daivovātī avacichitsamānah; tato vai so 'va khalatī daivovātī (-ti* Handschr) *acchintta*, **239** *khalatī* (drei oder vier Worter) *daivovātī avācchaitsi* [*sic!*] „Abhipatārana opferte, als er sich Nachkommen wunschte und khalati daivovati von sich wegzuschneiden suchte; darauf schnitt er Kh D. von sich weg"; 239 „ich habe Kh D. von mir weggeschnitten" Was ist mit den Akkusativen *khalatī daivovatī* gemeint, die in drei Satzen als Objekte des medialen *ava-chid-* genannt sind? Caland ubersetzt *khalati-* mit „Kahlkopfigkeit", obwohl das Wort nur an zwei spaten von Bohtlingk-Roth v, 1358 aus Sāyana angefuhrten Stellen diesen Sinn hat, sonst immer, von VS und TS an, „kahlkopfig" bedeutet Unter dem sonst gar nicht belegten *daivovāti-* versteht er fragend die Bezeichnung einer korperlichen Abnormitat oder Krankheit Wie man immer von dieser Auffassung von *khalati-* urteile, hochst bedenklich ist die diesen Wortdeutungen zu Grunde liegende Voraussetzung, dass die beiden Nomina ein Dvandva bilden und als Glieder eines solchen Kompositums Dualform haben. Aber Dvandvas mit dualischer Form beider Glieder hat es in der Brāhmana-Prosa wie in der klassischen Sprache nur in Bildungen gegeben, die aus den Samhitās ererbt oder einer ererbten Bildung nachgeformt waren Ein ganz neu gebildetes Dvandva hatte *khalati-daivovātī* lauten mussen Weiterhin ist fur die alte Prosa so gut wie undenkbar eine Tmesis der beiden Glieder des Dvandva, wie sie im ersten und besonders im dritten Beispiele vorliegen wurde Das vereinzelte *dhvasre vai purusantī* PB. 13, 7, 12 „Dhvasrā und Purusanti" bezieht sich auf ein Menschenpaar, das schon RV. 9, 58, 3a, mit einem Dvandva nach altem Typus bezeichnet ist *dhvasróyoh purusántyoh*, und bei dem daher im Brāhmana eine alte Freiheit weiter angewandt werden konnte Zudem ist Tmesis mit *vai* viel harmloser als die in JB 2, 239 es ware

Die Dualform und die Anordnung der beiden Worter werden verstandlich, wenn *daivovātī* Apposition zu *khalatī* ist. Das wurde zu der Annahme verlocken, dass *khalatī* die eigentliche Bezeichnung von zwei Personen, *daivovātī* etwas wie das Patronymikum dazu darstellte Ob *khalati-* und das regierende Verbum *ava chid-* eine solche Auffassung zulasst, soll hier nicht untersucht werden Jedenfalls ware *daivovāti-* eine ganz normale Ableitung aus einem Mannsnamen

divovāta- mit *ı* als Endung und Vṛddhı der Anfangssılbe, wie z.B. ın KB. *daıvodāsı-*, Patronymıkum von vedıschem *dıvodāsa-* Ein Name **dıvovāta-* ıst bıs jetzt allerdıngs nıcht belegt, aber durchaus denkbar. Er ware Parallelbıldung von *devávāta-*, das ım RV. zugleich als Mannsname und als Adjektıv ın der Bedeutung „ von den Gottern begehrt, den Gottern angenehm “, belegt ıst ; als Mannsname liegt es dem vedıschen Adjektıv und Patronymıkum *daıvavātá-* zu Grunde

Zu dıesem *devávāta-* verhalt sıch der hıer angenommene Name **dıvovāta-* genau wıe ım Rıgveda das Adjektıv *dyúbhakta-* zu dem Adjektıv *devábhakta-*. Mıt jenem *dyúbhakta-* wurden dıe Übersetzer und Lexicographen des Veda nıcht recht fertıg Dıe von Roth eingefuhrte Wıedergabe „ vom Hımmel zugeteılt “ (oder „ geschenkt “) lasst nıcht erkennen, was man dabei unter „ Hımmel “ verstehen soll , deutlıcher kommt dies zum Ausdruck ın Geldners Wıedergabe (zu 1, 73, 6) „ von den Hımmlıschen geschenkt “, nur dass man nıcht ersıeht, wie *dyu-* „ dıe Hımmlıschen “ bedeuten kann ; Ludwıgs „ vom Tage geschenkt “, von *ratna-* 4, 1, 18, fallt wohl ganz ausser Betracht. Da „ schenken “, „ zuteılen “ emen personlıchen Agens voraussetzen, muss beı *dyu-* ın *dyúbhakta-* an emen wırklıchen Gott gedacht werden, ahnlıch wıe beı *dívodāsa-* als Mannsnamen und *dıvó duhıtṛ́-* (oder *duhıtŕ́- dıváh*) als Bezeıchnung der Morgenrote *dıvah-* als Vorderglıed ın **dıvovāta-* gegenuber *dyu-* ın *dyúbhakta-* darf nıcht befremden Von alters her kann beı Adjektıven auf *-ta-* der Agens durch den Genetıv gegeben werden (Delbruck *Altınd. Syntax* 153 u. *Vergleıch Syntax* 1, 348), und es ıst verstandlıch, wenn auch dem Altındıschen sonst nıcht gelaufig (*Aı. Gramm* ıı, 1, 213 [§ 89c Anm.]), dass ein solcher Genetıv auch ım Vorderglıed emes Kompositums erscheınt, vgl grıech *Διόσδοτος* u dgl.

Das Adjektıv *dyúbhakta-* und der Name **dıvovāta-* stutzen sıch gegenseıtig Sıe haben auch das gemeın, dass sıe ısolıert sınd, wahrend dıe begrıffsverwandten Komposıta mıt *deva-* als Vorderglıed vom Veda an sehr beliebt und gebrauchlıch sınd ; klass *devadatta-* ıst sogar typısch fur Mannsnamen uberhaupt Dıes hangt damıt zusammen, dass *dıv-* als Gott schon ın der Zeıt des Rigveda am Aussterben ıst. Daher ıst der ın *Ζεῦ* und *Ju(pıter)* fortlebende urındogermanısche Vokatıv den Indern verloren gegangen. Zum alten Hımmelsgott wurde von den Frommen der vedıschen Zeıt nıcht mehr gebetet. Wo dıe Dıchter emes zu *dıv-* gehorıgen vokatıvıschen Ausdrucks bedurften, grıffen sıe nach dem ja auch sonst so angewandten Nomınatıv, und gaben dıesem vereinzelt den Vokatıvakzent ·

d(i)yauh neben haufigem *dyáuh* (mit dem alten Beisatz *pitar* RV 6, 51, 5a und AV 6, 4, 3c, parallel mit dem Vokativ *pṛthivi* RV 6, 51, 5a, 6, 68, 4d; 10, 59, 8=9=10, alleinstehend RV 8, 100 (89), 12b *dyáur dehi lokám*)

Demgemass ist **divoväta-* jedenfalls ein sehr altertumlicher Name

3, 66 (bei Caland *Auswahl* p 293 Anm. 15) *atharvāṇa uparišyenam svargam lokam āyan* und 3, 269 (zweimal) *imam uparišyenam svargam lokaṃ jigīsāma*, enthalt auch wieder einen Ausdruck, der zum gemeinsamen indoiranischen Erbgut gehort Dem altindischen Ausdruck „den oberhalb des Adler(flug)s befindlichen Himmelsraum" entspricht genau jAw. *upāiriṣaēna-* phlv *apārsēn* als Name eines Gebirges Das Kompositum ist gleichartig mit *uparibudhna-uparimartya-* „uber den Boden" bzw „uber die Menschen sich erhebend" im RV und mit *upairizəma-* „oberhalb der Erde befindlich" und *upairidahyu-* „der uber den Landern ist" im jungeren Awesta, verwandt sind die Avyayībhāvās *uparibhūmí* und *uparinābhí* im Śatapathabrāhmana

Das lange *ā* der zweiten Silbe in der iranischen Form kann natürlich nicht Vṛddhi-Vokal sein, wie Bartholomae Altir. Worterbuch s v meinte, die ableitende Vṛddhi eignet bekanntlich nur der Anfangssilbe der Worter Und richtig hat schon Horn KZ 38, 292 bemerkt, dass auch die Bedeutung des Kompositums keine ableitende Vṛddhi erwarten lasst Nun wird durch die altindische Entsprechung das *ā* als iranische Neuerung erwiesen Langst schon hat Andreas erkannt, dass in solchen Fallen das *a* durch *e* hindurch aus dem epenthetischen *ai* entstanden ist — Gemass der sonstigen Entsprechung *aδairi upairi* (*Berliner Sitzungsber.* 1918, 392) bieten die awestischen Texte dieselben Zusammensetzungen mit *aδairi-* „unterhalb der Erde, der Lander befindlich".

3, 247. Zweimal hinter einander liest man hier die 1 pl (*na vai dāre*) *'sṛnma*, eben dasselbe PB 15, 3, 7 Es ist deutlich eine Aoristform, da etwas soeben selbst erlebtes berichtet wird, und zwar eine solche von *sṛ-* Caland *Auswahl*, p 287, Anm 2 fragt, wie die Form grammatisch zu erklaren sei Nun klassisch musste es dafur *asarāma* (oder *asārṣma*) heissen, von *asarāma* (3 sg *asarat*) aus ist aber *asṛnma* zum Teil zu verstehen Die Aoristform *asarat* folgt in der Weise der Bildung den Wurzeln auf *ṛ*, mit denen auch *dṛś-* zusammengeht obwohl der Aorist auf *a* im allgemeinen Tiefstufe der Wurzelsilbe fordert, (z B *alipam, asicam*), ist bei jenen die Wurzelsilbe guniert und udāttiert Diese Seltsamkeit ist schon langst erklart

(Festschrift Jacobi 16 f., vgl. Whitney § 847 a) Sie beruht darauf, dass jene Aoriste mit *ar* aus alten Wurzel-Aoristen von Wurzeln mit auslautendem oder inlautendem *ṛ* herausgewachsen sind, bei denen *ai* dem Singular activi, insbes. der 1 sg eignete z B. *akaram akar* An diese 1 sg auf *-aram* hatte sich mit Übergang in die sogen thematische Flexion eine 2 sg. auf *-arah*, eine 3 pl auf *-aran* usw angeschlossen Ebenso war *adarśan* nach altem *adarśam* an Stelle von vedischem *adṛśan* getreten

Sonach muss auch als ursprüngliche Grundlage von *asarat* (das allerdings schon im RV und zwar in augmentlosen Formen mit Udāttierung der Wurzelsilbe belegt ist und vereinzelt als Imperfektum verstanden worden sein muss) einstiges Dasein eines normal abstufenden Wurzelaorists mit *asaram* als 1 sg und *asr- asṛ-* im Dual und Plural gefordert werden Demnach hatten wir also gegenüber dem klassischen *asarāma* eine einstige 1 pl **asṛma* zu fordern. Offenbar liegt eine solche Form unserm *asṛnma* zu Grunde. Es wäre bloss noch zu fragen, wieso jene konstruierte Idealform **asṛma* um ein *n* vor der Personalendung erweitert werden konnte

Ich glaube, es lässt sich aus dem alten Sprachgebrauch heraus eine Erklärung finden Das konstruierte **asṛma* hatte im vorklassischen Verbum ganz allein gestanden Merkwürdigerweise ist bei keinem alten Wurzelaorist eines *ṛ-* Verbums eine 1 plur auf *-ṛma* belegt, sondern nur *-arma* mit hochstufigem *ar* : vedisch *karma, akarma*, vgl TS 3, 2, 5, 4 *adarśma* gegenüber JB. *adṛśma* Hienach wäre es zwar denkbar, dass vorklassisch eine Form **asarma* aufgekommen wäre Aber der Wunsch nach schwerer Mittelsilbe konnte sich auch in andrer Weise Luft machen Auch das mit *sṛ-* sinnverwandte *gam-* besass einen alten Wurzelaorist Und da lautete die 1 plur vedisch *aganma* An diese Form eines begrifflich verwandten Verbums schloss man die 1 plur von *sṛ-* an und ersetzte *-ma* durch *-nma*

Auf eine andere Erklärung ist Caland in der später als die Auswahl aus dem Jaiminīyab veröffentlichten Übersetzung des Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa- (p 394, Anm 1) verfallen Ohne auf eine Urform **asṛnma* zu rekurrieren, dachte er sich die Form *asṛnma* aus dem Wunsche entsprungen, den verbalen Ausdruck für *dāre sṛ-* „in eine Spalte geraten" dem *-sṛt* des zugehörigen *adārasṛt* anzupassen, als ob dessen auslautendes *t* wurzelhaft wäre, man hätte also anzunehmen, dass *-nm-* nach der Weise des Satzsandhi für *-tm-* eingetreten wäre Aber ein zweites Beispiel von *nm* für *tm* im Wortinnern ist aus dem Altindischen nicht bekannt, und ebensowenig eine solche Einwirkung

einer Nominalform auf eine Verbalform. Übrigens wäre auch diese Erklärung Calands vielleicht verständlicher, wenn man dem *aśṇma* ein altes **aśṛma* zu Grunde legen dürfte.

Auffällig ist das sowohl in PB. als in JB überlieferte *n* statt *n* Man kann es phonetisch erklären gemäss *Ai. Gramm.* 1, 187 (§ 167b) oder aus dem Vorbilde der Musterform *aganma* bezw des *t* von *adārasṭ.*

3 PRĀKR UVVŪḌHA-, UVVĪDHA-

In einer Māhārāstrī-Strophe der bengalischen Rezension der Sakuntala liest man das Wort *uvvūdha-* in der Bedeutung „ausgerissen" (p 88, 2 ed. Pischel *muha-uvvūḍha-muṇālo . . cakkāo*).[1]

Der indische Erklärer führt das Wort auf Sanskrit *udvyūdha-* zurück, leitet es also aus *ud-vi-vah-* ab Pischel (*Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 126, p 100) tritt dieser Deutung bei ; sie ist aber unmöglich Erstens ist die Verbindung *ud-vi-vah-* dem Indischen fremd ; sie ist nicht bloss unbelegt, sondern widerstreitet einer der Regeln, die für die Anordnung der mit einem Verbum oder einem Nomen verbale verbundenen Präverbien gelten : wenn *vi* und *ud* mit einem Verbum verbunden werden, geht *vi* regelmässig voran , so schon im RV *vyud-* mit *sthā-*, in der TS. mit *ūh-* und *hṛ-*. Weiteres in der ganzen Literatur

Dagegen ist die Folge *ud-vi* nicht bloss in der vorklassischen Sprache fast unerhört ; aus der epischen und klassischen wusste ich nur *ud-vīks-* nachzuweisen, das sich aus der Engigkeit der Verbindung erklärt, die zwischen *vi-* und *īks-* eingetreten ist, sodass *vīks-* fast als Simplex empfunden wurde. Dazu kommt aus der jüngeren Sanskritprosa *ud-vikāsin-* „aufblühend" in der Kādambarī. Nur ein Text macht eine ausgesprochene Ausnahme, das Bhāgavata Purāna , hier treffen wir Verbindungen wie *ud-vi-ghosayati, ud-vi-cakṣ-, ud-vi-dārayati, ud-vi-varhaṇa-* , ja sogar 4, 7, 44, doppeltes *ud* in *ud-vy-ud-asyet* Aber durch seine erkünstelte Sprache scheidet dieses Werk überhaupt als Zeuge für lebendigen Sprachgebrauch aus.

Weiterhin ist unersichtlich, wie man von einem *ud-vi-vah-*, wenn es ein solches wirklich gab, die an der Sakuntala-Stelle geforderte Bedeutung „ausgerissen" herleiten konnte

Dazu kommt eine dritte Schwierigkeit , Hemacandra 1, 120 lehrt

[1] Pischel (§126, p 101 oben) weist dieses Wort auch aus der Ardhamāgadhī der Jaina nach Der Text, den er dafür zitiert, ist mir leider unzugänglich, ebenso wie der eine der Texte, aus denen er § 489 (p 346) *uvvihai* belegt

ir vodvūdhe „ in *udvūdha* kann *ū* zu *ī* werden " Also gab es eine Nebenform *uvvīdha-* , aber diese lasst sich mit keiner Kunst an *vah-* anknüpfen. Pischel hilft sich hier mit der Annahme, dass *uvvūdha-* und *uvvīḍha-* trotz dem Zeugnis Hemacandra's zwei ganz verschiedene Worter seien, jedes von anderer Herkunft , aber wer wird ihm auf solch verzweifelten Ausweg folgen ?

Den Weg zum Richtigen weist Pischel selbst durch die Erklarung, die er fur *uvvīḍha-* gibt An der von ihm a a O. § 126, p. 100 angefuhrten Stelle Vivāhap. 1388 gehort es mit einem Prasens *uvvihaï* und einem Absolutiv *uvvihittā* zusammen und wird von einem aus dem Kocher herausgezogenen Pfeil (*tassa usussa . uvvīdhassa*) gebraucht. Pischel fuhrt dieses *uvvīdha- uvvihai* auf ai *vyadh-* zuruck (§ 489, p. 346) , das ist sichtlich irrig Das Prasens von *vyadh-*, das altindisch vom Rigveda an *vidhyati* lautet, ist im Prākrit teils durch Formen mit *vindh-* vertreten, die sich aus dem lautverwandten *vindati* ergaben , teils durch solche mit *vedh-*, zu denen schon das Sanskrit Anhaltspunkte lieferte Dagegen fur Pischels Prasens *vihati*, das eben nur hinter *ud* eingetreten ware, bietet sich als Prasens von *vyadh-* keine Erklarung. Insbesondere aber lasst sich die Bedeutung „ herausziehen " aus *ud-vyadh-* nicht ableiten , dieses bedeutet im Sanskrit eigentlich „ in die Hohe schlagen ", das zugehorige *ud-viddha-* „ hoch " ; vgl pāli *ubbedha-* „ Hohe ".

Einfach wird alles, wenn man *uvvihai uvvīdha-* auf ai *ud-vṛhati* und dessen schon im den Sūtras belegtes Adjektiv *ud-vṛdha-* zuruck-fuhrt Dieses Verbum bedeutet „ ausraufen ", wird aber gerade auch von dem Herausziehen der Waffe aus der Scheide gebraucht, wofur ich auf die Worterbucher verweise. Dass die Verbindung *ud-vṛh-* bis ins Mittelindische fortgelebt hat, wird durch pāli *ubbahati* „ ausreissen " verburgt , fur den lautlichen Übergang von *vi* aus *vṛ* vergleiche man z B AMg *vicchuya-* aus ai *vṛścika-*.

Dieses *udvṛdha-* „ ausgerauft " passt nun ganz vorzuglich auch als Grundlage von *uvvūdha-* „ ausgerissen ", wie es an der Sakuntala-Stelle gebraucht wird, und macht weiter das fur Pischel im Grunde unerklarliche Schwanken zwischen *uvvūḍha-* und *uvvīḍha-* verstandlich , man weiss, wie buntscheckig die mittelindische Vertretung von ai. *ṛ* ist

Bemerkenswert ist bei beiden Formen die Lange des fur ai *ṛ* eingetretenen Vokals Bei *uvvīdha-* erklart sie Pischel aus dem Vorbild von Adjektiven wie *līḍha- mīḍha-* gegenuber *lih- mih-*, eine Erklarung, die moglich bleibt, auch wenn man *uvvihai* anders als Pischel erklart

Was aber die Form *uvvūḍha-* betrifft, so hat sie, wenn richtig erklart, ihre ganz genauen Entsprechungen in den Pālıformen *abbūḷha- parıbbūḷha-* fur ai. *āṿṛḍha- parivṛḍha-*, und diese erklart Bartholomae *ZDMG* 50, 685, auch in dieser Weise nach *mūḷha- rūlha-* u dgl neben *muh- ruh-* sei *būlha-* zu den im Pāli erhaltenen auf *vṛh-* zuruckgehenden *buh*-Formen wie *abbuhya* (ai *ā-vṛhya*) und *abbuhi* hinzugebildet worden Neben diesen beiden unter sich gleichwertigen Moglichkeiten der Erklarung der Lange darf immerhin daran erinnert werden, dass in der vorklassischen Sprache die erste Silbe von *vṛḍha-* aus **vṛžḍha-* gewiss als Lange gerechnet wurde, so gut wie die von *tṛḍha- dṛḍha-* usw. (*Ai Gramm.* 1, 31 [§ 28], 44 [§ 40], 275 [§ 238a]) Dieses vorklassische *ṝḍh-* kann sich sehr wohl in mittelindischem *-īdh- -ūdh-* fortgesetzt haben.

Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung. II.

