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THE

PRÁKṚITA-LAKSHAṆAM

OR

CHANDA'S GRAMMAR

OF THE

ANCIENT (ÁRSHA) PRÁKṚIT

EDITED BY

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Part I.

TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND INDEXES.

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TO

SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K. C. S. I.

ETC., ETC.

WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

THIS WORK

IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.

PREFACE.

In the Introductory remarks, I shall fully explain the reasons of the arrangement observed in the following edition. In the main portion of it, I have adopted the text of the MSS. A and B, giving as a rule, in case of a difference, the preference to the reading of A. All the additional matter in the text of the MSS. C and D, as well as what is peculiar to any one or several MSS., has been distributed in the Appendices. This arrangement, I am aware, has its drawbacks; but on the whole I have thought it the best possible in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The footnotes immediately under the text contain extracts from the marginal gloss of MS. C, as also the few marginal remarks that occur in MS. B. Below these again are given, at the foot of each page, the various readings of the four MSS. Undoubted clerical errors have been omitted. With the exception of these, every difference has been noted; in doubtful cases, I have even admitted what to me seemed a mere clerical error. Considering the important character of Chaṇḍa's work and the state of the materials at my command, it seemed to me particularly desirable to place the reader in possession of the fullest information to form his own judgment on points that may be disputable.

The two indexes of sútras and Prákrit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

The whole work is contemplated to consist of two parts. The second part, containing an English translation and annotations, is nearly ready for the press and will shortly appear.

There only remains to me the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Dr. Rajendra Lála Mitra Rai Bahádur and Paṇḍit Ráma Miśra Śástrí in so readily placing at my service their MSS. of Chaṇḍa's Grammar, and the liberality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in providing the necessary funds for the publication of this work.

A. F. R.-H.

Calcutta, October 1880.

INTRODUCTION.

The Prákrit Grammar the text of which is given in the following pages professes to be the work of Chaṇḍa. About his person and the time when he lived nothing, so far as I am aware, is known beyond what can be gathered from the work itself. From the mention of Víra or Mahávíra, the great apostle of the Jain religion, in the introductory verse, and from the fact that the Grammar treats of an ancient form of what is now commonly called the Jaina Prákrit, it may perhaps be permissible to conclude that he belonged to the Jain community.* That he must have lived in very early times, probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes; assuming, of course, that he was contemporary with that language.

The Grammar bears the name of Prákṛita-Lakshaṇa. It is a curious circumstance, that a grammar, bearing the same name, is ascribed by two old writers, Kedára Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri, to Páṇini, the famous Sanskrit Grammarian. The remark of the former, as quoted by d'Alwis in his Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar (p. xxv), is the following: *páṇinibhagaván prákṛitalakshaṇam api vakti saṃskṛitád anyat, "dírghákṣharaṃ cha kutrachid ekáṃ mátrám upaiti" iti; i. e.*, "the blessed Páṇini also enunciates a Prákrit rule, different from Sanskrit, *viz.*, that a long vowel becomes short."† Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sútra II, 3. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply that Páṇini was the author of a Prákrit grammar of that name. The language of Malayagiri, as quoted by Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 277, and *Indische Streifen*, vol. II, p. 325, is much more explicit. It occurs in his commentary to the well-known Jaina work, the Súryaprajñápti,

* It is not impossible, however, that the introductory verse is to be ascribed to the Revisionists, to whom most of the other Jaina indications are due; *e. g.*, the invocation of the Siddhas at the beginning of the work, and the same in sútra I, 5. The mere fact of Chaṇḍa treating of an old form of Prákrit, which was afterwards modified by the Jainas, does not necessarily prove any connection of Chaṇḍa with the latter.