Altindoar. *Gobhila-*, m n.pr altpers $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ „dicere“
(Als Zusammenfassung dient der 10 Abschnitt p. 873)

Von Walther Wust

DIE nachfolgende Studie, die ich bereits im Sonderabschnitt zur „Vorrede“ meines „Vergleichenden und etymologischen Worterbuchs des Alt-Indoarischen“ p 86 angekundigt habe, verfolgt einen dreifachen Zweck personlicher und sachlicher Art. Sie will, zuvorderst, im Rahmen dieses Festbandes und, wohlverstanden, mit ihrem ganzen Zubehor ehrerbietige Huldigung sein, dargebracht dem grossen, hochverdienten Altmeister indoarischer und indischer Sprachwissenschaft, Sir George A Grierson Sie will, zweitens, Ergiebigkeit und Richtigkeit des von mir aufgestellten „Analytischen Monographie-Schemas“ (des betrachtend-zergliedernden Denkverfahrens fur wortkundliche Einzelveroffentlichungen) erneut unter Beweis stellen, eine Absicht, die ich in Uberlegung und Beispiel schon an so ziemlich allen entscheidenden Punkten obgenannter Worterbuch-Vorrede durchgefuhrt habe Und diese Studie will schliesslich, drittens, das Gesamtgewebe der so ungewohnlich wichtigen indoiranischen Beziehungen um einen weiteren Einschlag vermehren, allerdings nicht um einen so bunten, gleissenden, wie sie neuerdings J Przyluski[1] bereithalt, sondern um einen von der webechten Gediegenheit, die wir J Wackernagels vorbildlicher Humanistenhand verdanken Wackernagels uberzeugende, das eine Mal mit litauisch-germanischen, das andere Mal (nach dem Vorgang Bartholomaes) mit rein iranischen Sprachmitteln arbeitende Deutung der vedischen Eigennamen *Nodhás-* und *Pedú-*[2] bleibt zusammen mit anderen Aufsatzen desselben Forschers die beste Erlauterung des Satzes „das Altindische wird

[1] Ich denke hiebei etwa an folgende Aufsatze des franzosischen Gelehrten „Un dieu iranien dans l'Inde“ = Rocznik Or 7, p 1–9, „La théorie des Guna“ = Bull School Or stud 6, p 25–35, „Les noms de la Grande Deesse“ = Rev de l'hist des rel 105, p 185–92, „La diaspora tyrrhenienne et sa limite orientale“ = Rev Hittite et Asianique 3, p 58–64, lauter Veroffentlichungen, die ich z B zusammen mit P Chantraine, Idg Jb 19, p 168, oder mit Wilh Printz, Idg Jb 16, p 118, 18, p 99, 19, p 97 fur mindestens sehr gewagt, wenn nicht fur durchaus verfehlt ansehe

[2] Vgl „Indoiranisches“ p 405 f

wohl noch in manchen Fällen der Erforschung des Awesta Hilfsdienste leisten konnen "[1] (eine Aussage, die man gelegentlich auch wird umkehren mussen) Die dabei durchgefuhrte Betrachtungsweise ist nicht nur hervorragend geeignet, allen geistreichen Attacken zum Trotz das Feld zu behaupten, sondern sie erweitert auch eine von Hilka angefuhrte, wissenschaftsgeschichtlich zu enge Ansicht Edward Schroders, die in der Warnung gipfeln zu mussen glaubt, ja nicht „ die Namendeutung als das hochste, oder gar als das nachste Ziel der Namenforschung hinzustellen Die grossen Aufgaben auf diesem Gebiete [seien vielmehr] Geschichte der Namenschopfung und der Namenwahl "[2]

1. Name und Person des *Gobhila* sind innerhalb des altindoarischen Schrifttums eine feststehende Grosse *Gobhila* ist — und Friedrich Knauer hat dies in seinen Ausfuhrungen uber „ Sprache und Stil (2 Heft p 50 unten und f) unterstrichen — der Verfasser des Gobhilagṛhyasūtra, das „ als eines der altesten, vollstandigsten und interessantesten Grihyawerke bezeichnet werden "[3] darf, in verschiedenen Ausgaben uns heute vorliegt[4] und, „ selbstverstandlich mit Ausschluss der Spruche ", in einem durchwegs klassischen, die Grammatik nicht verletzenden Sanskrit (Knauer a a O p 50) abgefasst ist Das Gobhilagṛhyasūtra gehort zum Verbande des Sāmaveda, eine Tatsache die, wie wir weiter unten noch sehen werden, fur seinen Verfasser selbst nicht ohne Bedeutung ist. Angesichts dieses Sachverhaltes sollte man meinen, dass der Name des *Gobhila* auch sprachgeschichtlich immer wieder untersucht worden ware, mit anderen Worten, dass

[1] J Wackernagel, Studia Indo Iranica Ehrengabe fur Wilhelm Geiger p 233 oben

[2] Alfons Hilka, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der indischen Namengebung Die altindischen Personennamen (= Indische Forschungen, 3 Heft), p 77, wobei die Quelle „ Verhandlungen der 46 Versammlung deutscher Schulmanner und Philologen in Strassburg 1901 ' (Leipzig 1902), p 36 ist

[3] Leopold von Schroeder, Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung (Leipzig 1887), p 199 [3]

[4] Ich nenne die Ausgabe „ with commentary by Chandrakânta Tarkâlankâra , 2 Auflage in der „ Bibliotheca Indica ' 1906–8 erschienen (erste Auflage ebenda 1880), ferner die bekanntere Friedrich Knauers, Das Gobhilagrhyasūtra herausgegeben und ubersetzt, Leipzig 1885–6, schliesslich die Übersetzung H Oldenbergs in „ Sacred books of the East ', Bd 30 Am ubersichtlichsten verzeichnet den Gobhila Schrifttumskomplex Louis Renou in seiner „ Bibliographie Vedique p 76 f 1 ui die Parisiṣtas, die dem Gobhilagṛhyasūtra angehangt sind und von denen eines unter dem Titel Gṛhyasamgrahapariṣiṣta einem Gobhilaputra zugeschrieben wird, sei auf M Winternitz, A history of Indian literature 1, p 281 verwiesen (vgl derselbe, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur 1, p 223, Anm 2 unten) —Nach Monier Williams[2] s v hat Gobhila auch ein Puṣpasutra, ein Śrautasūtra und ein Naigeya sūtra verfasst

aus dem Gesamtverlauf der Indologie und indoarischen Philologie sich eine geschlossene Erforschungsgeschichte (oder die von mir so genannte Traditionslinie) luckenlos herausarbeiten liesse. Leider ist diese Erwartung vollkommen irrig Ich habe dutzende und aberdutzende von Stellen und Werken durchgesehen ohne das geringste Ergebnis und muss aus Platzmangel darauf verzichten, die gesamten Fehlanzeigen hier *in extenso* vorzufuhren Eine Stichprobe aus dem wichtigsten, insbesondere dem lexikographischen, Stoffgebiete genuge ! Schon T H Colebrooke erwahnt an drei Stellen seiner „ Miscellaneous essays " (London 1837, und zwar 1, p 100*, 314, 2, p. 8) den *Gobhila*, aber die Erwahnung geschieht im Rahmen einer blossen Aufzahlung, ohne den durftigsten philologischen oder sprachgeschichtlichen Hinweis, und auch der zuverlassige „ Index " fuhrt uns fur keinen der beiden Bande weiter Ebenso verhalt es sich mit dem Bohtlingk-Roth'schen PW, welches den Eigennamen „ eines Verfassers von liturgischen und grammatischen Sûtra ", *Gobhila*, fur eine kleine Gruppe uns schon bekannter Texte belegt (vgl p 836[4]), aber keinerlei Deutung, keinerlei Nachtrage, Verbesserungen und sonstige Zusatze beisteuert Das pw. tritt ihm, gleichfalls schweigend, zurseite, nicht anders Richard Schmidts „ Nachtrage ", C. C Uhlenbecks „ Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Worterbuch der Altindischen Sprache " (gleichfalls ohne „ Nachtrage und Berichtigungen "), Ernst und Julius Leumanns „ Etymologisches Worterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache ", Lieferung 1. Die Sonderveroffentlichungen zum Gobhilagṛhyasûtra verandern die merkwurdige Sachlage nicht Friedrich Knauer hat sich nicht uber den Namen *Gobhila* geäussert, auch Oldenberg nicht in seiner vorhin genannten Ubersetzung, Bloomfield und v Bradke nicht in einschlagigen Aufsatzen der ZDMG (35, p 533 ff beziehungsweise 36, p 417 ff) und schliesslich nicht die Verfasser der gangbaren Literaturgeschichten, Bhagavaddatta, H v. Glasenapp, V Henry, A B. Keith, A. A. Macdonell, L v Schroeder, M Winternitz (deutsche und englische Bearbeitung) Hermann Oldenberg in seiner „ Literatur des Alten Indien " erwahnt noch nicht einmal den Namen *Gobhila*[1] Angesichts eines solchen Tatbestandes wird es voll erklarlich, warum sogar Louis Renou in seiner reichhaltigen „ Bibliographie Védique " nur eine einzige Deutung verzeichnet (p 300, Abteilung 194, No. 9),

[1] Ebensowenig Richard Pischel in seiner Darstellung „ Die indische Literatur (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele Hrsgg von Paul Hinneberg Teil 1 Abteilung VII Die orientalischen Literaturen. II B 1, p 160–213), Berlin und Leipzig 1906

diejenige M. Bloomfields, auf die ich nachher noch ausfuhrlich zu sprechen kommen werde In Wirklichkeit hat sich schon mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert fruher Lieut.-Col James Tod, Late Political Agent to the Western Rajput States, in seinem beruhmten Werke „Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India" mit der Deutung des Wortes *Gobhila-* befasst, freilich ohne auch nur annahernd vollstandig die Zusammenhange zu uberschauen In dem genannten Werke[1] namlich, dessen 1 Band dem englischen Konig Georg IV dediziert worden ist am 20 Juni 1829, schreibt Tod uber die *Gohil*'s (1, p 137 f), wie folgt „This was a distinguished race it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension The first residence of the Gohils was Juna Khergarh, near the bend of the Luni in Marwar How long they had been established here we know not They took it from one of the aboriginal Bhil chiefs named Kherwa, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations when expelled by the Rathors at the end of the twelfth century" Die weiteren Entwicklungsstufen, in deren Verlauf dann noch als geographische Fixpunkte die Namen Saurashtra, Piramgarh, Bhagwa, Nandod, Si-hor, Bhaunagar, Gogha, Gohilwar eine Rolle spielen, gehen uns in diesem Zusammenhang hier nichts an Fur uns ist nur von Wert, dass Tod aus vorstehendem Anlass anmerkungsweise, 1, p 137 Anm 2, den Eigennamen *Gohil* bezeichnet als „a compound word from goh, 'strength', Ila 'the earth'" Diese Deutung, welche nur unter Vorbehalt die „zeitlich erste" genannt werden darf, weil sie ja den fur uns wesentlichen Zusammenhang mit dem altindoarischen Personennamen *Gobhila-* weder erwahnt noch erkennt, ist heute nur noch wissenschaftsgeschichtlich lehrreich In der Tat gibt ihr Crooke a a O p 137 Anm 2 den Zusatz „[This is out of the question cf Guhilot]", und nicht anders urteilt Irach J S Taraporewala in seinem nachher noch eingehend zu behandelnden Aufsatz[2] „The word असुर (*ahura*) in Sanskrit and the Gobhilas", wenn er schreibt „Colonel Tod in his immortal *Rajasthan* [Popular edition in two volumes (1914), 1, p 95, ftn 1] derives the word from '*goh* (strength) and *ela* (the earth)'; but this

[1] Ich benutze die Ausgabe, die von William Crooke, C I E, „with an introduction and notes" in drei Banden (Oxford University Press 1920) bearbeitet worden ist

[2] In „Indo-Iranian studies, being commemorative papers contributed by European, American and Indian scholars in honour of Shams-Ul-Ullema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana (London-Leipzig 1925), p 143–8—Beames a a O 1 p 92 (bei Elliot) sagt kurz und bundig „and his etymologies are not worthy of the slightest notice"

seems rather of the folk-etymology variety " (a a O. p 147 unten und f). Dabei haben weder Crooke noch Taraporewala uberhaupt auch nur die Frage gestellt, welche Bedeutung denn dies derart beschaffene Kompositum besitzen solle — die Antwort wurde gleichfalls gegen Tods Analyse ausfallen — und keiner von beiden hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass *Gohil* (*Gohel*) doch in einem Form-Verband mit ahnlich gebauten Eigennamen zu stehen scheine, wobei etwa die Rājpūtāna-Personennamen *Bāghel*, *Chandel*, *Jugel*, *Mohil*, *Patel*, und *Vādhel* hatten genannt werden mussen Insbesondere die beiden letzten sind morphologisch eindeutig *Patel* gehort zu altindoar *paṭṭa-*, m „ Tafel, (Urkunden)platte " (tatsachlich ist auch **paṭṭila-* bezeugt, allerdings nicht als Eigenname), und *Vādhel* fuhrt auf so gegenstandliche geschichtliche Vorgange [1] zuruck, dass die Ableitung des Namens „ from *badh, vadh,* ' to slay ' ", wie schon Tod (2, p. 943) erkennt, unausweichlich ist Tods Zerlegung *Goh-il* besteht also formal wohl zu Recht, aber *-il* kann im Wortganzen nicht als selbstandiges Nomen, sondern nur als Ableitungssuffix gefasst werden, eine Tatsache, die schon jetzt als sehr wesentlich fur die folgenden Gedankengange unter allen Umstanden festgehalten werden muss Ein bedeutender Abstand nicht nur zeitlicher, sondern vor allem sachlich-wissenschaftlicher Art trennt den zweiten Versuch, mit dem Eigennamen-Komplex *Gobhila-* fertig zu werden, von dem ersten Konnte James Tod nur mit Vorbehalt als Glied der Traditionslinie behandelt werden, so liegt uns, ganz im Gegensatz dazu, ein vollgultiger, sozusagen dreiteiliger Ansatz vor in dem, was Sir Henry M Elliot, John Beames und Fitzedward Hall zur Sache ermittelt haben [2] Da die Einzelangaben der drei Forscher, soweit unser eigenstes Verhandlungsthema, *Gobhila-*, nicht beruhrt wird, da und dort im Texte der Untersuchung selbst untergekommen sind, ist hier unmittelbar nur das zu erortern,

[1] „ Aja [ein Abkommling der Rāthor-Dynastie von Mārwār, Rājpūtāna], another brother, invaded Okhamandal, in the extreme west of Kāthiāwār, and established himself there by murdering the Chāvada ruler of the country His descendants bear the surname which he assumed, and are still known as Vādhel, ' the Slayers ' " (Sir Wolseley Haig, The Cambridge History of India 3, p 521 unten) — *Bāghel* und *Gohil* erscheinen auch in der Gedichtstrophe, unten p 840[1], unmittelbar nebeneinander

[2] Es handelt sich dabei um folgende Veroffentlichung „ Memoirs on the history, folklore, and distribution of the races of the North-Western Provinces of India , being an amplified edition of the original Supplemental glossary of Indian terms, by the late Sir Henry M Elliot, K C B Edited, revised, and re-arranged by John Beames, M R A S In two volumes Vol 1 (London 1869), p 90–2, drei Seiten, an deren einer. p 91 f, „ Dr Fitzedward Hall, the well-known erudite scholar ' massgeblichen Antail hat

was Hall den Namen *Gobhila-* betreffend denkt Er steuert folgende Notiz bei „ It seems probable that the term Gahlot [woruber unten p 849[1] f] is connected with Guhila, the name of the second king of the Udaypur dynasty. See the ' Asiatic Researches ', vol. xvi, pp 292, etc The apparent eponymist of the Gahlots is called Gobhila in an inscription from Chedi, which I have published and translated in the ' Journal of the American Oriental Society ', vol vi Guhila may have been corrupted from Gobhila, a name occurring in ancient Sanskrit literature , or, which is rather more likely, Gobhila may have been Sanskritized out of Guhila In popular pronunciation, Guhila must have become Guhil , and we know that *gotra* was broken down into *got* ." Elliot-Beames fahren anschliessend fort „ In support of this opinion, I may add, that throughout the Prithvi Raja Rasa, Chand always uses the form *Gohil*, गोहिल[1]". So dankenswert diese Angaben auch sind, im wesentlichsten Punkte konnen sie nicht gebilligt werden die beiden Eigennamen *Guhila-* und *Gobhila-* haben weder in der einen noch in der anderen Weise etwas miteinander zu tun Ganz abgesehen davon, dass dies auch das, spater noch vorzufuhrende, Urteil Charpentiers ist — vgl. unten p 846[1] —, wird uns ein eigener Untersuchungsabschnitt daruber belehren, dass die beiden in *Guhila-* bezw *Gobhila-* zutagetretenden Wurzeln reinlich geschieden sind[2]. Dies ist der einzige, nochmals aufzugreifende Ansatz, den wir von dem zweiten Deutungsversuche mitnehmen Noch weniger fruchtbar kann das ausgestaltet werden, was Albrecht Weber, Akademische Vorlesungen uber Indische Literaturgeschichte (zweite, vermehrte Auflage , Berlin 1876, also mehrere Jahrzehnte nach Tod), p 92 unten zum *Nomen proprium Gobhila-* beibringt Es besteht in der ohne jegliche Nachweise auftretenden Bemerkung „ Sein Namen hat einen sehr unvedischen Klang, und findet sich durchaus nichts demselben irgendwie Entsprechendes in der ubrigen vedischen Literatur vor". Taraporewala

[1] „ The following passage from the ' Ala údal prastáv ' of that poem is interesting, as shewing the Gohil in good and valiant company at an early date, in spite of the later imputation of cowardice It will be seen that they are decidedly on the side of Parimál, the Chandel king of Mahoba, and opposed to Prithí Raja, though the author above says their chief, Govind Rao, was an ally of the Chauhán —

' The monarch shouted his commands,
To battle marched the Ráwat bands ;
Chandel, Banáphar, heroes leal,
Baghel and Gohil, fierce as steel ' "

[2] Man kann sagen *Guhila-* ist von *Gobhila-* noch mehr verschieden als **gupila-* von **gopila-*

hat, a a O. p 147 u , diese Notiz Webers aufgenommen und glossiert sie mit den Worten . „ The remark of Weber that the name Gobhila has an ' unvedic ring ' is worth considering ". Ich kann Taraporewala keineswegs beipflichten Bei aller Anerkennung der Weber'schen Verdienste muss man doch betonen, dass er im allgemeinen ein schlechter Wortkundler war und dass seine obige Bemerkung nicht nur irrig (vgl p 861[1,3]), sondern im besonderen unklar ist Sollte der Ausdruck „ unvedischer Klang " sich auf die Endung beziehen, so ware auf die mehrfach bereits im Veda belegten Nomina mit dem Ausgang *-ila-* hinzuweisen ; sollte er auf ausserindoarische Lehnbezugsmoglichkeiten anspielen, so waren Einzelnachweise zu fordern ; und die Schlussworte endlich, es finde „ sich durchaus nichts irgendwie Entsprechendes in der ubrigen vedischen Literatur vor ", sind so mehrdeutig, dass man sie am zweckmassigsten auf sich beruhen lasst. Denn wer will entscheiden, ob damit nun Verbalbezuge oder Nominalbezuge oder beides zugleich oder schliesslich ganz allgemeine morphologische Beziehungen gemeint sein sollen ! So stosst man, wenige Jahre nach Weber, auf M Bloomfield, der bis dahin das Namensratsel *Gobhila-* am entschiedensten anpackt, und zwar in einer kleinen Mitteilung „ On the etymology of *φίλος* [abstract of a paper read at a meeting of the University Philological Association, April 6, 1883] (= The Johns Hopkins University Circulars Baltimore. November 1882-October 1883, Baltimore 1883, p 141 f) " Bloomfield geht, wie ersichtlich, von altgriech *φίλος* aus und betont : „ no less than six distinct etymologies have been proposed for this word, and none has secured for itself the acceptance of scholars generally With the exception of Vaniček, who ventures to accept the pronominal derivation of the stem (from *sva-* the reflexive), no larger work ventures to accept any of the proposed etymologies Fick's Comparative Lexicon and the fifth edition of Curtius's Etymology are silent on the subject The latest etymology propounded by Osthoff in the Morphologische Untersuchungen, Vol iv, p 229, according to which *φίλος* is derived from the preposition *ἐφί* (in *ἐφίορκος*) = skr *abhi*, and means ' beigehorig, zugethan ', is based upon wide-reaching new theories about Indo-European vocalism which are far from certain [Absatz] Thus a suggestion which may secure for the word a Sanskrit equivalent can be made without attacking any well-established explanation There are two proper names in Sanskrit, *Gobhila* and *Rebhila*, whose first syllable may possibly be the diphthongal stems *go* ' cow ' and *re* ' property ' (Lat. *rēs*) In that case

the remainder of the words, *-bhila*, would be sound for sound the Greek *φιλο-* and *go-bhila* would be 'fond of cattle'; *re-bhila*, 'fond of wealth'. *Gobhila* is a name which occurs in the Vedic period and is otherwise totally unexplained" [1] Bloomfields Deutung ist ein Musterfall bestechender, blendender Kombination, und wie alle derartigen Kombinationen zerrinnt sie einem bei naherer, unbefangener Prufung unter den Handen Ich will mich nicht dabei aufhalten, dass der Urheber selbst seine Anknupfung mit einem wenig ermutigenden „may possibly" einleitet und dass er uns nur ein „abstract" hinterlassen hat, bei dem wir das Fehlen genauerer philologischer Einzeluntersuchungen angelegentlich bedauern. Entscheidend ist Anderes Entscheidend ist einmal, dass die heutige wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Beurteilung des altgriechischen *φίλος* um keinen Deut von der verschieden ist, die Bloomfield selbst vorfand Gewiss gibt es einige Gelehrte, so F Muller Izn in seinem „Grieksch woordenboek [2]" s v (Groningen — Den Haag 1926), Walde-Pokorny 2, p 185 und Prellwitz [2] s v, die noch bis in die neueste Zeit hinein an der Verbindung des altgriech *φίλος* mit irisch *bil* „gut", niederland *billijk*, mhd *unbilde*, n „Unrecht, das Unbegreifliche, Wunder usw" festhalten und eine idg Ausgangsform * $\sqrt{}$ *bhil* oder **bhilo-*, mfn rekonstruieren Aber schon Boisacq lehnt diesen Zusammenhang ausdrucklich ab als nicht „favorisé par la sémantique" und stellt fest: „Etym[ologie] obscure" (auch nichts unter „Additions et corrections") Und A M[eillet], dessen Fuhrung wir uns gerade in einem Fall wie dem vorliegenden unbedenklich anvertrauen durfen, betont in seiner Besprechung des Walde-Pokorny'schen Worterbuches, BSLP 28, Comptes rendus, p 89 „Gr *φίλος* est sans doute ancien Mais il en faudrait déterminer la valeur sociale précise, et l'existence d'une forme isolée i-e **bhilo-* est invraisemblable", ganz abgesehen davon dass durch einen Bedeutungsansatz „in gutem Sinne ebenmassig, angemessen, gut, freundlich" (so Walde-Pokorny a.a O) der Bloomfield'schen Auffassung von altindoar. *Gobhila-* einigermassen der Boden entzogen wird Tatsache ist und bleibt — und deswegen schweigen sich manche Handbuchverfasser ja uber *φίλος* ganzlich aus —, dass das anlautende *φ-* dank seiner entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Mannigfaltigkeit zu den zweideutigsten innergriechischen Lauten gehort (vgl Boisacq p xvii unten, Prellwitz [2] p xix unten), eine Tatsache, die ihrerseits wieder zur unausbleiblichen