† See also Pischel *Dissertatio inauguralis*, p. 4. According to Weber, *Indische Streifen* II, p. 325, there appears to be some doubt as to the authenticity of the quotation.

and is as follows : "*chattári*" *iti cha sútre napumsakatvanirdeśaḥ prákṛitatvát ; prákṛite hi lingam vyabhichári, yad áha páṇiniḥ svaprákṛtalakshaṇe,* "*lingam vyabhicháry api*" *iti ; i. e.,* "as to the form 'chattári' occurring in the sútra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prákrit ; for in Prákrit the gender is changeable, as Páṇini has said in his (work called) Prákṛitalakshaṇa : 'the gender is changeable also.'" Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sútra I, 4. If our Prákṛitalakshaṇa is the work referred to by those two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations. The passage of Kedára Bhaṭṭa, indeed, I do not think, exactly professes to give a quotation, but rather a paraphrase of the rule which was in his mind. Malayagiri's language certainly seems to imply that he quotes a rule. Among all Prákrit grammars, known at present, there is none which contains such a rule. The nearest approach to it is the rule in Hemachandra IV, 445 and Trivikrama III, 4, 69, *lingam atantram*, with its commentary : *apabhraṃśe lingan atantram vyabhichári práyo bhavati.* It seems very probable, that Malayagiri misquotes Hemachandra's rule and somehow or other confuses the Prákṛita-Lakshaṇa with Hemachandra's work. It may be observed, that to quote the exact rule of the Prákṛitalakshaṇa, *kvachid vyatyayaḥ*, would hardly have suited him, as without an explanation it would not have been intelligible, whereas Hemachandra's rule is so. A confusion of Chaṇḍa's and Hemachandra's works will perhaps not appear so unnatural, when it is remembered (as I shall show in the sequel), that in all probability Chaṇḍa's work was, as it were, the frame round which Hemachandra built up his own work. It should also be noted, that while Hemachandra's rule is limited to the Apabhraṃśa, Malayagiri understands his rule to apply to Prákrit generally. Now Chaṇḍa's rule *does* apply to Prákrit generally. The fact, that both Kedára Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri ascribe the Prákṛita-Lakshaṇa to Páṇini, is, of course, of no weight. It merely shows that they had only a traditional acquaintance with the work. Still its traditional ascription to Páṇini is in so far important, as it shows that the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative. This character well agrees with Chaṇḍa's Prákṛitalakshaṇa. There is another curious circumstance in Malayagiri's Commentary, which I may mention here, as it seems to bear on the question under notice. Weber (in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 273) quotes another remark of that writer : *bahuvachanam prákṛitatvád, uktam cha* "*bahuvayaṇe* (°*yaṇeṇa ?*) *duvayaṇam*" *iti ; i. e.,* "(the use of) the plural is (accountable) by Prákrit usage, for it is said that 'the dual (is to be expressed) by the plural.'" Compare with this Chaṇḍa's rule in sútra II, 12, with its commentary.* But the curious fact is that in the marginal

* Hemachandra has a similar rule in III, 130, but his grammatical terminology is different (*dvivachanasya bahuvachanam*) and seems to have been taken from Vararuchi VI, 63.

gloss of MS. C, specimens of which are appended to the text in this edition, that sútra of Chaṇḍa is always quoted in nearly the same Prákrit transliteration as in Malayagiri, though all other sútras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, *e. g.*, the footnote to *sakkisáṇá* in II, 1., and the footnote to *dvitvam* in II, 12. I suppose it can hardly be doubtful, but that the writer of the marginal gloss really meant Chaṇḍa's sútra by his Prákrit quotation; and if so, the same Prákrit quotation in Malayagiri must refer to the same sútra (of Chaṇḍa). Perhaps the fact shows that Chaṇḍa's Grammar was originally written in Prákrit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jaina Prákrit works; but that a few of his sútras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prákrit form, and were preferentially quoted in that form. Still after all has been said, the evidence remains of a very slender kind. Perhaps all that can be safely asserted is, that it is not impossible, that those two writers were speaking of Chaṇḍa's Prákṛita Lakshaṇa.

In preparing the following edition I have had the assistance of four MSS. which I have distinguished as A, B, C and D respectively.