[1] Ich habe Bl 's Meinung ungekurzt vorgefuhrt, weil ich glaube, dass nicht jedermann diese einigermassen entlegene Veroffentlichung zurhand haben wird

Folge hat, dass jede mit φίλος arbeitende Wortverbindung an dieser Zweideutigkeit eben teilhat. Es ist deshalb auch nicht weiter verwunderlich, dass — ein Kuriosum für Graezisten! — E. W. Hopkins, JAOS 28, p. 129, altgriechisch φιλεῖν „to love" und φίλημα „kiss" eng verbindet mit Rājasthānī *piâr*, Hindī *piyār* „love" und „kiss", „containing the root of φίλημα", womit die Fragwürdigkeit der Bloomfield'schen Gleichung recht kräftig dargetan wird, und zwar nach Laut und Bedeutung. Soviel zum Griechischen (vgl. noch p 861 f)[1]. Von der altindoarischen Seite her spricht gleich Mehreres ebenfalls entscheidend gegen Bloomfields Vermutung. Da es sich hiebei um schlichte Tatsachen handelt, lasse ich sie in der gebotenen Kürze sprechen. Erstens hat Bloomfield nicht bedacht, dass die relativ späte Bezeugtheit der beiden altindoarischen Eigennamen *Gobhila-* und *Rebhila-* zu dem geforderten erbverwandtschaftlichen Zusammenhang mit altgriechisch φίλος nicht sehr glücklich passt. Unter der Bloomfield'schen Voraussetzung wäre vielmehr der älteste Veda, also der Ṛgveda, gerade geeignet genug gewesen, *Gobhila-* und *Rebhila-* zu beherbergen. In Wirklichkeit beherbergt er sie natürlich nicht. Zweitens hat Bloomfield mit keinem Worte auch nur angedeutet, dass das dem altgriechischen entsprechende altindoarische **bhila-* nirgends sonstmehr nachzuweisen ist, ausser eben in den so zerlegten Eigennamen *Go-bhila-* und *Re-bhila-*. Von diesen zwei einzigen Belegen aber ist — drittens — einer von Bloomfield handgreiflich missdeutet worden. *Rebhila-*, n pr., das einfach mit dem funktionell noch später genau zu bestimmenden Ableitungsformans *-ila-* zu dem bereits im Ṛgveda öfter vorkommenden *rebhá-*, m. „Sänger, Sprecher, auch Eigenname eines Mannes" gehört. Sollte Ähnliches etwa auch für den zweiten Beleg *Gobhila-* zutreffen? Auf diese Frage endgültig zu antworten, ist hier noch nicht der Ort. Aber wir können die Antwort wenigstens von der negativen Seite her schon vorbereiten, indem wir folgende Überlegung anstellen. Angenommen die Bloomfield'sche Zerlegung *Go-bhila-* wäre richtig. Dann würde der Eigenname *Go-bhila- eo ipso* zwei Wortgruppen angehören, einer ersten morphologischen, in welcher das Nomen *go-* in Verbindung mit Nominibus des Anlauts *bh-* ° auftrate, einer zweiten, semasiologischen, welche Wörter der Bedeutungen „Besitzer, Freund,

[1] Vgl. noch Franz Dirlmeier, φίλος und φιλία im vorhellenistischen Griechentum. Münchener Inauguraldissertation 1931, Paul Kretschmer, IF 45, p. 267–71 (hält Boisacqs Zweifel für gerechtfertigt und sieht in φίλος Lehnwort aus dem kleinasiatischen Lydischen, Referat Glotta 18, p. 238 unten und f.)

Herr, Meister, Verwandter " mit dem Vorderglied *go-* vereinigt zeigte Prüfen wir das Material! Es besteht in der Gruppe 1 aus folgenden Worten †*go-bhaṇḍīra-*, m „ein bestimmter Wasservogel ", †*go-bhartṛ-*, m „Stier " (Galanos!), *go-bhāj-*, adj „ein Rind verdienend ", *Go-bhānu-*, m n pr, *go-bhuj-*, m „Fürst, König ", *go-bhṛt-*, m. „†Berg. Fürst, König " Der formale Befund ist eindeutig bei jedem der sechs Komposita, welche das Nomen *go-* mit *bh-* Anschlussen zeigen, ist das Nachglied unkomponiert entweder Laut für Laut oder in einer durch die Kompositionsregeln geringfügig veränderten Lautgestalt belegbar, und bei jedem der sechs Komposita ist die vorgenommene Auflösung deshalb auch zwanglos möglich Ich stelle fest, dass *Go-bhila-* (und seine Ableitungen) in diesem Form- und Sippen-Verband die einzige Ausnahme ist In ganz derselben Linie verläuft die vorhin näher bestimmte semasiologische Untersuchung. Die Beispiele sind †*gaviśa-*, m und †*gavīśvara-*, m „Besitzer von Kühen ", *gavendra-*, m „†Besitzer von Kühen ", †*gaveśa-*, m „Besitzer von Kühen ", †*gaveśvara-*, m. „Besitzer von Kühen ", *gópati-*, m „Herr der Rinderherden, Anführer, Herr, †Fürst, König ", *góbandhu-*, adj „mit der Kuh verwandt ", *Gobalá-*, m. n. pr. eines Mannes, *Gobhatta-*, m n pr eines Dichters[1], *gómant-*, adj. „Rinder —, Kühe besitzend, reich an Kühen ", *gomanta-*, m „†Rinderbesitzer ", *Gomitra-*, m n pr eines Mannes, *gomin-*, m „Besitzer von Rindern oder Kühen ", *gósakhi-*, adj „Rinder besitzend ", *gosvāmin-*, m „Besitzer einer Kuh, — von Kühen " Selbst wenn man die durch ihre Bedeutungsentwicklung etwas abrückende Gruppe *gavís-*, adj „(nach Kühen) begierig ", *gaviṣá-*, adj dasselbe, *gávişti-*, adj „(Rinder) begehrend " dazunimmt, verändert sich das Gesamtbild nicht In jedem der achtzehn Belege ist die in Gestalt eines selbständigen Wortes oder unselbständigen Formans auftretende zweite Komponente sauber ablösbar und sonst nachweisbar[2], nur bei *Go-bhila-* wäre das nicht möglich Zusammen mit dem schon durchgesprochenen morphologischen Befund ergibt der gesamte Tatbestand

[1] Ich halte die Zerlegung *Go-bhatta-* für die natürliche An sich liesse sich im obigen Gesamtzusammenhang auch die Analyse *Gobh-atta-* erwägen Aber gibt es sichere Beispiele für ein derartiges Formans *-(a)tta-*? Gekünstelt schiene mir Annahme von Haplologie *Gobhatta-* < **Gobha-bhatta-*

[2] Insbesondere gilt dies für *gósakhi-*, adj < *gó-sakhi-*, ein Kompositum, das zu *Go-bhila-* nur scheinbare und zufällige Parallelität aufweist Auch die bei Hilka a a O. p 120 in der Abteilung „Pferde- und Rinderbesitz " aufgezählten Personennamen, die mit *go-*° (und seinen Kasus), °*-gava-*, °*-gu-*, °*-gva-* zusammengesetzt sind, bieten nichts entfernt zu *Gobhila-* Passendes *Gobhila-* selbst ist gar nicht aufgeführt

wohl eine eindrucksvolle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafur, dass *Gobhila-* eben nicht in die zwei Bestandteile *Go + bhila-* aufgelost werden darf. Anhangsweise bemerke ich noch, dass eine genaue Durchforschung der *re*-Komposita zur selben Einsicht fuhrt. Das Adjektivum *revánt-* „besitzend, reich, wohlhabend usw." ist zu beurteilen wie obiges *gómant-*, und Typen wie **re-sakhi-* und Ähnliches fehlen uberhaupt ganzlich Abschliessend muss somit festgestellt werden, dass Bloomfields *Gobhila*-Deutung restlos verfehlt ist, wie namentlich die genaue Prufung des Anklang- und Sippen-Verbandes der *go*-Komposita gezeigt hat Bloomfield hat bemerkenswerterweise den Eigennamen *Gobhila-* genau so missverstanden, wie er auch den vedischen Eigennamen *Pedú-* missverstanden hat (J Wackernagel, Indoiranisches p 406) Brauchbar aus der ubrigen Darlegung Bloomfields ist nur etwas sozusagen Ausserliches, die durch ihn zum erstenmal hervorgehobene enge Beziehung zum Eigennamen *Rebhila-* Hierin liegt ein von mir sogenannter sachlich-logischer Rest, den wir im Laufe der weiteren Untersuchung noch aufzugreifen haben *Gobhila-* aber erweist sich auf Grund der vorhergegangenen Erwagungen als ein Trickbeispiel in der Gruppe der wirklichen *go*-Zusammensetzungen und verbindet sich in dieser Eigenschaft mit drei anderen Worten, mit *godhúma-*, m „Weizen", das ja, wie gerade das Iranische zeigt, gleichfalls ganz andere Vorstufe hat, *golátṭikā-*, f „ein bestimmtes Tier", was vor noch nicht langer Zeit von J Charpentier falsch bestimmt worden ist, **gohira-*, n. „Fusswurzel", das mit unserem *Gobhila-* wirklich nichts zu tun hat, auch uber den bekannten *-bh-/h-* und *-r-/l-* Austausch nicht, sondern von Hjalmar Frisk, Zur indoiranischen und griechischen Nominalbildung (Goteborg 1934), p 48 wohl bedingt richtig zu √*guh* gezogen worden ist. Im Zusammenhang damit gewinnt dann schliesslich die von mir bis jetzt nicht gebuchte Tatsache an Bedeutung, dass schon Monier-Williams[2] *Gobhila-* nicht unter den *go*-Kompositis auffuhrt, mit anderen Worten dass er nicht an eine Zusammensetzung mit *go-* geglaubt hat. Alle bisher vorgebrachten Tatsachen, die der Ermittelung der Wahrheit forderlichen wie die ihr abtraglichen, spielen keine Rolle bei dem nunmehr zu erorternden funften Deutungsversuche, welcher von dem gerade vorhin genannten schwedischen Indologen Jarl Charpentier herruhrt und IF. 29, p 380 f zu lesen steht Charpentier, der — dies sei noch einmal betont! — weder die Ansicht Tods noch die Albrecht Webers noch die M. Bloomfields erwahnt, kommt mittelbar auf *Gobhila-* zu

sprechen. In der Hauptsache namlich ist es ihm, wie schon die Uberschrift seines kleinen Versuchs zeigt, um „Pkt *goha* usw." zu tun, das er an vier, noch eingehend von mir zu besprechenden, Stellen des indoarischen Schrifttums (Deśīnāmamālā II 89; Jacobi, Ausgewahlte Erzahlungen in Mâhârâshtrî p. 31, Z 35 f., Mṛcchakatikā ed Stenzler p. 31, Zeile 3 von oben, Devendraganis Vṛtti zu Uttarâdhyāyanasūtra III) aufzeigt und folgendermassen erklart „‘Mann’ ist also wahrscheinlich die ursprungliche Bedeutung des, soviel ich weiss, noch nicht gedeuteten Wortes" (p. 380 unten) „Ich erklare *goha-* aus **gobha-* und fuhre es zu **g^{u}ŏu̯-* ‘Kuh’, also eigentlich ‘Stier, dann ‘mannliches Tier’ im allgemeinen, ‘Mann’. Man vergleiche besonders *vrsabhá-*, *ṛṣabha-*, pkt. *Usabha-*, *usaha*, durch welches Wort *goha-* wohl in seiner Bildung beeinflusst worden ist Zu *goha-* stelle ich weiter ein Paar ai Eigennamen, namlich *Gobhila-*, N des bekannten Sūtraverfassers (*Gobhila- goha* = *Paksila- paksa-*, usw.)..." [1] (p 380 unten und f) Es ist festzustellen, dass diese Darlegungen einiges Brauchbare und Wichtige enthalten, was sich fur die Gesamtheit des Untersuchungsganges verwerten lasst Ich rechne hieher, dass Charpentier als erster innerhalb der ganzen Traditionslinie Prākrit *goha-* nebst den dazugehorigen Literaturbelegen herangezogen und altindoar. *Gobhila-* zu *goha-* in ein bestimmtes Form-Verhaltnis gebracht hat, wobei *goha-* augenfallig in seiner Rolle als Ausgangs- und zugleich Mittelstuck hervortritt Ich rechne weiter hieher, dass durch die Proportion *Gobhila- goha-* = *paksa- Paksila-* gleichfalls zum erstenmal das Bildungsprinzip des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* angegeben, wenn auch durchaus nicht scharfer bestimmt worden ist Aber diesen brauchbaren Einzeltatsachen stehen grobe Mangel gegenuber, die viel nachdrucklicher ins Gewicht fallen und unbedingt hatten vermieden werden mussen und konnen Merkwurdigerweise hat Charpentier selber teilweise auf diese schwachen Punkte hingewiesen, indem er a a O. p 381 f folgende Einwande gegen seine eigene Deutung erhebt und unbereinigt stehen lasst „Es scheint offenbar, dass **go-bha-*

[1] Charpentier fahrt fort „und vielleicht auch *Guhila-* n pr eines Fursten, JAOS 6, 518, was statt **Gohila-* stehen kann, also eigentlich mit *Gobhila-* identisch sein sollte" „Doch wird dies ein wenig fraglich durch das lex Wort *guhila-* n ‘Wald’, eigentlich ‘Versteck’, das zu *guh* ‘verbergen’ gehort. Es ist namlich schwierig zu entscheiden, ob auch der Name *Guhila-* zu dieser Wurzel gehoren soll" (a a O p 381[1]) Charpentiers Zweifel ist berechtigt, denn tatsachlich wird *Guhila-* Kurzform zu Namen wie *Guhasena* sein, was William Crooke — siehe unten! — ausgesprochen hat

unter Anlehnung an *vṛsa-bha-*, *ṛṣa-bha-* zustandegekommen ist, da es sonst eine Bildung voraussetzte, fur die kaum ein zweites Beispiel hervorgezogen werden konnte [sic !]. Denn wir haben ja das Suffix *-bho-* in Tiernamen hinter *-n-* Stammen, z B. *vṛsa-bha-*, ἔλαφος usw., hinter *-i-* Stammen, z B. ἔριφος , und *-o-* Stammen, z B. *gardabha-*, daneben finden sich Worte, wo die Vorsilbe wurzelhaft aussieht, s. Brugmann Grundr ² II, 1, 388 f Fur eine Bildung **g^{u}ŏu̯-bho-* fehlt aber in anderen Sprachen jede Stutze [sic !], sie muss also auf speziell indischem Boden entstanden sein Es ware interessant zu wissen, ob die Prākrt-Sprachen noch andere derartige Bildungen ins Leben gerufen haben , augenblicklich sind mir keine bekannt [sic !] ". Eines Kommentars bedurfen die vorstehenden Sätze, welche von einer geradezu unbegreiflichen Sorglosigkeit zeugen, wohl kaum. Charpentier hatte wahrhaftig besser daran getan, auf die Etymologisierung des mittelindoarischen *goha-* ganz zu verzichten und sich damit zu begnugen, statt dessen schlicht auf die Moglichkeit eines Zusammenhangs mit altindoarisch *Gobhila-* aufmerksam zu machen Denn bewiesen hat Charpentier diesen Zusammenhang ebensowenig, wie er die Ausgangsform **g^{u}ōubho-* bewiesen hat, ein richtiges Wortungetum vergewaltigender, konstruktiv-theoretischer Sprachbetrachtung, das ich hiemit ein fur allemal auf sich beruhen lasse [1] Aber damit nicht genug, hat sich Charpentier auch noch andere

[1] Charpentier hat sich noch nicht einmal die doch wirklich naheliegende Frage vorgelegt falls *-bho-* in dem postulierten **g^{u}ōubho-* nicht das Tiernamenformans ist, kann es dann nicht die in der Nominalkomposition gern verwendete Ablautstufe *-bha-* der altindoarischen √*bhā* „ glanzen, scheinen, strahlen " sein, wie z B. in altindoarisch °*-ābha-*, „ ahnlich ", oder °*-nibha-*, „ ahnlich, gleich " ? Für **gobha-* = mittelindoarisch *goha-* ergabe sich unter dieser Voraussetzung die Bedeutung „ wie das Rind (die Kuh, der Stier) aussehend " Ich habe an Charpentiers Stelle die Prufung dieser Frage mir vorgenommen und volllge Ergebnislosigkeit ermittelt Erstens weist der ganze Nominal-Verband der √ *bhā* samt ihren zahlreichen Praepositionalbildungen gar nichts Entsprechendes auf, insbesondere nichts mit dem zu fordernden, sekundaren Ausgang *-ila-* (wegen *Gobhila-*), und zweitens findet sich auch in der doch viel umfangreicheren allgemeinen Gruppe der *-ila-* Nomina, wie wir noch sehen werden, ebenfalls kein einziger Parallelfall Da also Wortformen wie *°*-ābhila-*, *°*-nibhila-* nicht vorkommen, ware es unsinnig, *Gobhila-* < **gobha-* < **go* + *bha* (< √ *bhā*) erklaren zu wollen Nimmt man diesen Befund mit dem vorne gegen Tod ermittelten (p 838 f) zusammen, so ergibt sich erneut die Notwendigkeit, *-bh-* in *Gobhila-* zur Lautung *Go-* und nicht zum Ausgang *-ila-* zu ziehen Durch die weiter unten vorzunehmende Prüfung des Silbengrenze-Verbandes wird uns diese Notwendigkeit erhartet werden Ich mache noch darauf aufmerksam, dass die ṛgvedischen *-bha-* Formans-Beispiele (vgl Grassmann, Worterbuch Sp 1709, Kolonne 4 von links) samtlich dreisilbig sind und dass die sonstigen *-bha-* Belege (Grassmann a a O Sp *1699, Kolonne 2 von links*) lauter verbale *-bh-* Ausgange zeigen Auch dieser Tatbestand spricht entschieden gegen **g^{u}ōubho-*

Nachlassigkeiten zuschulden kommen lassen, die ihn ihrerseits gehindert haben, der Wahrheit entscheidend nahe zu kommen Ich formuliere die wesentlichen Verstosse kurz und bezeichne damit ebensoviele wesentliche Untersuchungsaufgaben, denen wir zum Teil nachher noch zu genugen haben erstens hat Charpentier keine kritische Behandlung der bis zu seiner Zeit vorliegenden Deutungsversuche zum altindoarischen Eigennamen gegeben, ein Versaumnis, das im vorstehenden 1. Abschnitt meiner eigenen Studie ausgeglichen wird, zweitens hat Charpentier die Ausgangsform zu altindoarisch *Gobhila-* wie auch mittelindoarisch *goha-*, **gobha-*, falsch und ohne genugende Unterlagen als *go-bha-* < **g^{u}ŏu̯bho-* analysiert, wie ich bereits dargetan habe, insbesondere fehlt — drittens — jeglicher Beweis dafur, dass dieses Nomen **go-bha-* morphologisch durch *(v)ṛsabha-* usw massgebend beeinflusst worden sei, die Ursache dieses Versagens ist — viertens — unschwer darin zu erkennen, dass Charpentier uberhaupt keine scharfe, saubere Analyse der Grundbedeutung und der Bedeutungen des Nomens *goha-* versucht hat, nicht hat versuchen konnen, weil er den Stellen-Verband keiner vertieften Betrachtung wurdigte, und all dies war schliesslich — funftens — bedauerlicherweise unausbleiblich, weil Charpentier, in unbekummertem Drauflosetymologisieren der junggrammatischen Schule, eine rein individualistisch-subjektive, atomisierende Betrachtungsweise pflegte, statt sich in die geheimen Lebensregeln der Einzelsprache und ihrer assoziativen Gemeinschaftsverbande sorgsam einzufuhlen Gegenuber dem so zu kennzeichnenden funften Deutungsversuch tritt der sechste und letzte mit weit weniger Anspruchen auf. Er stammt von Taraporewala, ist oben bei Besprechung Tods und Webers bereits teilweise herangezogen worden und besagt (a a O p. 147 unten und f.) „We begin at once to think of the famous Rajput clan — the Gohils — in connection with this name [*Gobhila-*] There seems hardly any doubt that the two names are identical The meaning of the word *gobhila* itself is doubtful, and no guess could be ventured as to its etymology. The legend of their founder Goha, the ancestor of Bappā Rāwal, is evidently another attempt at popular etymology to connect the name Goha with the sanskritic word *guhā* (cave) [Op cit, pp 180 ff]" Zu dieser Darlegung ist zu sagen, dass sie wissenschaftsgeschichtlich genau so von dem durch Taraporewala anscheinend unabhängig gemachten, glucklichen Fund des Zusammenhangs zwischen dem Rajputen-Namen *Gohil* und dem altindoarischen Namen *Gobhila-* beherrscht wird, wie in Charpentiers Versuch der

Hinweis auf mittelindoarisch *goha-* als brauchbarste Feststellung hervortritt. Im einzelnen wird zwar dieser Fund *Gohil* = *Gobhila-* noch einiger Bestatigung bedurfen, aber die Gleichung ist, auch aufgrund des p. 839 f. Vorgetragenen, so augenfallig, dass ich fur die weitere Untersuchung damit fest rechnen werde Dass Taraporewala die Bedeutung des Wortes *Gobhila* selbst dann fur zweifelhaft erachtet und hinsichtlich der Deutung keine Vermutung vorschnell wagt, ist im Rahmen des von ihm Gewollten als weiterer Gewinn zu buchen wie nicht anders auch seine kritische Haltung gegenuber der Tod'schen Erklarung des Eigennamens *Goha* Hierin ist ihm, wie im Fall *Gohil* selbst, William Crooke mit gesundem Urteil vorausgegangen, indem er a a.O. p. 259 [1] Tods Auffassung, *Goha* bedeute soviel wie „cave-born" (a a O. 1, p 259), unnachsichtig als „folk-etymology" bezeichnet [1].

2. Der erste Teil des diachronistischen Untersuchungsweges ist damit zu Ende gegangen. Wir haben den altindoarischen Eigennamen *Gobhila-* durch das abendlandisch-nordamerikanisch-kolonialenglische Fachschrifttum hindurch verfolgt, die Traditionslinie durch Ausscheiden alles irgendwie Unrichtigen und Wertlosen sauber herauspraparIert und daneben ein paar richtig-wertvolle Tatsachen gefunden. Diese Tatsachen aber waren bedauerlicherweise von so vielen unscharfen Gedankenelementen durchsetzt, dass noch eine Reihe besonderer Untersuchungen sich als notwendig erwies, solche des Sach-Verbandes (zum Rajputen-Namen *Gohil*), des Silbengrenze-Verbandes, des Bedeutungs- und Stellen-Verbandes (zu den Wortformen mittelindoarisch *goha-*, altindoarisch *Gobhila-*), schliesslich solche des Klang- und Form-Verbandes (*-ila-* Bildungen, insbesondere *Rebhila-*, $\sqrt{}$ *guh*). Erst wenn diese Sonderprufungen

[1] In das *Guhilot/Grahilot*-Problem lasse ich mich hier nicht ein, da mich diese Erorterung zu weit fuhren wurde Ich verweise statt dessen auf Crooke bei Tod 1, p. 259[1], wo an Ableitung beider Namen vom Herrschernamen Guha oder Guhasena (559–567 a D) gedacht ist Ausserdem belehrt uns Tod 1, p 260[1] selber, dass die alte Bezeichnung *Gohil*, nicht *Gehlot* (durch Umschrift bedingte Seitenform zu den obigen *Guhilot/Grahilot*) sei Auch aus diesem Grunde erweist sich eine Erorterung des Problems als nicht vordringlich Schliesslich sei noch auf Elliot-Beames a.a O. 1, p 90–2 aufmerksam gemacht, die von einer Form गहलोत = *Gahlot* ausgehen und nutzliche geschichtliche Einzelheiten bringen, aber in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Erlauterung des Namens sicher in die Irre gehen. Denn weder die Ableitung von dem Namen eines Sklavenmadchens, *Gahla*, noch die von Beames befurwortete Herkunft „from a form Guhilavant, or 'Guhila's people'" wird heute mehr anerkannt werden, ganz zu schweigen von dem volksetymologischen Versuch, den Hohlennamen zu Ehren zu bringen Ich selber denke an *Guhilaputra-*, n pr , das ja tatsachlich belegt ist (vgl pw s v. *Guhila-*)

befriedigend geklärt sind, brauchen wir nicht mehr von den von mir so genannten sachlich-logischen Resten zu sprechen, die sich aus der Erforschungsgeschichte des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* so mannigfaltig entwickeln liessen

3. Stellen wir zu diesem Zwecke die Vorfrage, ob uns die Fortsetzerin der diachronistischen Gesamtlinie, die einheimisch-indische Sprachwissenschaft, nicht doch bei der Bereinigung dieser sachlich-logischen Reste behilflich sein konne, so ist mit einem runden Nein zu antworten. Soviel ich sehe, spielt die Frage des Namens *Gobhila-* bei Nairuktas und Vaiyākaranas gar keine Rolle, und dies aus einer ganz verstandlichen Sachlage heraus man fand fur *Gobhila-* nicht den traditionell notwendigen Anhalt an einer Verbalwurzel[1] Es ist deswegen auch erklarlich, warum das Mittel-Indoarische nicht weiter Notiz von dem Namen nimmt, eine Tatsache, die etwa durch das Verhalten des Pāli beispielhaft belegt wird[2] Ungefordert, aber auch ungehindert stehen wir damit vor den nun folgenden synchronistischen Betrachtungsweisen, die uns dem endgultigen Ziele zufuhren sollen.

4. Als erster Aufgabenkreis ist sinngemass in Angriff zu nehmen der Sach-Verband, der den *Gohils* angeschlossen ist und seinerseits wiederum in mehrere Teilaufgaben zerfallt. Leider fliesst das Material sehr sparlich. Eine Reihe sonst ausgezeichneter Einzel- und Sammelwerke versagen vollig[3], und Sri Muni Jinvijayas Studie „Kāthiyāwār ādi ke Gohil" (erschienen in der Zeitschrift „Nāgarī" 13, No. 4, Māgh, Sam. 1989 und angezeigt in „Annual bibliography of Indian archæology for the year 1933", p 84, No 358), die vermutlich tiefer

[1] Ich brauche in diesem Zusammenhang nicht eigens zu betonen. dass mit der Grammatikerwurzel **bhil* „bhedane" (dazu die Formen *bhilati*, *bhelayati*) umso weniger anzufangen ist, als √ *bhil* mit *go-* so gut wie nichts zu schaffen hat

[2] Man vergleiche die einschlagigen Worterbucher sowie Edward Muller, Pali proper names (= Journal of the Pali Text Soc 1888, p 1–107, besonders p 29 f)

[3] „The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol xxi Pushkar to Salween" New edition (Oxford 1908) enthalt nichts, weder etwas unter *Goha*, noch etwas zu dem Stichwort *Gohil(s)*, noch auch etwas in dem grossen Artikel Rājpūtāna Ebenso versagt Sir Athelstane Baines, Ethnography (castes and tribes) (= Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde II Bd, 5 Heft), der Name *Gohil* wird auch nicht im „Caste index" (p 153–165) erwahnt Vergeblich sucht man schliesslich Belehrung bei Sir Herbert Risley, The people of India (Calcutta-London 1908), bei H H Wilson, Glossary of judicial and revenue terms and of useful words occurring in official documents (London 1854), bei Hermann Goetz, Epochen der indischen Kultur (Leipzig 1929), bei K P Jayaswal, History of India 150 A D to 350 A D (Lahore 1933), in der sonst vorzuglichen „Enciclopedia Italiana", in Hastings, „Encyclopædia of religion and ethics" (Edinburgh 1908–1926) Wie oft doch muss ein Gelehrter, der mit wichtigen oder mindestens nicht unwichtigen Einzelfragen beschaftigt ist, bekennen dass er nahezu allein auf sich gestellt ist!

in die ganze Sache eingefuhrt hatte, ist mir leider trotz allen Bemuhungen nicht zuganglich gewesen Nichtsdestoweniger ist, namentlich auch wenn wir das vorne p 838 f aus Tod 1, p. 137 f. und p 839 f. aus Elliot-Beames(-Hall) Angefuhrte hier einbauen, eine einigermassen geschlossene Tatsachenlinie skizzierbar Die *Gohils* sind ein hervorragendes Geschlecht, das seinen Ursprung vom Sonnengott Sūrya selbst ableitet und das in verschiedenen, von Tod a a O naher bezeichneten Landschaften Rājpūtānas und uberhaupt Vorderindiens eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hat . und noch heutigentages spielt Denn „ the chief . [z B des Native state Bhavnager oder Bhaunagar „ in the Kathiawar agency, Bombay "] is head of the famous clan of the Gohel Rajputs of Kathiawar. The Gohel Rajputs are said to have settled in the district about 1260 " [1] A.D. Mit diesem Doppel-Datum kommen wir zu dem zweiten, wichtigen zeitlichen Stutzpunkt, zu dem kurzen, viel zu kurzen Satze Sir Wolseley Haigs in „ The Cambridge History of India " 3, p 521 oben, wonach „ in Mārwār communities of Gohels, Chauhans, and Pawārs disputed the authority of the Pratihāras or Parihārs " Leider gibt Sir Wolseley Haig keine genaue Jahreszahl, aber unmittelbar vorher nennt er in anderem Zusammenhang „ 1156 n. Chr ", das ganze 20 Kapitel zudem, dem die Stelle entnommen ist, behandelt „ The native states of Northern India from A D 1000 to 1526 ", sodass wir mithilfe schliesslich der Gesamttafel „ Chronology " (z B. p 666 o , 667 f) in eine geschichtliche Teillage uns hineinversetzt sehen, welche durch die Jahreszahlen 1128, 1210, 1212 A.D. ungefahr abgegrenzt wird Zwischen das Rājātum der Gegenwart und das Clantum des 12 und 13 Jahrhunderts n Chr aber schiebt sich eine bisher vollig ubersehene Tatsache ein, welche nicht nur literargeschichtlich Sanskrit und Prākrit miteinander verbindet, sondern auch zwischen altindoarisch *Gohila-*, mittelindoarisch *goha-* und neuindoarisch *Gohil* die bisher fehlende Brucke schlagt Diese Tatsache erscheint in einem Variantenvers des fur Edelleute bestimmten epischen Gedichtes Vīracaritra des Ananta (vor 1400 n Chr), ist uns durch H Jacobis verdienstliche Ausgabe in den „ Indischen Studien " 14 (pp 97–160, genau a a O p 99 [1]) zuganglich gemacht worden und stammt letzten Endes von dem Jaina Bhāvaratna, dem Verfasser des Kommentars

[1] Einzige Angabe aus „ The Encyclopædia Britannica Fourteenth edition 1929 " 3, p 494, Sp 2, die unter dem Stichwort *Gohel* selbst gar nichts bringt Zeitlich etwas spater ist der Inhalt der Gedichtstrophe anzusetzen, die p 840[1] in Übersetzung wiedergegeben ist Konig Pṛthvīrāja ist 1193 a D gefallen

Sukhabodhikā (1712 n. Chr.). Der Variantenvers, der, wie gesagt, eine Zufugung Bhāvaratnas ist, lautet:

„*Yudhisthiro ʃbhūt kila rājavamśajaḥ,*
sa rājaputrah Paramāravamśabhūḥ |
śrī Vikramārko, nanu Śālvāhano
Gohillabhūr vai, Vijayâbhinandanaḥ |
Śiśodarânvayabhavo bhaviṣyati,
tato ʃtra Nāgārjuna saṁjñako nṛpah
. . . . . ."

Es ist klar, dass dieser zu einem mittelalterlichen Texte spat bezeugte Vers mit genealogisch-kosmogonischen, ja geradezu rein mythengeschichtlichen Vorstellungen spielt[1], aber es ist sprachgeschichtlich ebenso klar, dass im sonst nirgends mehr belegten Eigennamen *Gohilla-* inmitten altindoarischer Wortstaffage ein Prākritismus auftritt, dass nach guten Regeln der Wortbildungslehre *Gohilla-* = *Gobhila-* ist, dass zu beiden mittelindoarisch *goha-*, m die Ausgangsform bildet[2], und dass durch obigen Vers auch die sachliche Bindung mit dem ebenfalls Laut fur Laut gleichen Rajputennamen *Gohil* gewonnen ist Mit diesem Ergebnis ist ein grosser Schritt vorwarts getan Sofort stellt sich uns aber folgende Erwagung in den Weg das im Sanskrit auftretende Prākrit-Lehnwort *Gohilla-* steht wohl zweifellos mit einem furstlichen Stammbaum in engem Zusammenhang

[1] So im wesentlichen nach A Weber, ZDMG 24, p 398 f, besonders p. 399[1], wo kurz auf Elliot, Memoirs on the North-Western provinces of India 1, p. 91, 92 (ed Beames) aufmerksam gemacht ist, p 839 und p 839[2] f, Webers Lesarten und Lesartenvermutungen sind ubrigens in Jacobis Abdruck grossenteils berucksichtigt Eine Übersetzungswiedergabe des sprachlich ziemlich einfachen Verses erubrigt sich wohl Über den Eigennamen *Gohilla-* nur das Notigste im pw s v (nichts im PW und in Richard Schmidts Nachtragen). — Zum Viracaritra bringen lediglich das Landlaufige Victor Henry, Les litteratures de l'Inde (Paris 1904), p 250 f, A Berriedale Keith, A history of Sanskrit literature (Oxford 1928), p 292 unten, M Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Litteratur 3, p 342 f, 342[2] (ohne „ Nachtrage und Verbesserungen ')

[2] Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen § 595 (p 402–4) „ Dialektisch uberaus haufig ist *-illa*, das fur *-ilá* steht (§ 194)" Als Beispiel nenne ich aus vielen *ganthilla-* = *ganthila-* Über das Suffix *-illa-* handelt auch Alfred C Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit[2] (in den „ Panjab University Oriental Publications "), Calcutta 1928, p 77 unten und f Ihm zufolge ist *-illa-* ublich in Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina-Māhārāṣtrī und Ardha-Māgadhī An Beispielen bringt er *kesarilla-* (zu *kesara-*), *bāhirilla-* „ external ", *gāmilla-* „ peasant ", *puvvilla-* „ previous ' Wiederum ist an der Gleichung *Gohil* = *Gohilla-* = *Gobhila-* ebensowenig zu zweifeln wie an der Ableitung dieser Namendreiheit aus einem vorauszusetzenden **gobha-*

und das mit ihm identische Rajputenwort *Gohil* bezeichnet ebenso zweifellos ein Adelsgeschlecht hohen Rangs, aber ist es angesichts eines so klaren Sachverhalts denn nicht kulturgeschichtlich haltlos, beide Wortformen mit *Gobhila-* zu verbinden, dem altindoarischen Eigennamen, der zwar sprachlich seinen Fortsetzern genauestens gleicht, aber doch eben einen Brahmanen, einen Priester, einen schriftstellernden Theologen meint? So merkwürdig es klingt: der Widerspruch, der in dieser Frage liegt, ist nur scheinbar, er ist auflösbar im Lichte klarerhellter kulturgeschichtlicher Vorgänge. Die *Gohils* waren, wie uns Tod erzählt, „a distinguished race it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension' und „the ancient Gohils 'of the land of Kher', expelled and driven to Gohilwal, have lost sight of their ancestry" (Tod 1, p 266 unten und f)[1] Diese drei Umstände, aus denen ich den mit dem Stichwort „Suryavansi" besonders hervorhebe, rücken die Möglichkeit sehr nahe, dass die *Gohils* (*Gohillas*) samt ihrem Stammvater *Goha* ursprünglich überhaupt keine Ksatriyas und Rājanyas waren, sondern Angehörige des Brahmanenstandes, ein Übergang, der uns in der Tat für mehrere Rajputen-Clans einwandfrei bezeugt ist Crooke erzählt nämlich in der „Introduction" des I Tod'schen Bandes p xxxiii f folgende lehrreichen Hergange „Hence arose the legend , which describes how, by a solemn act of purification or initiation, under the superintendence of one of the ancient Vedic Rishis [*sic!*] or inspired saints, the 'fire-born' septs were created to help the Brāhmans in repressing Buddhism,

[1] Aus diesem Grunde wäre es auch ein vergebliches Bemühen, die Lehrerliste des zum Sāma-Veda gehörigen Vaṃśa-Brāhmana heranzuziehen, auf die nach dem Vorgang Albrecht Webers Taraporewala a a O p 147 f. aufmerksam macht. Diese Liste zählt insgesamt 59 Lehrer auf, die von Brahman Svayambhū selbst angeführt werden und als ersten menschlichen Vertreter Kaśyapa haben Der 26. Lehrer in Deszendenz von diesem ist Rādha Gautama, der seinerseits zwei Schüler hat; einer davon ist *Gobhila* Vgl noch Max Muller, A history of ancient Sanskrit literature (London–Edinburgh 1859), p 436 f und p 442 unten So wenig wie diese Lehrerliste führt auch die von Crooke bei Tod 1, p xxxiv f und von Tod 1 p 259 f selbst erzählte Goha-Sage weiter, welche die Übertragung der Königswürde von den Bhīls an den Stammvater *Goha* berichtet Wer annehmen wollte, dies legendare Ereignis habe eine Spur in dem Namen *Gobhila-* hinterlassen, der würde schnell durch die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Bhīl-Namens widerlegt Denn alt und richtig bezeugt ist eben nur die Form *Bhilla-* (vgl PW, pw, Schmidts Nachtrage, Hobson-Jobson s v) Damit scheidet auch die schon in anderem Zusammenhang beruhrte Möglichkeit einer Haplologie, Annahme einer Form **Gobha-bhila-*, aus, ganz abgesehen von all den gewichtigen Gründen, die bisher schon für eine Auflösung *Gobh-ila-* gesprochen haben Auch der zeitliche Abstand spricht gegen die Annahme einer derartigen Beziehung zwischen *Gobhila-*, *Goha* und dem Namen der *Bhīls*, da die Herrschaftsübernahme nach allem, was wir wissen, wesentlich später als der vedische Name *Gobhila-* anzusetzen ist

Jainism, or other heresies, and in establishing the ancient traditional Hindu social policy . . This privilege was, we are told, confined to four septs, known as Agnikula, or 'fire-born', the Pramār, Parihār, Chālukya or Solanki, and the Chauhān". Ahnlich berichtet Crooke „Introduction" 1, p xxxiv f.: „The actual conqueror of Chitor, Bāpa or Bappa, is said in inscriptions to have belonged to the branch known as Nāgar, or 'City' Brāhmans which has its present headquarters at the town of Vadnagar in the Baroda state. This conversion of a Brāhman into a Rājput is at first sight startling, but the fact implies that the institution of caste, as we observe it, was then only imperfectly established, and there was no difficulty in believing that a Brāhman could be ancestor of a princely house which now claims descent from the sun" Man erinnere sich, dass die Gohils, nach der Feststellung Sir Wolseley Haigs, zusammen mit den Chauhān im Kampf gegen die Parihārs standen und dass der Heros eponymos der Gahlots nach inschriftlichem Zeugnis *Gobhila-* war. Dann wird der Schluss unvermeidlich, dass der Ahnherr der *Gohils* und *Gohillas* ein Sāmaveda-Theologe *Gobhila* (<**Gobha-*> *Goha-*) durchaus gewesen sein kann

5. Die Moglichkeit eines solch lehrreichen kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhangs lasst sich aber auch auf sprachgeschichtlich bedeutungsmassige Weise dartun durch eine Untersuchung des Stellen-Verbandes, den Charpentier nur oberflachlich gepruft hat Und diese Untersuchung wird, bildlich gesprochen, zum Bruckenbogen werden, der vom sicheren zeitlichen Standort der *Gohil-*Ansatze im 12 und 13 Jahrhundert n Chr (p 851 unten) uber die einzelnen Datierungspunkte hinweg vorstossen wird in den ungestutzten Raum spatvedischen Altertums, dem wir andererseits den Eigennamen *Gobhila-* zuweisen mussen Damit zur Sache! Das mittelindoarische Nomen *goha-*, m kommt an 4 Stellen des indoarischen Schrifttums vor, wie hier nochmals wiederholt sei in der Deśīnāmamālā des Hemacandra, in der Kommentarerzahlung „Udāyana" zum jinistischen Uttarajjhayana, in der Vṛtti des Devendragani sowie im II. Akte der Mṛcchakatikā Eine unmittelbare Verbindung mit der geschichtlichen Atmosphare der Gohils wird dadurch hergestellt, dass drei dieser Zeugnisse dem gleichen Zeitraum angehoren Hemacandra hat von 1088–1172 n Chr. gelebt und Devendragani ausgangs des 11 und anfangs des 12 Jahrhunderts n Chr gewirkt Zu den 4 Stellenbelegen insgesamt ist Folgendes zu sagen. Mittelindoarisch *goha-*, m erscheint zunachst Deśīnāmamālā

ii 89[1], in der Pischel'schen Ausgabe p. 102 oben (ohne „ Corrections and Additions ") ·

„ *gāhammi gāhulī gāyaṇgoā gaggarīe a*

gāmapahāne gāmaṇigāmaudaggāmagohagohā ya ", ein Vers, der in dem uns angehenden Stuck erlautert wird. „ *gāmaṇī gāmaudo gāmagoho goho ete cātvaro śrī grāmapradhānārthāh | goho bhata ityanye | purusa ityeke |* " Aus dieser Stelle und ihrer Glossierung lernen wir, dass Charpentier irrefuhrend als einzige Bedeutung nur die Kommentierung durch *bhata-*, m. und als Ubersetzung damit nur etwa „ Soldat, Soldner " angegeben hat, wahrend die so belangreiche dritte Bedeutung — *goha-* mit drei Synonymen zusammen = „ Hauptperson des Dorfes, (Dorf)vorsteher " — einfach unterdruckt worden ist. Die Bedeutungsfixierung „ *purusa ityeke* ", also etwa „ Mann, Mensch " wirkt, wie schon jetzt festgestellt werden kann, reichlich allgemein Das zweite Vorkommen des mittelindoarischen Wortes *goha-*, m ist in Hermann Jacobis „ Ausgewahlten Erzahlungen in Mâhârâshtrî " p 31, Zeile 35 f aus der Kommentargeschichte „ Udâyana " zum Uttarajjhayana gebucht Das Satzstuck lautet: „ *esa rāyā tāva mama piyā, anne ya gohā* "[2], was Charpentier unter Zuhilfenahme von Laksmīvallabhas Kommentierung „ *apare mattulyāh ke śrī rājāno na santi* " (a a O p 380[2]) ganz zutreffend ubersetzt. „ Dieser Konig hier ist ja mein Vater, die anderen (Konige) sind lauter Soldaten "[3] Ohne dass ich mich weiter in die Einzelheiten der reichlich verschachtelten Geschichte einzulassen brauche, kann einfach festgestellt werden, dass die Bedeutung „ Soldner, Soldat " hier der bereits behandelten zweiten Angabe der Deśīnāmamālā angemessen ist. An der dritten Stelle des *goha-* Vorkommens ist das aber bereits nicht mehr der Fall Es handelt sich hiebei, wie schon angegeben, um die von Devendragani verfasste Vṛtti zu dem Uttarajjhayana, III Kapitel, die von Charpentier a a O p. 380[2] ganz kurz ohne

[1] Ich benutze „ The Deśînâmamâlâ of Hemachandra ' Edited with critical notes, a glossary and a historical introduction by R Pischel and G Buhler Part I Text and critical notes, by Pischel (= Bombay Sanskrit Series No xvii) Bombay 1880 Der Variantenapparat enthalt nichts Bemerkenswertes

[2] Jacobi a a O „ Worterbuch ". p 107, Sp. 1 unten gibt das Landlaufige. „ *goha* (DK 2, 89 *goho bhatah*) Soldat 31, 36 ".