MSS. A and B are the property of Dr. Rájendralála Mitra of Calcutta, who very kindly placed them at my service. They are mentioned by Dr. Mitra on p. xix, of the Appendix to Vol. III, Part II, No. IX, of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* (Calcutta, 1875). They were by him supposed to be only one MS.; but on coming into my hands, I was very agreeably surprised to discover that they really were two distinct and (as a glance at the variae lectiones and appendices will at once show) independent MSS. of the same work. Both are quite modern copies (bearing date 1875, Samvat 1931). Of the originals, I regret, I have not been able to obtain a sight. Dr. Mitra informs me that they were in the possession of a Paṇḍit in Lucknow, who has since died; but that he has not seen them himself. It would have been of great importance to have been able to consult the originals. The copies are clearly written, but they abound in errors. Some of these are mere clerical errors which offer no difficulty; others again appear to be merely the peculiarities of Jain orthography, somewhat exaggerated by being translated into the ordinary Nágarí characters of the North West Provinces. I shall explain these peculiarities further on. Both MSS. A and B are complete, written on paper and consisting of nine small oblong leaves, with nine lines to the page.

MS. C is a very excellent MS., beautifully, carefully and almost faultlessly written. It is on paper and consists of thirteen leaves, with nine lines to the page. It was lent to me by my friend, Paṇḍit Ráma Miśra Śástrí, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Sanskrit College at Benares. It belongs to one of his students, a Jain by religion, and a native of Koḍáyá in Kachchh (W. India). It was copied by the latter for his own use, which accounts for its

excellent execution. It is said to have been copied from a very old MS., 400 years old; with how much of truth, I am unable to say, my efforts to obtain it being baffled by the usual plea of its owner having died. The MS. is complete; and has the peculiarity of being supplied with a very copious marginal gloss, written in very close lines and extremely small letters on the margin and, here and there, between the lines of the text. This gloss, however, only extends as far as the 27th sútra of the IInd chapter. Whether this is owing to the original MS. having had no more of it, or the student who copied it, failing to complete his transcript, does not appear.* The marginal gloss is chiefly of use inasmuch as it supplies Sanskrit translations of all Prákrit examples and quotations; it also well illustrates the manner of the native grammarians in applying grammatical rules to the explanations of word-forms. For these reasons I have added a few extracts from it in the footnotes, appended to the text and preceding the critical apparatus. The MS. C bears no date; but, of course, it must be of quite modern origin.

MS. D belongs to myself. It was given to me by my friend Paṇḍit Ráma Miṣra, the same gentleman who procured for me MS. C. It is a very fair MS., though not so good as C. It is clearly and carefully written; but it is not without mistakes, which, however, being obvious clerical errors,† are of no account and, therefore, have generally not been noticed in the critical footnotes. It is on paper and consists of nineteen leaves, with six lines to every page. It is a quite modern copy, of 1876, which Paṇḍit Ráma Miṣra caused to be prepared for me from an old MS. in the possession of a Paṇḍit, resident in some village in the State of Alwar. This original MS. also I have been unable to procure, on account of the death in the meantime of its owner!

The orthography of all the four MSS. exhibits the peculiarities of what has been called the Jaina Prákrit.‡ MS. C is written in the Jaina

* The very curious error, noted on p. 13 (तिष्ठति) made me at first inclined to look upon the gloss as a mere modern addition, possibly made by the student himself. But the fact, that one of its remarks with reference to sútra I, 13 occurs as part of the text in MS. D, renders this improbable. In any case, the author of it cannot have been a very learned paṇḍit; though for that matter, the author of the text itself, as contained in C, does not show very favourably. See, *e. g.*, the clumsy way in which sútra CD I, 6*a* is drawn.

† Thus गुरुणं for गुरूणं, गिरिणं for गिरीणं, I, 5; Sanskrit जेषां for येषां in I, 3, etc.

‡ They rather seem to be the peculiarities of the Western Indian style of writing generally. I have noticed them in other than Jain writings; *e. g.*, in the MSS. of the Prithirája Rasau. Most Jaina writings are from Western India. On Jaina Prákrit orthography, see Weber *Bhagavati*, pp. 383-392, E. Müller, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina Prákrit*, pp. 11, 29, 30, Jacobi, *Kalpa Sútra*, pp. 17-21, Klatt, *Dhanapála's Ṛishabha*



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FACSIMILES OF MSS. LETTERS.