[3] Ahnlich John Jacob Meyer, Hindu tales An English translation of Jacobi's Ausgewahlte Erzahlungen in Mâhârâshtrî (London 1909), p 108 „ Again she reflected ' I'll enjoy the objects of enjoyment As regards this king now, he is my father , and the others are simply soldiers ' " Oder, wie Meyer in einer Anmerkung noch beifugt, „ his soldiers " (sonst keine Bemerkungen und auch keine „ Corrections and additions ") Tatsachlich heisst es spater (p 109 unten) „ Then in the month of Jettha, Udâyana hurriedly took the field together with the ten kings [his vassals] "

Weiterungen erwahnt und von Jacobi, ZDMG. 38, p 2 unten und ff abgedruckt worden ist. Der Text liest „*gohā svārāvehim bheravam karenti*", Jacobi ubersetzt richtig „die Diener machen einen schreckenerregenden (Larm) durch (Nachahmung von) Schackalgeheul" (a a O p 4 unten), und eine Randglosse in der Handschrift B. erlautert den Ausdruck *gohā* (nom. plur masc.) durch „*subhatāh*", was ebenfalls soviel wie „Soldling, Soldat" besagt. Letzten Endes kann diese Angabe aber nicht stimmen, denn die vom Fursten ausgesandten *gohā* werden im Zusammenhang der Erzahlung ganze 3 Zeilen vorher schlecht und recht *purisā* genannt und man sieht schwer ein, warum das gleiche Wort nicht auch sofort nachher hatte verwendet werden konnen. Da dies tatsachlich eben nicht geschehen ist, konnen *goha-* und *purisa-* nicht vollig synonym sein Und nun gewinnt aufeinmal die Satzangabe ein verandertes Gesicht die *gohā* erscheinen da ja als menschliche Wesen, welche—vielleicht durch Tauschung oder Verkleidung—Larm, Radau hervorbringen Sollte hierin etwa die *purisa-* von *goha-* abruckende Bedeutungsschattierung stecken? Diese entscheidende Frage ist, soviel ich sehe, mit Ja zu beantworten, sobald wir uns der vierten und altesten *goha-* Stelle zuwenden Es ist der 4. Auftritt des II Aktes in der Mṛcchakatikā Die Szene ist wohl so bekannt, dass ich bloss mit ganz knappen Strichen zu skizzieren brauche Der Bader, „der zehn Goldstucke schuldig ist", hat Reissaus genommen, verfolgt von dem Bankhalter und einem Spieler, und ist in einen Tempel gefluchtet Hier postiert er sich als Statue hin und wird im schweigsamen Halbdunkel des leeren Gottertempels nicht erkannt, obwohl Bankhalter, und Spieler an dem vermeintlichen holzernen Bilde rutteln Der Verfolgung mude, setzen sich Bankhalter und Spieler, wie wir annehmen durfen, und spielen verschiedene Spiele. Der arme Bader, welcher naturlich in seiner selbstangenommenen Maske alles mitbeobachtet, wird erneut von der Spielleidenschaft gepackt, und, wahrend die beiden anderen wegen der Reihenfolge in einen kurzen Wortwechsel geraten, lasst er die Maske fallen, bricht das muhsame Schweigen, tritt von der anderen Seite rasch heran und spricht „Sollte ich nicht dran sein?" Darauf der Spieler „*laddhe gohe*!" Charpentier ubersetzt den Ausrufesatz „der Kerl ist gefunden" In der Tat ist dies der ungefahre Sinn der Situation, weswegen auch die einheimischen Kommentare sowohl wie die modernen Ubersetzer nicht anders formulieren[1], aber es ist

[1] Ich gebe eine Auswahl des Wissenswertesten Das Suvarnâlamkarana zur Stelle deutet *gohe* mit *purusah*, ebenso die Mṛcchakatikā-Ausgabe[2] von Kâśînâth

doch eben nur der ungefahre Sinn In Wirklichkeit aber wird der *goha-* auch in dieser kosthchen Szene als ein mannliches, menschliches Wesen gefasst, das sprechend Verkleidung und Schweigen bricht. „Bursche, Kerl, Mann" als Wiedergabe fur „*goha*" ist folglich zu blass, zu allgemein, zu schwach Ich schlage vor, diesem Erfordernis durch eine Übersetzung „da haben wir den Sprecher (Larmmacher, Radaumacher)!" zu genugen, ohne dass freilich diese deutsche Übertragung alle Anspruche befriedigte Mittelindoarisch *goha-*, m bedeutet also „(in Aufputz, Verkleidung) auftretender Sprecher", eine Feststellung, die umso nachdrucklicher wirkt, als sie durch eine klar analysierbare Textaussage des 4–5 nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts gedeckt wird und bisher von niemandem erkannt worden ist

Dies Ergebnis wird bestatigt und fortgefuhrt durch den Stichwortartikel *goha-* in Pandit Hargovind Das Sheths Pāia-Sadda-Mahannavo A comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi dictionary with Sanskrit equivalents, quotations and complete references (Calcutta 1928) 2, p. 381, Sp 1, der folgendermassen lautet „goha pum [de] 1 gāmva kā mukhiyā, (de 2, 86) | 2 bhata, subhata, yoddhā; (de 2, 86, mahā) | 3 jāra, upapati, (upapṛ 215) | 4 sipāhī, pulisa; (upapṛ 335) | 5 purusa, ādamī, manusya, (mṛccha 57) |" Dazu treten die Zusatze in Band 4 (Pariśista), p 1240, Sp. 1 unten: „goha pum [de] 1 kotavāla ādi krūra manusya, (sukha 3, 9) | 2 vi grāmīna, grāmya, (sukha 2, 13) |". Indem ich die beiden zusatzlichen Bedeutungsangaben in die vorhergehende, ubrigens sehr geschickte Bedeutungsanordnung einbaue, erhalte ich unter Verzicht auf die wohl uberflussigen Stellenbelege folgende Übersetzung „*goha-*, m Erster (Hauptling, Vorsteher) eines Dorfes, einer Stadt, eines Districts, Soldat, Soldner,

Pândurang Parab (Bombay 1904) „*labdhah purusah*" und im Subkommentar „*gohe purusah manusyah*", ebenso die funfte, von Vâsudev Laxman Shâstrî Pansîkar durchgesehene Ausgabe (Bombay 1922) „*labdhah purusah*", „*gohe purusah manusyah*" Otto Bohtlingk, Mṛcchakatika, d i Das irdene Wägelchen, ein dem Konig Çûdraka zugeschriebenes Schauspiel Übersetzt (St Petersburg 1877), p 31 „Den Kerl hatten wir" (in den „Anmerkungen" p 187 gar nichts), Ludwig Fritze in seiner metrischen Übertragung (Chemnitz 1879), p 59 „Da haben wir den Burschen" (ohne jede Bemerkung), Hermann Camillo Kellner, Vasantasênâ[2] (Leipzig 1894), p 52 „Der Kerl ist erwischt!" (ohne Anmerkung), Arthur William Ryder, *The little clay cart* (= *Harvard oriental series volume nine*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905), p 31 „We've got our man" (ohne jede Bemerkung), Mṛcchakatikā (ed Stenzler, Bonnae 1847) p 31, Zeile 3 von oben (die Textstelle), p 191 (Glossierung der Prākṛtabhāṣāvyākhyā „*labdhah purusah*"), p 253 „Adnotationes" („गोह in familiari Mahrattorum sermone usurpatur de viro adolescente, homuncione", eine Stelle, die sofort aus dem Folgenden verstandlich wird)

Kriegsmann, Sepoy ; Stationskommandant usw., überhaupt ein stolzer Herr ; Buhler, Liebhaber ; Bauer, bäurisch, Dorfbewohner, linkisch, roh, ungebildet, ungeschliffen ; [Mann, Mensch, menschliches Wesen, Person überhaupt]"[1]. Da die in Klammern stehende letzte Bedeutung nur dem Zeugnis der Mṛcchakaṭikā zuliebe angenommen ist und, wie ich oben p 855 f. gezeigt habe, zugunsten einer sinnfälligeren Übersetzung aufgegeben werden muss, haben wir eine Bedeutungssumme, deren einzelne Teile unschwer und vor allem überzeugend aus der angenommenen Grund- und Ausgangsbedeutung „ (in Aufputz auftretender) Sprecher " erklärt werden können Der Sachverhalt ist so schlagend, dass ich mich mit wenigen kurzen, indischen und ausserindischen Hinweisen begnügen darf. Ich erinnere an die indische Dorfverfassung des Panchāyat, die einen eigenen Vertreter des Dorfes der Regierung gegenüber oder daneben den Dorfobersten, den *Lambardar*, vorsieht Bei Verhandlungen mit höheren Instanzen musste dieser Dorfschulze — und war es eine grössere Siedlung, Bürgermeister — gar oft als bäurisch, linkisch, roh, ungebildet erscheinen. Handelte es sich um die Verwaltung einer grösseren Gebietseinheit, so kam dafür nur der Angehörige einer Adels- und Ksatriya-Familie infrage, der zugleich, der ganzen Atmosphäre jener frühmittelalterlichen Zeiten entsprechend, ein Kriegsmann war Die *Gohils* als Clan waren solche Kriegsleute, und es scheint mir kein Zufall, dass in der oben p. 840[1] angeführten Liedstrophe die Wendung „ fierce as steel " im Urtext „ *loha krūra* " lautet Von hier zur Definition der Sukhabodhatīkā, der *goha* sei „ *krūra manusya* " führt eine gerade Linie. Die Bedeutung „ Buhle, Liebhaber " ist, wie wir unten noch sehen werden, aus einem Nebengebrauch der in **gobha-* steckenden Wurzel voll zu verstehen · es ist das männliche Wesen, das abends oder nachts, kurzum unter abenteuerlicheren Umständen, durch Gesang oder Vortrag die Gefühle der Angebeteten erregt, daher auch die von Stenzler oben p. 857[1] gebuchte Angabe, *goho* werde in der Umgangssprache der Mahratten vom *vir adolescens, homuncio* gebraucht. So bleibt nur noch die Bedeutung „ Soldat, Soldner " unbesprochen. Sie ist indessen

[1] Der Verfasser gibt keine Sanskritentsprechung, wie sonst, in Klammern, was sehr bemerkenswert ist , keinerlei Berichtigungen Ein Wort *gohil(l)a-* ist nicht aufgeführt Die Abkürzungen bedeuten pum = pumlinga , [de] = deśī- oder deśya-śabda , upapṛ = upadeśapada , mṛccha = mṛcchakaṭika , sukha = sukhabodhatīkā (Uttarâdhyayanasya Hastalikhita) , vi = viṣayatyāgopadeśakulaka. Hastalikhita , oder = viśeṣana —Da ich über *kotavāla-* nirgends etwas ermitteln konnte — auch nicht bei Apte und Monier-Williams und H H Wilson — nahm ich Prākritismus für *kot(ṭ)apāla-* an und übersetzte demgemäss versuchsweise

leicht zu erklaren. Denn entweder leitet man den Soldaten niederen Standes aus den Verhaltnissen des Lehenssystems heraus von den hohen und hoheren Dienstgraden ab oder man knupft geradezu an urtumliche Verhaltnisse an, an den *miles gloriosus* oder an den altgermanischen Krieger, der zu Beginn der Schlacht den *Bārdītus* ertonen liess (Tacitus, Germania III[2]), oder man zieht den *Feld-we(i)bel* heran, dessen Nachglied ich unmittelbar < idg. **u̯oi̯plós* (im Ablaut zu altindoarisch *vípra-*, m „Sanger, Dichter, Vorbeter, Priester") herleite[1] Und damit sind wir bereits bei den hochst lehrreichen und kulturgeschichtlich farbenreichen Verwicklungen angelangt, die nicht nur indoarische, sondern auch idg Verbalwurzeln mit der Bedeutung „sprechen" gelegentlich durchmachen. Der *Mr Speaker* ist der Prasident des englischen Unterhauses ; die Schweizer Familie der *Sprecher* (*z B von Bernegg*) hat der Eidgenossenschaft ausgezeichnete Landvogte und Offiziere gestellt (z.B. Fortunatus *Sprecher* im 17 Jahrhundert n Chr), nhd *Palier, Polier*, eigentlich „Sprecher", bezeichnet den „Obergesellen der Maurer". In diese Bedeutungsrunde ist auch das mittelindoarische *goha-* Stuck fur Stuck eingeschlossen

6. Vorstehendes semasiologisches Gesamtergebnis wird nachgepruft und vollauf bestatigt, indem ich jetzt die Untersuchung auf die morphologischen Gemeinschaftsverbande ausdehne. Ich kehre damit gleichzeitig zu dem altindoarischen *Gobhila-* zuruck, dessen enge Beziehungen zu dem mittelindoarischen *goha-* von Charpentier unter Hinweis auf das Verhaltnis zwischen *paksa-* und *Paksila-* zwar behauptet, aber nur unzulanglich begrundet worden sind. In der Tat kann und muss dieser Nachweis in strengsinniger Folgerichtigkeit und Schlussigkeit erbracht werden. Da es eine Moglichkeit, das Verfahren des Reim-Verbandes durchzufuhren, soviel ich sehe, nicht gibt und die Prufung des Anklang-Verbandes schon bei der Widerlegung M Bloomfields erschopfend durchgefuhrt wurde (oben

[1] Sehr auffallend ist deshalb der Bezug von *bhata-* zu * √ *bhat* „bhāṣârthe" (bei Westergaard, Radices und in der Kṣīratarangiṇī, ed Liebich, nichts Wesentliches) Vgl auch die z B von Uhlenbeck fur „onomatopoetisch" erklarte √ *bhatabhaṭāy* „einen glucksenden Laut von sich geben" Ferner waren fur die Beurteilung des Nomens *bhata-* auch all seine Komposita heranzuziehen, wie z B *udbhata-*, adj. „hervorragend, ausgezeichnet, ungewohnlich, heftig, leidenschaftlich" mit auffallender Bedeutungsverwandtschaft zu *goha-* Schliesslich ware das Verhaltnis zu *bhaṭṭa-*, m „Herr, grosser Gelehrter, Doctor" endgultig zu klären Man wurde hiebei weit uber Theodor Benfey, Abhandlungen der Konigl Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen 23, Hist -philol Classe, No 4, p 32–31, und uber andere Gelehrtenmeinungen hinauskommen Dies Problem sei hier nur gestellt !

p. 842–5), so bleiben noch folgende Aussagen übrig: Laut- und Silbengrenze-Verband, der allgemeine Klang-Verband, Form-Verband, Sippen-Verband. Der Laut- und Silbengrenze-Verband lässt erkennen, dass von den möglichen Zerlegungen des Wortkörpers *Gobhila-* rein hypothetisch, somit unbrauchbar sind: *G-obhila-*, *Go-ṣbhila-* (mit Avagraha wie z. B. *goṣmbu-*, *goṣmbhas-*, „Kuhurin", aber es gibt kein **abhila-*); *Gobhi-la-* (es gibt kein **gobhi-*), *Gobhil-a-*. Die Auflösung *Go-bhila-* ist diejenige Bloomfields und somit widerlegt, die Auflösung *Go- bh- ila-* diejenige Charpentiers und somit gleichfalls widerlegt. Folglich bleibt nur noch die Auffassung *Gobh-ila-* als letzte übrig und möglich. Wir wollen sie die Wust'sche Analyse nennen. Sie wird auch durch den allgemeinen Klang-Verband bestätigt. Die Beispiele sind **gokīla-*, m. „Keule, Pflug" und *gokula-*, n. „Rinderheerde". Nun besteht aber keine **√guc/k*, die einer Zerlegung **gok-īla-* bezw. **gok-ula-* zugrundegelegt werden könnte, vielmehr sind in beiden Wortformen *kīla-* bezw. *kula-* als selbständige, nur in der Komposition sekundär gewordene Nomina ablösbar. Also kann *Gobhila-*, das mit *gokīla-* und *gokula-* klanglich-assoziativ zusammenhängt, nicht als *Go-bhila-* aufgefasst werden, denn es gibt, im Gegensatz zur vorherigen Prozedur, keine Möglichkeit, die Komponente °*-bhila-* selbständig aufzuzeigen. Folglich bleibt, da die anderen Analysen entweder stark hypothetisch oder irrig sind, nur die Zerlegung *Gobh-ila-* wiederum als die einzige übrig. Anders ausgedrückt: wir stehen vor der Notwendigkeit, im Falle *Gobhila-* den Form-Verband untersuchen zu müssen, da vor aller wortkundlichen Namendeutung Aufklärung der morphologischen Verhältnisse unbedingtes Erfordernis ist. Oder, was beim Beispiele *Gobhila-* das Selbe besagt: wir haben das *-ila-* Formans zu untersuchen. Zu diesem Zwecke habe ich ein umfangreiches Belegmaterial gesammelt, rund 170 Beispiele[1]. Ihre eingehende Durchsicht

[1] Als Quellen dienten Pāṇini, Gana sakhyâdi IV, 2, 80 und Übriges in der 2. Bohtlingk'schen Ausgabe, Benfey, Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache §§ 419, 420, 561, 563, 617, Whitney, Grammar, Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite, Lindner, Altindische Nominalbildung §§ 40, 81, Macdonell, Vedic grammar, Grassmann, Worterbuch, Whitney, Index verborum to the published text of the Atharvaveda, Hilka, Die altindischen Personennamen (buddhistische Namen sind in die Sanskritform umgesetzt, p. XII), Theophil Gubler, Die Patronymica im Alt-Indischen (Göttingen 1903), Solmsen-Fraenkel, Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte (Heidelberg 1922), Wust, eigene Sammlungen (im Gegensatz zu den vorstehenden Verfassern nicht eigens bezeichnet). Klare Bildungen, die aus der Reihe fallen, wie *gila-*, *tila-*, *bila-* usw. sind selbstverständlich ausgeschieden.

zeigt, dass die Bildungsweise vom Vedischen ins Sanskrit hinein klarlich zunimmt[1], dass ganz verschiedene voraltindoarische sprachgeschichtliche Ausgangsstufen anzunehmen sind[2], dass diese aber durchaus nicht einheitlich und insgesamt für die Beurteilung von *Gobhila-* herangezogen werden müssen, sondern dass die Sprachvergleichung bereits aus diesen Möglichkeiten und Vorstufen eine bezeichnet, die allein auf das Paar mittelindoarisch *goha-* altindoarisch *Gobhila-* zutrifft Ich umschreibe sie mit den Worten Brugmanns, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Idg Sprachen 2, 1², p 360 „die ganze Kategorie der ai Deminutiva wie ai. *vṛṣalá-s* 'Mannlein' und der ai Eigennamenformen wie ai *Dēvila-s* [ist] mit Sicherheit den uridg *-lo-* Formationen zuzuweisen"[3] Angesichts der gesamten klaren Sachlage des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* und seiner Fortsetzer handelt es sich also unmissverstandlich um sekundares *-(i)la-*, von ursprunglich hypokoristischer, wohlgemerkt nicht deminutivischer Funktion[4] Ich deute die Geschichte des so beschriebenen Formans mit einigen wesentlichen Strichen, ohne Vollstandigkeit beabsichtigen zu wollen, an Einwandfrei ist es im Altgriechischen nachzuweisen, ich nenne aus den hieruber vorliegenden Sammlungen ein paar Beispiele[5]. *'Αρκίλος, Θερσίλος, Θῡμίλος, 'Οργίλος, 'Ονᾱσίλος, ποικίλος, Σωτίλος, Ταξίλος, Χοιρίλος*. Aussergewohnlich lehrreich ist *Σοφίλος*, das naturlich zu *σοφός* gehort. Wer es entgegen allen Einsichten und

[1] Der Atharvaveda z B hat nur 2 (3 °) Belege, dies zur Erorterung p 841 f.

[2] 1 Vorhergehende Nullstufe des Wurzelelements, 2 vorhergehende Vollstufe des Wurzelelements, 3 < **-əlo- (anila-, jatila- jatā-)*, 4 < **-ilo-*, 5 < **-i-l/ro-* usw Vgl noch Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite 1, p 218 unten „*ira- ila-* issu sans doute de *i + ra- la-* (cf *anila- anili* .) figure dans quelques formes sans netteté" Ahnlich meint Whitney, Grammar⁵, § 1189 bei Besprechung des primaren *-la-* „Many words ending in *la* are of obscure etymology"

[3] Zusammen mit Anmerkung 1 beweist dies erneut, dass Albrecht Weber *Gobhila-* falsch beurteilt hat

[4] So zuletzt Ernst Fraenkel, Artikel Namenwesen in Pauly-Wissowas Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft Neue Bearbeitung 16, Sp 1611 unten–1670 unten, namentlich aber Sp 1637 f Auch dieser Autor unterstreicht das Hervortreten des hypokoristischen Grundzuges (Affekt, Anteilnahme, Herkunft, (Un)lust, Zugehorigkeit) und das Zurucktreten des deminuierenden, der erst einzelsprachlich reichlicher zu belegen ist In *Devila-, Dattila- Deradatta-* erkennt auch Fr idg hypokoristisches *-(i)la-* (a a O Sp 1637) — Die hypokoristische Funktion des *-ila-* wird bereits von Pānini ausdrucklich gelehrt, v, 3, 79 und 83 (vgl Hilka a a O p 56 oben und unten) Aus Hilka p 58 ergibt sich die ja ganz gelaufige Tatsache, dass der mehrteilige Vollname, der beim Kurz- oder Kosenamen *Gobhila-* < **gobha-* Pate gestanden ist, nie zu ermitteln sein wird Fur die Deutung von *Gobhila-* selbst ist das unerheblich

[5] Brugmann a a O p 368 unten, 376, Solmsen-Fraenkel a a O p 130 u, 133

Gegebenheiten zu *φίλος* stellen und *Σο-φίλος* analysieren wollte, der wurde so handeln wie Bloomfield mit seiner irrigen *Go-bhila-* Analyse *Σοφίλος* lehrt an seinem Ende innerhalb des allgemeinidg Bereiches, dass die Zerlegung *Gobh-ila-* tatsachlich auch *a priori* viel Wahrscheinlichkeit fur sich hat — Aus dem Litauischen ist *eĕrzilas* „Hengst" hieher zu stellen Die altgriechische Gruppe hat Sophus Bugge, KZ 32, p. 78 mit dem armenischen Sekundarsuffix *-il* verknupft und als Beispiele namhaft gemacht· *kat'il* „Tropfen, Tropfchen", *mat'il* „kleine Laus", *orĭil* „Laus"[1] Im Alt-Iranischen dagegen sind keine sicheren Belege feststellbar[2], eine Tatsache, die gar nicht ernst genug genommen werden kann Tut sie doch mit ziemlich hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit dar, dass *Gobhila-* kein iranisches Lehnwort sein kann Die Linie des entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Verlaufs fur altindoarisch *-ila-* ist oben p 860 f. schon skizziert worden Es ist nun klar, dass es nicht nur unnotig weit fuhren wurde, alle *-ila-*Belege des oben beschriebenen Typus in vollem Umfange hier durchzusprechen, sondern dass es auch dringend geboten scheint, von so

[1] Die gotisch-germanischen Eigennamenformen wie *Oftila, Tuldila, Wulfila,* ahd *Wigilo* usw usw gehoren als ursprungliche *-ĕ/ōn-* Stamme mit ihrem doppeldeutigen *-i-* nur mittelbar hieher

[2] Bartholomae, Altiranisches Worterbuch Sp 1947 verzeichnet nichts, unter *-ira-* nur nicht Hichergehoriges, wie z B *vī-čī-ra-*, adj Auch bei A V Williams Jackson, Avesta grammar p 213 f, 228 f ist nichts zu ermitteln, desgleichen nicht bei Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch p 521–6 „Verzeichniss der Namen nach den Ableitungs-Affixen sowie der gekurzten und mit Kose-Affixen versehenen Namen" (enthalt unter „*ĕl, il* (armen) *āl* (neupers)" nur Material, das entweder gar nicht hierhergehort oder fragwurdig ist, wie z B skythisch *Sagillus*) — Im Mantrabrāhmana (des Sāmaveda) 1 6, 21 kommt die Formel vor „*ahura idam te paridadāmyamum,*' was Taraporewala a a O p 143 ubersetzt „O Ahura, here to thee I deliver so-and-so" und zu weittragenden, aber ganz unmoglichen Schlussfolgerungen benutzt *Ahura* soll eine „Aryan deity" sein, zugehorig einer „period before the two peoples separated *Ahura* needs no comment" (a a O p 146 unten) Dabei konnte die Wortform gar noch nicht einmal mehr der arischen Gemeinschaftsepoche angehoren, weil sie den gemeiniranischen Lautwandel *-s-* > *-h-* durchgemacht hatte Bestenfalls kann es sich also nur um ein rein iranisches Lehnwort innerhalb des Alt-Indoarischen handeln, wofur ich, ausser Bekanntem, bei Gelegenheit noch das eine oder andere Beispiel beizubringen hoffe Es kann also gar keine Rede davon sein, dass hier ein Überrest vorliege „of a very ancient tradition going back to the period when the Indo-Iranians were living together as a united race" (a a O p 147 oben) Ausserdem musste die Wortform *Ahura* zunachst einmal sorgfaltig anhand der beigebrachten Varianten (*ahur, abhura, antara, ahuri, abhuri*, Knauer ubersetzt „Feuer des Magens") gepruft werden. So bleibt eine unbestreitbar lehrreiche, aber durchaus verwickelte Frage, die, zugunsten der gereinigten iranischen Lehnthese beantwortet, vielleicht fur das allerletzte wortgeschichtliche Verstandnis des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* ($\sqrt{}$ *g(a)ub* des Altiranischen) einmal wesentlich werden konnte Denn Mantrabrāhmana und Gobhilagṛhyasūtra, „the two works have been composed together and on one common plan" (Oldenberg a a O bei Taraporewala)

allgemeinen Zuordnungen, wie sie beispielsweise Charpentier (oben p. 846) ausgesprochen hat, loszukommen und dichtere, strengere Bedingungen des von mir so genannten Formenkatalogs zu finden. In diesem Sinne habe ich den gesammelten Stoff noch einmal durchpruft und zwei Gruppen gebildet, die ihrem Form- und Klang-Verband nach am engsten zu *Gobhila-* gehoren Wer *Gobhila-* als reine Wortform auf sich wirken lasst, wird neben der Dreisilbigkeit vor allem die Vokalfolge *-o-i(l)a-* bemerkenswert finden und nach ihr den Einbau der zum Stammgefuge gehorenden Media aspirata in der Mitte des Wortkorpers Damit ist der Formenkatalog beschrieben, und alles handelt sich nun darum, genugend Beispiele fur beide Sondergruppen zu finden In die erste Gruppe, der wir infolge des bekannten altindoarischen, aufs Idg. zuruckgehenden Vokal-parallelismus unbedenklich auch die *-e-ila-* Belege zurechnen durfen, gehoren hinein [1].

Omila-, m n pr. · *oma-*, m. ; *kokila-*, m.: *kóka-*, m. (nebst *kaukila-* und *kaukilī-*) ; *Kosthila-*, m n pr.: *kostha-*, m. , *Kauśila-*, m n pr (*Kauśika-*, m n pr. und mittelbar *kóśa-*, m.) ; †*gopila-*, adj.: *gopá-*, m. (das schon fruhzeitig als Worteinheit empfunden worden ist) [2], †*ghosila-*, m *ghósa-*, m. ; *johila-* = griech. *Ζωΐλος* (das altindoarische Wort ist sehr lehrreich, weil es als reines Lehnwort die Starke des indoarischen Klang-Verbands zeigt) ; *Totilā-*, f n pr · *totâdri-*, m n.pr. < *tota* + *adri-* , *Bodhila-*, m n pr *bodhá-* oder zu *bodhi-*, m. (so Hilka, p 69) [?], *Somila-*, m n pr *sóma-*, m , *Horila-*°, m n pr. *horā-* [?] Man bemerke das Vorwiegen der n.pr -Bildung !

†*chekila-*, adj *cheka-*, adj ; †*devila-*, m n pr.: *devá-*, m ; *phenila-*, m. und adj *phéna-*, m. ; *Rebhila-*, m n.pr.. *rebhá-* adj., m. und m n pr.

Form- und Klang-Verband zwingen zu dem Schluss *Gobhila-*, m n pr **gobha-* Die vorlaufigen Darlegungen p 838 f, 847[1] unten, 852[2], 861–3, auf die ich insgesamt nocheinmal nachdrucklich verweise, sind durch diese Schlussfolgerung zugleich gerechtfertigt

[1] Ich habe anhand von Whitneys Roots, anhand von pw und Schmidts Nachtragen samtliche Wurzeln des Typus $(k^x)i/u\ m^xh$ gepruft, es ergab sich kein weiteres *-ila-* Material mehr k^x bedeutet irgendeinen Konsonanten, *m* Media *Kokokilā-* entspricht dem Formenkatalog infolge seiner Viersilbigkeit nicht, ebenso auch †*karketila-* nicht

[2] Infolgedessen darf man sich auch von vorneherein nicht von der Analyse *go-pá-* leiten lassen, da diese fur **go- bha-* unfruchtbar ware, wie oben p 847[1] f bewiesen worden ist

und abgerundet. Aber die Ergiebigkeit dieser Schlussfolgerung erschopft sich damit noch keineswegs Wir haben *Gobhila-*, m.n pr dem anderen Eigennamen *Rebhila-* dichtest gegenuber gestellt und *Rebhila-* mit *rebhá-* zusammengeruckt Dieses Adj., m. und m n pr *rebhá-* aber ist eine klare, unzweifelhafte Nominalbildung der √ *ribh*, die schon im Ṛgveda bezeugt ist und soviel wie „ lobsingen, rauschen, singen " bedeutet Diese Formenlage fuhrt auf die einleuchtende Proportion .

rebhá- : √ *ribh* = **gobha-* (+ mittelindoarisch *goha-*) : *x*

Es ist augenscheinlich, dass anstelle dieses *x* *√ *gubh* eingesetzt werden muss, genau so wie wir — und nun hilft uns der Reim-Verband dieses **gobha-* weiter ! — zu *ksobha-*, m. √ *ksubh*, zu *lobha-*, m √ *lubh*, zu *śobha-*, m. √ *śubh*, zu *stobha-* m √ *stubh* tatsachlich vorfinden [1] Und nicht nur dies ! Die Wortformen *Śobhā-* und *Śobhaka-* (man bemerke das *-ka-* !) erscheinen auch als Eigennamen (Hilka a a O p. 125), und als Vollname gar *Ṛśyalobha-* (Hilka a a.O p 117 unten) Eine treffendere, uberzeugendere Bestatigung fur das innerhalb des Altindoarischen erschlossene **gobha-* lasst sich, in seinem Verhaltnis namentlich zu unserem *Gobhila-*, schlechterdings nicht vorstellen. Und diese Bestatigung wird ihrerseits noch dadurch unterstrichen, dass Charpentier oben p. 847 fur sein Postulat **g^{u}ōu̯bho-* keinerlei Parallele im Idg. hat nachweisen konnen, wahrend *lobha-* beispielsweise untadelige Gleichung mit altengl. *lēaf* „ Erlaubnis " bildet

Die zweite Gruppe, in der Lautungen mit *-m^{z}h-ila-* Ausgang zusammenstehen, vervollstandigt das gewonnene Bild. Ich beschranke mich, aus Raumnot, in diesem Zusammenhang, darauf, aus dem gesamten Stoff die Belege hier zu nennen, welche der scharfsten, einschrankendsten Bedingung genugen, namlich als Media aspirata inlautend *-bh-* zeigen Das sind

†*kumbhila-*, m : *kumbhá-*, m , †*nābhila-*, adj (das zu *nābhi-*, mf. gestellt wird, aber auch zu *nābha-*, m gehoren kann) , *Nikumbhilā-*, mf n pr : *nikumbha-*, m ; *Rebhila-*, m.n.pr *rebhá-*, adj., m. und m n pr.

Es ist kein Zufall, dass *Rebhila-* in beiden Sondergruppen vertreten ist , es ist kein Zufall, dass *Rebhila-* und *goha-* in der Mṛcchakatikā sich begegnen, sowenig wie es Zufall ist, dass, wie ich noch zeigen

[1] Es wurde selbstverstandlich niemandem einfallen, zu analysieren *kso-bha-*, *lo-bha-*, *śo-bha-*, *sto-bha-*, und in diesen Bildungen je zwei verschiedene Worte entdecken zu wollen. Diese Überlegung allein zeigt schon, wie toricht und zufallsbedingt es war, **gobha-* in *go-bha-* zu zerlegen

werde, *rebhá-* und √ *gu* im Ṛgveda eng beieinander stehen. *Rebhila-* und *Gobhila-* gehören als untereinander nächstverwandte Bildungen in den gleichen Klang- und Form- wie Sinn- und Bedeutungs-Verband, und es ist ungemein lehrreich, an den wenigen Stellen, wo *Rebhila-* als *Nomen proprium* innerhalb des altindoarischen Schrifttums auftritt, noch den Nachhall seiner alten appellativischen Grundbedeutung zu vernehmen, so Mṛcchakaṭikā p. 43, Zeile 14 (ed. Stenzler) „*aho sādhu bhāvarebhilakena gītam*", so Mṛcchakaṭikā p. 44, Zeile 6 „*vayasya susthu khalv adya gītam bhāvarebhilena*" [1].

7. Die Beweiskette hat sich nahezu geschlossen Nur eine kleine Lücke klafft noch in ihr, die Prüfung des Sippen-Verbandes, die, von einer bemerkenswerten Kleinigkeit abgesehen, ganz normal verlaufen kann [2] Von *Gobhila-* sind folgende Nomina regelrecht abgeleitet: *gobhilīya-*, adj „zu *Gobhila* in Beziehung stehend" (pw, ähnlich das PW, keinerlei Nachträge, Verbesserungen und Zusätze, nichts bei Schmidt, Nachträge); †*gobhilika-*, †*gaubhilikā-*, beide Patronymika „nach der Lehre der Grammatiker" (Böhtlingk, Pâṇini 's Grammatik, Leipzig 1887, p 320* sowie Gubler a a.O. p. 51), schliesslich „*Gaubhila* n Gobhila's Gṛhyasūtra Grhyās. 2, 94" (so Schmidt, Nachträge s v, nichts in PW und pw) Das letzte Vṛddhi-Derivat zum Eigennamen *Gobhila-* ist allerdings kostbar genug Es zeigt nicht nur, weil es im strengsinnigen Form- und Klang-Verband mit anderen *Patronymica* wie *Kaukila-*, *Kauśila-*, *Saumila-* zusammensteht, dass die bei Monier-Williams [2] gebuchte *Varietas lectionis Gobida-* sinnlos ist, sondern es veranschaulicht auch noch einmal schlagartig, dass die umfassend geforderte Zerlegung *Gobh-ila-* die einzig mögliche und die einzig richtige ist

8. Sind die bisherigen Ergebnisse, und zwar sowohl die, welche auf Widerlegung älterer und jüngerer Deutungsversuche des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* abzielten, als auch die, welche im Verfolg einer neuen Betrachtungsweise gewonnen wurden, richtig erarbeitet, dann bietet sich uns, sozusagen von selbst, jetzt am Schlusse unserer Überlegungen eine ausserindoarische Anknüpfung als wechselseitige, wertvollste Nachprüfung und Bestätigung die altiranische (= altpersische) √ *g(a)ub* „dicere" √ *g(a)ub* ist erst vor einigen Jahren noch von F. B. J Kuiper, Acta Orientalia 12, p 268 unten als „bisher unerklärt" bezeichnet worden, eine Bemerkung, die natürlich nur den ausseriranischen Befund, nicht aber den inneriranischen Belegstand

[1] Gänzlich verblasst Mṛcchakaṭikā p 67, Zeile 10

[2] Bemerkenswerte Zusammensetzungen sind mir nicht bekannt geworden

kennzeichnen wollte aber wissenschaftsgeschichtlich jedenfalls irrig ist, weil schon lange vorher Meillet, wie wir gleich sehen werden, eine durchaus annehmbare Deutung gegeben hatte Denn in der Tat gehort die $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$, ahnlich wie das von mir jungst untersuchte altiranische *čašman-*, n „Auge", zu den iranischen Worten, die dem Gesamt-Iranischen, zeitlich und vielleicht auch mundartlich gesehen, eignen Innerhalb des Alt-Iranischen findet sich $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ bemerkenswerterweise nur im Altpersischen, und da wiederum nur in der Bahistän-Inschrift [1], in einer Gebrauchssphare, die verbluffend mit derjenigen des mittelindoar Nomens *goha-* ubereinstimmt. Die $\sqrt{gaub}$ wird namlich im Altpers grosstenteils vom sich verstellenden Sprechen militarischer Wesenheiten angewendet (sechsmal in Bezug auf eine rebellierende Einzelperson, sechsmal in Bezug auf ein rebellierendes Heer, einmal in Bezug auf eine rebellierende Provinz, demgegenuber nur einmal im Zusammenhang mit der richtigen Aussage eines Darius-Heeres). Dies kann kein Zufall sein. Die militarische Atmosphare der Rebellion ist, selbst wenn wir die literarischen Voraussetzungen, ahnlich wie beim Text der gotischen Bibel, bedenken, geradezu uberwaltigend, auch rein zahlenmassig Darnach erscheint $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ mit einem reichen Formenstand im Mittel-Iranischen [2], aus dem es, wiederum mit mannigfaltiger Entwickelung sich ins Neu-Iranische hinein mehr oder minder deutlich entfaltet, nicht ohne auch noch im Armenischen einige Lehnspuren zu hinterlassen [3]

[1] Vgl z B die Formen des ind und conj praes med, *gaubataiy* und *gaubātaiy* Das ganze Material ist bequem zu uberblicken bei Bartholomae, Altiranisches Worterbuch Sp 482 f (insgesamt 14 Stellen, keinerlei „Nachtrage und Verbesserungen", auch nicht im „Beiheft"), wozu man noch Tolman, Ancient Persian Lexicon p 87 unten hinzunehme (Ansatz *gub* !) Roland G Kent, The recently published Old Persian inscriptions [Reprinted from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol 51, number 3, pages 189–240] enthalt leider keine neuen Funde zu $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$, wie „Concordance and glossary" p. 236 unten ergeben.

[2] Vgl zuletzt H S. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi II Glossar (Uppsala 1931), p 82· „***gōβišn*** das Sprechen, das Reden; Wort. — zu *guftan*", p 84 f „**guftan** *gōβ* sagen *guftan* scheint einheitlicher Ausdruck fur 'aussern' zu sein" Ders, Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender (= Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1934 Program 2), p 76 oben, wodurch W Henning, Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik 9, p 184 (in seiner Doktorschrift „Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente") erganzt wird. Die Belege aus dem Soghdischen finden sich bei Robert Gauthiot und E Benveniste, Essai de grammaire Sogdienne 1, p 129, 145, 2, p 12 (vgl auch 2, p 220, Sp 1 unten und f) Ich nenne daraus an Formen $\gamma\omega\beta$-, $*\gamma\bar{o}\beta$- „louer, vanter", $\gamma\omega\beta t$, $*\gamma\bar{o}\beta ot$, 3. pers. sing. ind. praes. act., $\gamma\bar{u}\beta t\hat{e}$, parte

[3] Genannt seien vorneupers (in diesem Falle = Pahlavī Vendīdād, vgl. Horn, Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie p. 263) *aguftār* „nicht sprechend" neupersisch *guftār* „Rede", neupersisch *guftan* „sprechen", das bei Horn a a O. No. 926

Wesentlich fur die wissenschaftliche Beurteilung dieses sprachlichen Gesamtvorgangs aber ist, soviel ich sehe, bisher immer gewesen, dass √ *gub, gaub* als dialektologisches Merkmal gegolten hat, eine Ansicht, die sich zum erstenmal wohl bei H Hubschmann, Persische Studien p. 94 (zu Horn, Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie No. 926) deutlich ausgesprochen findet. „Wrzl *gub* 'sprechen'[1)] scheint spezifisch persisch (der alten Provinz Pārsa entstammend) zu sein fur *vač* der andern Dialekte Im Kurdischen wird nur das Ptcp perf. von der Wurzel *gub* gebildet und auch dies konnte 'entlehnt sein" (vgl. unten Anm. 1 [1])[1] Diese *Communis opinio* wird im Lichte des neuen Zusammenhangs mit altindoarisch *Gobhila-* genau so sicher einer durchgreifenden Umformulierung und Uberlegung der dialektologischen Probleme bedurfen[2], wie schon jetzt der bis heute doppeldeutige Auslaut der altpersischen √ *gub, gaub* sicher *-bh* gewesen ist Das altindoarische n.pr. *Gobhila-* hat diese Entscheidung herbeigefuhrt[3].

Wie steht es nun aber auf der altindoarischen Seite mit der

als Stichwortartikel behandelt ist (die Pamir-Dialekt-Belege Horns, nämlich „waχ *jóy-am, sar χūy-am*" finden sich im „Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie" nicht wiederholt), sonstige neupersische Formen bei Horn, Grundriss der Iran Philol 1, 2, p 47, rein mundartliche Formen des Neu-Iranischen im „Grundriss" 1, 2, p 353, 354, 363, 372, 388 Socin, Grundriss der Iran Philol 1, 2, p 261 bespricht kurdisch *gōten* (mundartlich *gohtin*) „sagen", die man bei Mann-Hadank weiter verfolgen mag Armenisches Lehnwort ist *ǰata-gov* „Fursprecher" (Horn, Grundriss 1, 2, p 47, 63 unten und f) Strittiges bei C Salemann, Grundriss 1, 1, p 270. Schon Aug Friedr Pott, Wurzel-Worterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen 5 (Detmold 1873), p 235 gibt einen ganz hubschen Querschnitt durch die innerıranische Geschichte der Wurzel *gub, gaub,* indem er gleichzeitig auf Spiegel und Lerch verweist

[1] „[1)] Altp *gaub* nur im Medium vorkommend = 'sich nennen' im Unterschied von *θah* 'sprechen, sagen, befehlen', pass 'heissen' (skr *çaṣ*)" Ahnlich zu Obigem, a a O p 116[2] mit wichtigem Schrifttum, ferner Wilh Geiger, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie 1, 2, p 414 unten und Wolfgang Lentz, Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache (= Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik 4, p 251–316), p 305 „der Gebrauch der Wz *guftan,* die sonst nur im Sogd vorkommt (ANDREAS)[,] ist ein hervorstechendes Merkmal des Persischen gegenuber den nordlichen und zentralen Dialekten'

[2] Da die Verwendungsweise der √*gaub* „sich falschlich ausgeben als jemanden" gegenuber der etwa der √ *θah* ganz deutlich verschieden ist, ist uberhaupt zu erwagen, ob die ursprunglich angenommene mundartliche Spaltung nicht in Wirklichkeit der bekannten ahurisch-daēvischen Glaubens- und Sprachspaltung zuzuschreiben ist Fur die altpers Inschriften und ihr religionsgeschichtliches Verhaltnis zum Avesta ware die Bejahung dieser Frage von weittragender Wichtigkeit

[3] Vermuten konnte man ja dieses auslautende *-bh* bisher schon mit einiger Sicherheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit, da die altiranischen, auf-*b* ausgehenden Wurzeln durchwegs ein *-b* < *-*bh* haben, so z B √ √ *grab,* [1]*dab, zamb* usw „Bei der Seltenheit von idg *b* gehen die meisten *b* des Iranischen usw auf *bh* zuruck", bemerkt treffend Eduard Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik 1, p. 297[1]

Entsprechung der altpersischen √ *gub, gaub,* mit der Wurzel **gubh* ? Auf diese Frage, die schon oben p. 864 in anderem Rahmen gestreift worden ist, lasst sich furs erste, wie es scheint, nicht viel Sicheres antworten Das Dasein einer * √ *gubh* ist in keiner der Wurzellisten, also weder bei Dehus, noch bei Westergaard, noch bei Whitney, noch in der Kṣīratarangiṇī (ed Liebich) nachweisbar, und auch in meinen eigenen grossen lexikographischen Sammlungen habe ich nichts derartiges aufgespurt. Und trotzdem darf eine *√ *gubh* angenommen werden. Sie zeigt sich, ähnlich wie bei chemisch-physikalischen Vorgangen, in sogenannten Reaktionen, die wir nur aufmerksam zu analysieren brauchen, um ihrer unsichtbar-sichtbaren Wirksamkeit beizukommen. Unsere * √ *gubh* wird erstens bewiesen durch ihre nominalen Absenker *Gobhila-* und *goha-* (< **gobha-*). Sie wird zweitens bewiesen durch das eigentumliche Verhalten der √ *gūh* „ verhullen, verbergen ", die laut Ausweis der Whitney'schen Roots keine einzige, nicht nominale und nicht verbale, Form mit *-bh-* gebildet hat[1], obwohl dies, nach allen sprachlichen Vorgangen, die wir kennen, durchaus nicht ferngelegen hatte. Mit anderen Worten, die √ *guh* ist der √ *gubh* ausgewichen, ein Verhalten, das wir nach dem richtungweisenden Aufsatz A Meillets „ Sur les effets de l'homonymie dans les anciennes langues indo-européennes " (= Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris 1921, p 169–80) zu wurdigen wissen[2] *√ *gubh* wird drittens wahrscheinlich gemacht durch das schlagend proportionale Verhaltnis, das zwischen ihr und √ *gu* einerseits, sowie zwischen √ *stu* und √ *stubh* andererseits besteht Denn √ *stubh* ist bereits vedisch, und umgekehrt fehlt sie im Iranischen Man beachte gebuhrend auch neben dem Reim-Verband den Bedeutungs-Verband, der √ *gubh,* etwa „ aussern, sagen, sprechen ", mit √ *stubh* „ juchzen, trallern " verbindet Auf den weiteren Reim- und Form-Verband, der hinuberfuhrt zu den √√ *ksubh, lubh, śubh,* ist bereits oben aufmerksam gemacht worden Die Beweismittel sind noch nicht erschopft Das Dasein einer √ *gubh* kann sprachpsychologisch auch durch die Proportion umschrieben werden

√ *tuñj* √ *tubh*[3] = *x* √ *guñj.* Als *x* muss *√ *gubh* eingesetzt

[1] Hanns Oertel, Roots and verb-forms from the unpublished parts of the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (= Journal of Vedic studies 1, p 129–68) enthalt weder *Nova* zu √ *guh* noch irgend eine √ *gubh*

[2] Damit sind meine Darlegungen oben p 840 und p 849 unten abgeschlossen

[3] Gerade die √ *tubh* veranschaulicht, dass literarisches Nicht-Belegtsein und erbverwandtschaftliche Beziehungen sich gar nicht auszuschliessen brauchen

werden. Schliesslich hat A Meillet mit dem ihm eigenen Spursinn die grossen idg Zusammenhange aufgedeckt, in die sich auch *√ *gubh* einreiht, wenn er, MSLP. 11, p 183 f. ausfuhrt „en vieux perse, en lituanien et en vieux prussien, l'addition d'un élargissement *b* donne à des racines signifiant 'faire un bruit, crier, chanter' le sens de 'dire, parler'". Aus den Beispielen a.a.O. p. 183 m „skr *jóguve* 'il fait entendre un bruit', gr. *βοή*, v. sl. *govorŭ* 'bruit', etc, et avec élargissement *d*, lit. *gaudzraù*, *gaũstı* 'tonen' v. pers *garbatany*, persan *guftan* 'dire'". Meillet legt weiter dar „L'iranien[1] et le baltique, les seuls dialectes indo-européens ou apparaisse le fait, ne permettent pas de décider s'il agit ici de i-e. *b* ou *bh*, mais *b* est invraisemblable *a priori* et d'ailleurs on a *bh* dans arm *olb* 'gémissement' en regard de gr *ὀλολύζω* . . " Es erfullt mit Genugtuung, diese feinsinnigen Ausfuhrungen des ausgezeichneten Gelehrten durch zwei Feststellungen zu erganzen, einmal dass auch das Indoarische der oben bezeichneten Gruppe zugehort haben muss — wie die ubersehene √ *stubh* und vor allem der Eigenname *Gobhila-* zeigen — und dass durch *Gobhila-* insbesondere die von Meillet schon richtig entschiedene Frage, ob *-b* oder *-bh*, unmissverstandlich zugunsten von *-bh* nochmals beantwortet wird.

Nach dem Vorgetragenen kann ich mir durchaus denken, dass selbst hartgesottene Zweifler an eine *√ *gubh* zu glauben geneigt sein werden. Wer aber auch angesichts dieser Nachweise noch nicht uberzeugt ist, der gehe mit mir noch einmal vom Gesamt- Grundsprachlichen zuruck zum einzelsprachlich Alt-Indoarischen, zur Ausgangswurzel der *√ *gubh*, zur √ *gu*[2]. Wir wollen noch eine Bedingung setzen und zusehen, ob und wie sie sich erfullen lasst, die Bedingung namlich gehoren √ *gu* und *√ *gubh* wirklich zusammen, dann muss sich dies nicht nur im Theoretisch-Konstruktiven, sondern auch im Lebendigen einer Sprache, in Wort und Schrifttum zeigen. Und dies lasst sich in der Tat so eindringlich zeigen, dass wir Meillet sein Stichwort *gu* dankbar zuruckgeben konnen. Ich halte folgende Tatsachen fur beweiskraftig √ *gu*, die soviel wie „ertonen lassen, laut aussprechen, verkunden" bedeutet (mit *prati* „horen lassen"),

Denn √ *tubh* „durch einen Schlag verletzen" gehort mit griechisch *στυφελίζω* „misshandle, stosse" zusammen (I Scheftelowitz, Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik 2, p 279 unten) Andere literarisch nicht belegte Wurzeln, denen im Bildetypus sich *√ *gubh* anreihen konnte, sind √ *sku(m)bh* (Westergaard p 222) und √ *stumbh* (Westergaard p 223)

[1] Man vergleiche auch noch Soghd *w'β* *wāβ* „parler, sprechen".

[2] Bei Oertel a a O hieruber nichts

erscheint im altesten indoarischen Text gedanklich engverbunden mit *rebhá-*, dem Ausgangswort zu *Rebhila-*, dessen nahe Verwandtschaft mit *Gobhila-* wir oben p. 864 kennen gelernt haben. Die Stelle ist Ṛgveda I 127, 10^{d-g}:

„*prátir yád īm havísmān*
víśvāsu kṣásu jóguve
ágre rebhó ná jarata ṛ sūnáṁ
gúrnir hóta ṛ sūnām", in Geldners Übertragung: „Wenn ihn an allen Orten der Opfernde anruft, lasst der Hotr wie ein Barde den Weckruf ertonen noch vor den Morgenstrahlen, der gluhende Hotr (vor) den Morgenstrahlen" (Oldenberg, Noten, ohne Bedeutung) Wir notieren die ausschliesslich priesterliche Verwendung, die auch Ṛgv I 61, 14^{cd} fur $\sqrt{gu}$ gewahrleistet ist, und sehen uns die zweite Stelle an. Es ist Ṛgveda V 64 2^{cd}

„*śévam hí jāryàm vām*
víśvāsu kṣásu jóguve".

Ich ubersetze, indem ich *jóguve* mit Oldenberg, Noten I, p 357 als 3. Sing fasse und auf den Stabreim *jāryàm jóguve* aufmerksam mache: „ein holdes Buhlenlied namlich fur Euch beide singt er laut an allen Orten". Die Verwendungsweise ist zwar auch noch weiterhin priesterlich, aber die Wendung „ein holdes Buhlenlied" fuhrt uns ins tagliche Leben hinein und in gerader Linie zu der Bedeutung „*jāra, upapatir*", die Hargovind Das Sheth dem Nomen *goha-* zuerkannt hatte. Ein Kommentar ist wohl uberflussig. Schliesslich verweise ich noch auf das Neutrum *gaungava-*, „Name verschiedener Sāman", das uber den Eigennamen *Gungu-* letztlich wohl auch von der $\sqrt{gu}$ abgeleitet werden muss und sichtbar die Verbindung mit *Gobhila-*, dem Verfasser eines zum Sāmaveda gehorigen Sūtra, herstellt[1]. Mit diesen Einzelnachweisen ist der vorne ausgesprochenen Bedingung Genuge geschehen, das Verhaltnis

[1] Das PW verweist auf Pañcaviṁśabrāhmana XIV 3 und Ind Studien 3, p 215 Die Stelle lautet „*yadannam vittrâgardadyadagangūyattadgaungavasya gaungavam*" PW zu *gaungava-* leitet dies ebenfalls von *Gungu-* ab und bemerkt in „Verbesserungen und Nachtragen zu Theil I–V" 5, Sp 1380 unten „wenn davon *gaungava* kommt, so ist wohl *agungūyat* zu lesen", aber Caland liest gleichfalls *a-gangūyat* (vgl Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmana The Brāhmana of twenty-five chapters Translated, Calcutta 1931, p 355, auch sonst bietet Caland nichts Weiterfuhrendes) Er sagt nur p 356 oben „The meaning of *agardat* and *agangūyat* (r *agungūyat* ?) must be guessed", eine Ausserung, die mir angesichts des morphologisch klar zu $\sqrt{gr}$ „singen" gehorigen *agardat* unverstandlich ist Übrigens ist die Stelle genau Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmana XIV 3, 18, 19

zwischen √ *gu* und *√ *gubh* erschopfend geklart und insonderheit fur *√ *gubh*[1] und den von ihr abzuleitenden Eigennamen *Gobhila-* der Standort im Sprachgefuge endgultig bestimmt, und zwar im Sinne dessen, was ich „Wortkundliche Beitrage zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung 1" p 107 f ausgefuhrt habe.

9. Von hier aus wenden wir nochmal den Blick zuruck auf *Gobhila-*, dessen mittelindoarische Vorform *goha-*, m oben p. 857 f. als „(in Aufputz, Verkleidung auftretender) Sprecher" bestimmt wurde, wobei die samtlichen Bedeutungsschattierungen des Nomens *goha-* sich passend aus dieser Grundbedeutung erklaren liessen (oben, p. 857 mitte–859 mitte) Leider sind in den daran angeschlossenen Einzeluntersuchungen keinerlei Instanzen sichtbar geworden, die es uns erlauben wurden, fur altindoarisch zu erschliessendes **gobha-*, m. und dessen Ableitung *Gobhila-*, n pr ganz sichere, alteste Bedeutungsansätze zu ermitteln Soviel ich sehe, kann man trotzdem fur **gobha-* selbst etwa bei der oben angegebenen Grundbedeutung bleiben und in diesem Zusammenhang, wegen *rebhá-*, auch den Akzentsitz festlegen, **gobhá-* Dass *Gobhila-* kein Deminutivum dieses **gobhá-* war, also etwa nicht mit „Sprecherlein" — so anmutig das auch klange! — wiedergegeben werden darf, scheint mir aus dem, was p 839 f uber die Rājpūten-Namen auf *-e/il* und p. 861 f uber die Funktion des hypokoristischen *-ila-* Formans gesagt worden ist, hinlanglich klarbegrundet Auch litauisch *tirszkalas* „Schwatzer" und ahd *wortal* „gesprachig", welche beide in einem unverkennbaren idg. Bedeutungs- und Form-Verband mit *Gobhila-* stehen, sind nicht deminutiv. *Gobhila-*, als Name eines Sūtra-Verfassers auch sachlich passend gebildet und ganz sicher nicht zufallig

[1] Den Grund des Erloschens der *√ *gubh* sehe ich 1 in der sie umgebenden reichen Synonymik (√√ *gad, gā, gr, ribh, vac, vad, vand, stu, stubh* usw) sowie 2 im Erloschen der sie stützenden √ *gu* Der idg Ansatz ist keinesfalls *√ *gheu̯bh*, sondern *√ *gou̯bh* wegen √ *gou̯* (Walde-Pokorny 1, p 634 f, aber ohne jeden Hinweis auf die Moglichkeit einer *-bh-* Erweiterung) Theoretisch moglich wäre *√ *gheubh* nur mit Wirkung des Grassmann'schen Hauchdissimilationsgesetzes, aber dieser Ansatz wird durch alles oben Ausgefuhrte, wie betont sei, dringend widerraten Deswegen irrt auch F B J Kuiper, Zur Geschichte der indoiranischen *s-* Präsentia (= Acta Orientalia 12, p 190–306), p 268 unten und f, wenn er als Parallelfalle „ved *stóbhate* zu √ *stu*, *śóbhate* zu *śu-* (vgl. *śuc-*, *śudh-*)" anfuhrt, aber dann der einzig moglichen Schlussfolgerung auf √ *gu* einfach ausweicht Altpersisch √ *g(a)ub* ist also unter gar keinen Umstanden eine Stütze fur die Kuiperschen Konstruktionen zu einer idg *√ *gheus* —Was unsere *√ *gubh* glottogonisch-morphologisch ist, geht uns hier nichts an Es liesse sich denken an √ *gu* + Nullstufe in der √ *bhā*, also an einen ungefahren Typus wie etwa lateinisch *condere* Doch ist dies nur eine Vermutung wie ebenso die semasiologische Proportion √ *śubh* *√ *gubh* = √ *bhā* latein *fari*

Sāmavedist[1], wird im Eigennamen-Typus etwa an altindoarische *Nomina propria* mit dem Ausgang °-*vāgīśa*- oder °-*vācaspati*- angeschlossen werden durfen[2] Als zweckmassigste, sinngemasse Wiedergabe erscheint mir das nhd Wort „ Barde “, weil dies die im Namen *Gobhila*- zusammenfliessende priesterlich-magische und heroisch-kriegerische Sphare nicht unwirksam veranschaulicht Ob die bekannte Regelung des Āpastamba-Gesetzbuches (1, 3, 10, 19), dass das Vedastudium dort unterbrochen werden musse, wo Hundegeschrei, Eselsgeschrei, das Heulen von Wolfen und Schakalen, das Schreien der Eule, der Klang von Musikinstrumenten, Weinen und der Ton von Sāmans gehort werden, auf den Sinngehalt von *Gobhila*-, insbesondere uber die Grundbedeutung des Nomens *goha*-, Bezug habe, muss eine offene Frage bleiben Sie kann es getrost bleiben, denn der gultigen Ergebnisse sind wahrlich genug Wir fanden zwei Satze J Wackernagels bestatigt, mit denen ich gerne schliesse „ Dass trotz allem, was die modernste Vedaforschung gegen die Verwertung der Sprachvergleichung fur das Wortverstandnis des Veda einzuwenden hat, eben doch sogar sonst undeutbare indische Personen-

[1] Vgl Knauer, 2 Heft p 52 f und hiezu erganzend H Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East 30, p 3[1]

[2] Ein freundlicher Zufall tritt in dem iranischen Eigennamen eines Dichters, *Guftī*, zutage (Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch p 119, Sp 1, p. 496 f bemerkenswerterweise nichts), der eigentlich „ Rede, Sprechen “ bedeutet und von der gleichen Wurzel gebildet ist wie altindoarisch *Gobhila*- Alle ubrigen idg Spuren sind fragwürdig Lettisch *ǵaũbju*, *ǵaũbt* „ sich ergotzen, jubeln “ trotz der sehr passenden Bedeutung, wozu noch „ versprechen, sich beklagen “ kommen, kaum verwertbar, P Persson, Beitrage zur Idg Wortforschung p 59, Walde-Pokorny 1, p 567, Muhlenbach-Endzelin 1, p 694, Sp 1 f s v *Ǵaũbt*, Endzelin, Lettische Grammatik, p 114 unten und p 131 oben, Lehnwort aus dem Mittelniederdeutschen wegen *ŋ-* [9] —Mhd. *guft* „ clamor “ usw dies wohl < idg **gheup*, Diefenbach, Vgl Worterbuch der gothischen Sprache 2, p 554 unten (mit keltischen Wortformen), Schade, Altdeutsches Worterbuch 2, p 356, Sp 2 f, p 357, Sp 1 f, Walde-Pokorny 1, p 567, hubsch ist der Sirenengleichklang mhd *güften* „ prahlen “ neupersisch *guftan* „ sprechen “ Nichts als Trug ware es auch, bei *Gobhila*- an den nhd Familiennamen *Göbel* denken zu wollen (etwa mit niederdeutscher Lautgestalt), *Göbel* vielmehr < ahd *Gobbilo* und zu *Godebald* (vgl Solmsen-Fraenkel a a O p 177 unten und f), fur derartige Sirenenklange ist E Littmann, ZDMG 76, p 273, nachzulesen —Am ehesten ware noch zu erwagen Zusammenhang mit spatlateinisch *qūfō*, m „ Eule “ A Ernout, Les élements dialectaux du vocabulaire Latin (= Collection de linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris — III), p 131 f (verbindet altpers *gaubataiy* und schliesst auf *-bh*), Thesaurus linguae Latinae s v, G Landgraf Archiv fur Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik 9, p 367 f, Walde-Hofmann, Lateinisches etymologisches Worterbuch[3] p 625, W Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Worterbuch[3] p 333, No 3908, Corpus glossariorum Latinorum vol v Placidus liber glossarum Glossaria reliqua Edidit Georgius Goetz, p 272, Zeile 40/41 Bei Zusammenstellung des letztgenannten latinistischen Schrifttums ist mir Dr Paul-Max Groth, wissenschaftlicher Assistent am Sprachwissenschaftlichen Seminar der Universitat München, dankenswerterweise behilflich gewesen

namen auf diesem Wege Licht empfangen, mag auch der Name " *Gobhila-* gezeigt haben Aber „ im allgemeinen lohnt es sich nicht, der Etymologie von solchen Personennamen nachzugehen, denen aus dem sonstigen Wortschatz nichts zur Seite steht ' (Indoiranisches, Berlin 1918, p 405, Absatz 3 und 2)

10. Aufriss des Hauptergebnisses (gemass dem von mir so genannten , Synthetischen Lexikon-Schema " oder dem . Zusammenfassend-darstellenden Denkbild in Worterbuchform ") .

Gobhila-, m n pr , Verfasser des nach ihm benannten Gobhila-gṛhyasūtra Erforschungsgeschichte, Gesamtbehandlung und Losung bei Walther Wust, Wortkundliche Beitrage zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung II (= Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London volume VIII parts 2 and 3, p 835–73) London 1936

Seit dem spaten Veda + (Stellenbelege z B im PW s v) — *Gobh-ila-* im Klang- und Form-Verband mit *Omila-*, m n pr., *Somila-*, m n pr und *Rebhila-*, m n pr ist Hypokoristikon zu mittelindoarisch *gohi-* m , (in Aufputz oder Verkleidung auftretender) Sprecher " < altindoarisch **gobhá-* m (vgl *rebhá- Rebhila-*) *Gobhila-* mag etwa soviel wie Barde bedeutet haben Das Wort lebt fort im präkritisierten m n pr *Gohilla-* sowie im Rājpūten-Namen *Gohil*

Eigenstandig-innersprachliche Schicht des Alt-Indoarischen, was die Wortform als Ganzes anlangt Die Wurzel ist **gubh* = altiranisch (altpersisch) √ *gaub, gub* , dicere

Ableitungen *gobhilīya-*, adj „ zu Gobhila in Beziehung stehend **gobhilika-*, †*gaubhilikā-* beide Adj patronymica, *gaubhila-*, n Gobhilas Grhyasūtra (vgl *Saumila- Somila-*) Wichtigere Zusammensetzungen fehlen Eine Deutung der einheimisch-indischen Sprachwissenschaft ist nicht bekannt

Verfehlt oder teilweise verfehlt James Tod, Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan I p 137[2] Fitzedward Hall bei Henry M Elliot-John Beames Memoirs on the history folklore, and distribution of the races of the North-Western Provinces of India I, p 91 f (und p 90–2) Albrecht Weber Akademische Vorlesungen uber Indische Literaturgeschichte[2] p 92 unten M Bloomfield, The Johns Hopkins University Circulars November 1882 October 1883, p. 141 f., Jarl Charpentier IF 29, p 380 f Irach J. S Taraporewala, Indo-Iranian studies . in honour of Shams-Ul-Ullemā Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana (London-Leipzig 1925) p 143-8 besonders p 147 unten und f.

→ √ *gu*

Two Yazghulāmī Texts

By I. I Zarubin

AMONG the specimens of the Pāmīr languages included by Sir George A Grierson in his *Specimen Translations in the Languages of the North-Western Frontier* (later on republished in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol x) the Yazghulāmī is not represented at all In his later work specially comprising the *Ishkashmi, Zebaki, and Yazghulami* (London, 1920) Sir George A Grierson, having no texts at his disposal had again to limit himself to a mere list of about thirty words in Yazghulāmī that were taken down by Sir Aurel Stein. R Gauthiot, too, because of the short duration of his investigations, could not spare time for the taking down of texts although in his ' Notes sur le Yazgoulami (*Journ Asiatique* 1916) he gave the first scientific (mainly historic and phonetic) characteristics of that language Thus until a few years ago there remained only one published example of the spoken Yazghulāmī i e the three lines quoted by C Salemann in his *Manichaeische Studien* in 1908 After that it was W. Lentz who in 1933, included a poem consisting of five couplets in Yazghulāmī into his *Pamir-Dialekte* Therefore the publication, even if a belated one, of two Yazghulāmī texts can still form a natural supplement to Sir George A Grierson s summary and be of use for the comparative characteristics of the Pāmīr languages

Both texts were taken down in August, 1915, as dictated by Sufī, a middle-aged inhabitant of the large village Matraun (Yazg *Marθún*), near the confluence of the Yazghulām river (Yazg. *Yuzdóm*) and the Pandj. The texts were taken down in the presence of several of the local inhabitants who showed great interest in the proceedings and made remarks of their own. The texts are not original ones; they are stories rather popular in Central Asia, which were originally taken down (also in 1915) in Shughnī, with the help of an inhabitant of the village Porshnīv on the Pandj, whose name was Ghulām-Alī, in the presence of and in participation with Said-Shā-Fāzil, of the same village

In order to facilitate the right understanding and comparison of the texts the Shughnī original is placed next to the Yazghulāmī version.

The transcription used is the one employed by R. Gauthiot in his dialectological papers The only deviation from it is made with regard to labialized velars, R Gauthiot being somewhat inconsistent as far as their transcription is concerned, this will be seen from the following examples "*kən-, kun-* faire, *ɸarg* sœur, *ɸuovd* lait, *xwayērg* moulin à eau, *xwāi* manger' In order to represent those sounds which make the Yazghulāmī system of consonants differ from that of the other Pāmīr languages more consistent and usual characters are employed here k^w, x^w, γ^w x^w, for instance · *kʷənín* I do, *kʷənít* you do, *kʷənáǰ* to do *x̌ʷan* blood, $\gamma^w o\theta$ excrement, *x̌ʷānt-aɻ* he read, *xʷārd* eats, *taxʷt* burnt

A more detailed analysis of Yazghulāmī is soon to appear in an edition planned by the Institute of Language and Mentality of the U S S R Academy of Sciences, comprising all the Yazghulāmī texts that were taken down in 1915 Therefore it seems more suitable to communicate here only those of the peculiarities of Yazghulāmī morphology, which are altogether necessary for the understanding of the texts and which can form a complement to data that are already known

Already Gauthiot noticed a difference in the treatment of transitive and intransitive verbs There are in connection with it some distinctions with regard to the verbal paradigm of the past tense of transitive and intransitive verbs

	Intrans	Trans
Sg 1	*áz-əm fʿrapt* I reached	*mun fʿrapánt* (*-əm*) I caused to reach.
2.	*tów-at fʿrapt* thou reachedst	*tu fʿrapánt* (*-at*) thou causedst to reach
3.mf.	*aɻ* (or *ū*) *fʿrapt* he, she reached.	3 m. *daɪ* (or *waɻ*) *fʿrapánt* (*-aɻ*) he caused to reach.
		f *dɪm* (or *ɪm*) *fʿrapánt* (*aɻ*) she caused to reach
Pl. 1.	*móx-an fʿrapt* we reached.	Pl 1. *mox fʿrapánt* (*-an*) we caused to reach.
2.	*təmóx-əf fʿrapt* you reached	2 *təmóx fʿrapánt* (*-əf*) you caused to reach.
3.	*dɪf* (or *īf*)*-an fʿrapt* they reached.	3 *dɪf* (or *īf*) *fʿrapánt* (*-əf*) they caused to reach.

The pronominal suffixes which are here put in parentheses are usually omitted, being employed only when the subject is missing.

In the present tense the transitive and intransitive verbs are conjugated alike, the particle *-da -ta -a*, characteristic of the present tense being added —

Present Tense

	Intrans.	Trans.
Sg 1	*áz-a f'rēpín* I reach	*áz-a fərpanín* I cause to reach
2	*tów-da f'rēpáɻ* thou reachest	*tów-da fərpanáɻ* thou causest to reach
3	*aɻ* (or *ū*)*-da f'rēpt* he, she reaches	*aɻ* (or *ū*)*-da fərapánt* he, she causes to reach.
Pl 1	*móx-ta f'rēpəm* we reach	*móx-ta fərpanəm* we cause to reach
2	*təmóx-ta f'rēpít* you reach	*təmóx-ta fərpanít* you cause to reach.
3	*dɪf* (or *īf*)*-ta f'rēpán* they reach.	*dɪf* (or *īf*)*-ta fərpanán* they cause to reach

As can be seen from these tables, there are special forms of pronouns in the oblique case, but only conserved in the singular, and only in the oblique case of the singular can there be observed a different form for the feminine gender The pronouns of the 3rd pers are, at the same time, demonstrative ones different for the proximate persons and objects (*aɻ* this, obl c *daɻ*, fem *dɪm*, pl *dɪf*) and the remote (*ū* that, obl c *waɻ*, fem *ɪm*, pl *īf*) The other nouns have not kept this distinction between the direct and oblique cases and express the case relations by means of prepositions and postpositions Only when being used as an attribute can the noun be employed in a special "attributively possessive" form, obtained by means of the affix *-ɪ*, as can be seen from the following examples 1, 7 *ɨfi cəldúrɪ vrēd* their younger brother, 1, 51 *waɻ ləldúrɪ δoγd* his elder daughter At the same time, the putting of the attribute after the noun, so characteristic of the Persian language, frequently occurs as well, therefore in the text the owner of the camel" is equally expressed both by *soᵛíbɪ aɨtor* and by *aɨtórɪ soᵛíb*.

These remarks, together with the parallel Shughnī text, a translation into English, and the vocabularies already published by Sir George A Grierson and R Gauthiot, seem to be sufficient for the purpose of allowing these Yazghulāmī texts to be read and used by specialists

YAZGHULĀMĪ VERSION

I

1 vád-an ʾyo na vád-an, ar cuᵢ vrēd-an vad 2 δou vrēd-an na wu nān, 3 wug na wu nān 4 īf-mē-n cuᵢ wus vad 5 cigág-da xud pāᵢd, 6 kəldaráθ-a xud na pāván 7 wu mīθ ífi cəldúrı vrēd xe wus na pēᵢd 8 waᵢ vrādár waᵢ wus žūd 9 ū yat ke nı wus na yast 10 bát-ra xe wus xıkórd 11 xe wúsı murδá-ᵢ vʲyug, 12 zēxt-at šōd ī daxt. 13 tamoxó-ᵢ ḱēg ke wu axtór šᵊ-prēd yat 14 γaδág axtór nʲyúd, wúsi xʷán-at mı γʷoθ axtórı γāx-ra māld 15 kúxt-aᵢ ke soʸíbı axtór yat 16 soʸíbı wus dᵊrí γərawáǰ δēd, 17 ē vrēd, láft-aᵢ ke axtór nı wus xūg 18 láft-aᵢ ke ē vrēd, dərə́γ na laf, axtór-da na wus na xʷārd 19 láft-aᵢ ke mı γāx kas ke mı γʷoθ-at mı xʷan məldagín 20 az-da badín pᵊta qozī da arz kʷənín 21 axtórı soʸíb laft ke arz na bād, nı axtór tı wúsı qərz-áᵢ 22 du γaδág ma axtór sᵊwēr mád-at šod 23 waᵢ vrādár kuxt ke ma axtór sᵊwēr-at yat 24 láft-əf ke ē badbáxt, tu yu axtór naš-kóre-at vəg ? 25 áy-aᵢ kí-me ? 26 waᵢ laft ke nı wús-əf žūd, 27 mun mı murδá vašt, 28 axtór-əm zēxt 29 īf xe wus žūd, mı murδá ayéd-əf dᵊrı bozór 30 mardúm-da pīsán ke áy-aᵢ čiǧ ? 31 īf laft ke áy-aᵢ wúsı murδá, wúsı murδá-da axtór-ıtu δaδə́m 32 mardúm laft ke ē bēaqláθ, wúsı murδá-da axtór-ıtu kı nıyást ? 33 íf-an na xe ḱār xarmındá mad-at šód-an 34 xe wús-əf žūd na-f axtór və́g-at na wus 35 bát-ra-f masəlhát ḱēg ke daᵢ badbáxt ž-móx ıbrát dēd, 36 móx-ta daᵢ nān žánəm 37 bát-ra-f daᵢ nān žūd 38 aᵢ saγīrá mad 39 xe nánı murδá ma xūr sᵊwēr ḱēg, 40 γərawárm yat wu ǰındá 41 wu wexúg kaxtá-da zazd 42 ū nʲyúst, 43 xūr šod dᵊrı kaxtá 44 soʸíbı kaxtá γar dēd xúrag, 45 ímı murδá na xūr wōb dēd 46 yúke γaδág yat, paᵢ γərawáǰ mad 47 láft-aᵢ ke nı nán-at žūd, 48 ta qozí-da badín, árz-a kʷənín 49 láft-aᵢ ke mú-me δou δoγd, 50 wug xuš kén-at záz əm xe qarz 51 du γaδág waᵢ kəldúrı δoγd zēxt-at šod ī kūd 52 waᵢ vrādár laft ke naš-kóre-at vəg ? 53 láft-aᵢ ke xe nánı murδá-əm dēd, yu γačág-əm nʲyud 54 īf-ǰa xe nān žūd, ayéd-əf dᵊrı bozór 55 mardúm ž-īf pīst ke yu murδá-da šətú kʷənít ? 56 īf laft ke xasá γačág-ıtu-da δaδə́m 57 mardúm īf-ra ızzó δéd-at šód-an ī kūd

II

1 wu mīθ qozí kıtób x̌ʷānt 2 kıtób-and-aɻ̣ wınt kẹ har odáme ke waɻ̣ kā̆l-u cıgág, waɻ̣ bēn-u qatól, nak-dú odám bēáql 3 bát-ra-ɻ̣ kuxt ke · waɻ̣ kā̆l-u cıgág, waɻ̣ bēn-u qatól 4 xe záwδ-and-aɻ̣ laft ke xe kā̆l-da qatól kʷənáǰ na bás-saín, xe bēn-da meš kʷənín 5 har čűnd-aɻ̣ naqróz-talápt ke, na vʲyúg-aɻ̣ 6 sām-aɻ̣ xe δúst-ama xe bēn nʲyud, 7 sám-aɻ̣ xe bēn ayēd ta cᵊrḗγ, paδáɻ̣id-aɻ̣ 8 waɻ̣ bẹ̄n dar-tób δēd, waɻ̣ δust taxʷt 9 xe δúst-aɻ̣ δar kḗg, 10 xe bẹ̄n-aɻ̣ lāɻ̣ kḗg ū pogızá taxʷt 11 qozí x̌armındá mad kẹ 12 har čı ke wínt-aɻ̣ razg̀ vad, ata áy-aɻ̣ dərə́γ

Original Shughnī Texts

I

1 vuδǰ na vuδǰ, aráɻ̣ vrőd-en vaδǰ 2 δíůn vrőd-ēn as yı nān. 3 yīw as yı nān 4 wḗv-and-ēn aráɻ̣ šīg vıc 5 julík xund pōɻ̣d 6 wāδ katanakḗn xund na pőyēn 7 yī mḗθat yu mıs xúnd-e na pḗɻ̣d 8 wāδ we vrōdārḗn-ēn we šīg zīd 9 yu yát dıde we šīg nıst 10 dáδ-e ʸık-ámard x̌ıkūd 11 we murδā́-e vūd 12 zőx̌t-e xu, sut tar dāx̌t 13. tamōšő-e čūd yı x̌etúr as perő yat 14 yu daδ wám-e anǰűvd-e xu, šīg wexén-at we γaθ-riš mőlt-e wam x̌etúr γēv-ard 15 čűx̌t-e wam x̌etúr sōʸíb yat 16 yam šīgdőr daráw-e nīwd sut 17 lű́d-e ē vrōd, tu x̌etúr mu šíg-e x̌ūd 18 yu lű́d-e · ē vrō, des mā lûv x̌etúr ta as šīg na xīrt 19 yu lůd dam γēv čis, wẹxén-at γaθrišín. 20 wuz pōdx̌ő xēz sām dōδ kınúm. 21 yu x̌eturdőr lű́d-e · ē vrōd, dōδ mā sa mu x̌etúr tu šīg qárz-ande 22 yu γeδā́ wam x̌etúr-e sawōr sút xu, tű́ɻ̣d 23 we vrōdā́r-ēn čűx̌t dıde wēv vrōd x̌etúr sawőr-at yat 24 lű́d-ēn ē badbáxt, dam x̌etúr-at as kā́ vūd ? 25 yıd čınd ? 26 yu lű́d-e mu šíg-ēt zīd 27 wúz-um we murδā́ par-δőd 28 x̌etúr-um zōx̌t 29 wā́δ-ēn mıs xu šagḗn zíd xu, wēv murδā́-jēn yōd tar bōzōr 30 mardúm-ēn pēx̌st yıd čīz ? 31 wāδ-ēn lůd yam šīg murδā́ x̌etúr-te δāδām 32 mardúm-ēn lůd ē beaqleyḗn, šīg murδā ta ıyőr x̌etúr-te na zêzd 33 wā́δ-ēn as xu kōr sat x̌armendá́ xu, tőɻ̣d-ēn 34 xu šagḗn-ēn zīd, ná-yēn x̌etúr vūd, na šīg 35 dáδ-ēn tar yak dıgár muslā́t čűd dıde yıd badbáxt mā́š-e abrát δōd 36 māš de nān zínām. 37 dáδ-ēn we nān zīd. 38 yu saγīrā́ sut 39. xu nān murδā́ markáb-te sawőr ču 40 nīwd xu, yat yı jō-ndír 41 yı čōrík sêr zêzd 42 yu nūst 43 markáb sat tar sêr 44 yu čōrık markáb δőd-e qmb. 45 yu murδā́ as wā́m-te wêx̌t 46 yam γeδā́ yat, daráw nīwd sut 47 lű́d-e mu nān-at zīd 48 wuz sām pōdx̌ō xēz, dōδ kınúm. 49 yu lű́d-ẹ múnd-ēn δu rezín 50 yīw xuš

ké xu, zêz xu qārz-andīr 51 yu γeδā we xedār rezīn zōx̌t xu, tṷ̣d, yat tar xu čīd 52 we vıōdāı-ēn lůd dám-at as kā vŭd ? 53 yu lůd-e xu nān murδā-m δōd, mám-um zōx̌t 54 wāδ-ēn mıs xu nān zīd, wam murδá-ʸēn yōd tar bōzōr 55 mardúm-ēn pēx̌st dam murδá cá kınét ? 56 wāδ-en lůd nıam bašánd γác-tīr par-δáδām. 57 mardů́m-ēn wēv δōd ızzō xu, wāδ-en tō̤d

II

1 yı mēθ qōzé kıtőb x̌ê̤d 2 kıtőb-ande wínt-e ʰar čind julík kāl vēd darōz bůn, āmáq yık-ú ōdám 3 bād qōzé čů́x̌t-e wınd julık kál-at darőz bùn 4 xu zőrδ-ande lůd dıdé xu kāl katanák čīd na vár-δīm, atā xu bůnén kut kenúm 5 bād ar cůnd nuqrőz telápt, nuqrőz na vūd 6 bād xu bůnén-e kānd xu δúst-and anǰů́vd-at 7 we kānd pe cerōw-and yōd xu peδéd-e 8 we bůnén-ēn dar-tőv sat, we δust θud 9 xu δúst-e čūd δar xu 10 xu bůnén-e lāk čūd wáδ-ēn pōγ̌ǰá peδéd 11. qōzé lap x̌armandā sut yık-de ǰāt dıde 12 ʰar čīz kıtőb-and ca wīnt, yu rōst nax̌tṷ̣d-at yam derů́γ

English Tranlsation

I

1. (Whether) ıt has been (or) has not (been), there were three brothers 2 two brothers by one mother, 3 one by another mother. 4. They had three calves 5 The youngest looks after hıs (own calf), 6 the elder ones do not look after theırs 7. Once he, too, dıd not look after hıs (calf) 8 Those brothers of hıs slew hıs calf 9 He came and hıs calf was not there 10 Then he searched that place ; 11 found ıts corpse 12 He took ıt and went to the plaın , 13 he looked ın front, a camel approached 14 He took ıt and wıth the calf s blood and chyme smeared the camel s mouth 15. He looked the owner of the camel approached 16 The owner of the calf started weepıng, 17 saıd brother, thy camel ate my calf 18 The other one saıd brother, do not say so a camel does not eat a calf 19 He saıd look at ıts mouth, on ıt (there ıs) blood and chyme. 20 I shall go to the kıng and complaın 21 The camel's master saıd brother, do not go complaınıng let my camel be a compensatıon for thy calf. 22. That fellow mounted the camel and rode away 23 Hıs brothers looked theır brother came rıdıng a camel 24 They saıd · thou wretch where hast thou brought thıs camel from ? 25 Whose ıs ıt ? 26 He saıd vou slew my calf , 27 I sold ıts corpse 28 and got the camel 29 They too slew theır calves and brought theır corpses to

the market 30 People asked them what is that? 31 They said that is a calf's corpse, we (would) give it for a camel 32. People said fools, no one will take a calf's corpse and give a camel (for it) 33 They grew ashamed of their behaviour and went away 34 Their calves they slew and got neither camel nor calf 35 They took counsel with each other that wretch swindled us 36 Let us slay his mother 37 Then they slew his mother 38 He became an orphan 39 He put his mother's corpse astride on a donkey 40 and, weeping, came to a certain place, 41 and there a man gathers thrashed grain 42 He sat down 43 The donkey walked on the grain 44 That man threw a stone at the donkey 45 The corpse fell from it 46 The fellow approached and started weeping, 47. said thou hast slain my mother, 48 I shall go to the king and complain 49 The other one said I have two daughters, 50 choose one and take her as a compensation 51 The fellow took his elder daughter, went, and arrived home 52 His brothers said where hast thou got her from? 53 He said I gave my mother's corpse and got her 54 They, too, slew their mother and took her corpse to the market 55 People asked what are you doing with that corpse? 56 They said we sell it for a beautiful girl 57 People abused them and they went away

II

1 One day a judge read a book 2 In the book he saw whoever has a small head and a long beard, (that man) is a fool 3 The judge then looked he had a small head and a long beard 4 He said in his heart I can't make my head large, but I will make my beard short 5 No matter how long he then searched for scissors, he could not find any (scissors) 6 Then he took half of the beard in his hand 7 and brought the other half near a lamp and put it into the fire 8 His beard burst into flames and his hand was burnt 9 He withdrew his hand, 10. but left the beard It burnt altogether 11 The judge grew very ashamed, because 12 all that he saw in the book turned out to be true and that (what he had done) was wrong

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