Prákrit style; MS. D also, but not so uniformly. MSS. A and B are written in the ordinary Nágarí of Eastern Hindústán, but they show unmistakeable traces of having been copied from originals written in the Jaina or western style. These orthographic peculiarities (see Plate) may be divided into two classes, graphic and phonetic. To the former belong

1. The symbol No. 1 (in the Plate) for *o*. In MS. C this is always carefully distinguished from उ *u*. MS. D in a few cases confuses them.* But in A and B they are not only perpetually confused, but sometimes even ऊ (*ú*) or ऊँ (*ur*) is written; thus showing that the copyists had no notion of the meaning of that Jaina symbol.

2. In MS. C *u* in conjunction with certain consonants has a peculiar shape. See Nos. 2—7.

3. The two symbols Nos. 8 or 9 for *jh* and No. 10 for *ḍ* are always carefully distinguished in C; but are much confounded in D. The ordinary Nágarí symbol ड *ḍ*, however, is also occasionally used in D; in C it is the usual one.

4. The substitute ष for ख, so common in modern writing, never occurs in C and D. In B it is found once; *viz.*, III, 15 षक्कहाः for खक्कहाः. On the other hand, MS. A has once the very unusual substitute ख for ष; *viz.* III, 14 पाखाण for पाषाण.

5. The use of the symbols ब *b* and व *v* is very uncertain. Thus C has in juxtaposition *besuṃ* and *vesu* (I, 3), *behiṃ* and *vehi* (I, 1), *bahú* (I, 3) and vahúe (I, 9). MS. D has *ribú* and *rivuṃ* (I, 3), *gávi* and *gábi* (II, 16), &c. On the whole C follows the Sanskrit use, while D prefers *v*. MSS. A and B are no less uncertain; thus A has *vuddhí* and *buddhíu* (I, 10), *gábie* and *gávihiṃ* (II, 16); B has *behinto* (I, 13), and *vehiṃ* (I, 7), &c. On the whole B prefers *v*.† As it was necessary to observe some system, I have followed MS. C in being guided by Sanskrit usage.

6. There is also much uncertainty in the use of the symbols स *s* and ष *ṣ*; though more so in A and B, than C and D. In C the confusion occurs rarely; *e. g.*, *sílaṃ* (I, 30), and commonly Sanskrit *súra*. In D it is much more frequent; *e. g.*, *ṣaṣi* for *ṣasi* (I, 22); *ṣmasánaṃ* for *ṣmaṣánaṃ*, *sírshaḥ* for *ṣírshaḥ*. &c. In A and B it is very common; thus in A and B, *ṣese*, *haṃse* *pasuta* for *ṣeṣe*, *haṃṣe*, *paṣutta*, (IV, 39); in A *tíṣaṇhaṃ* for *tísaṇhaṃ* (I, 6). The substitution of *s* for *ṣ* is much more common than the reverse.

7. The symbols Nos. 11 or 12 for *kkh* often occur in D. In A and B

Panchásiká in J. G. O. S., vol. XXXIII, pp. 447, 448, also Stevenson, *Kalpa Sútra*, pp. 137-143.

* Once D writes डो for *o*.

† Curiously enough, when B has *b*, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words; *e. g.*, *bayamu* for *vayam* (I, 3), *beti kim* (III 7), *barga* (III, 17), *barṇa* (III, 25).

these symbols are Nos. 13 and 14.* C always has the usual Nágarí symbol क्ख, which also occurs twice in A. In a few cases A B D write simply ख; C never.

8. The symbol ग्ग for *gg* is very common in the marginal gloss, though not in the text, of C. Once or twice it occurs in D. Otherwise the ordinary Nágarí form ग्ग is used. In the originals of A and B, however, it must have been almost universal. The copyists evidently did not know it; for they commonly write it as ग्न *gn* or ग्ज *gj*, see Nos. 15 and 16. Only once does A give the correct transcription ग्ग, in *aggissa* (I, 13).

9. The symbols, No. 17 for *chchh* and No. 18 for *tth*, are generally distinguished in C; there are only two exceptions, *viz.*, *echchhu* for *etthu* (I, 11) and *patthaṁ* for *pachchhaṁ* (III, 26). D uses the ordinary Nágarí symbol च्छ for both *chchh* and *tth*; thus pachchhaṁ = Skr. *pathyaṁ* and *pachchho* for *pattho* = Skr. *párthaḥ* in III, 26. A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary Nágarí च्छ *chchh* and त्थ *tth*; though the commonly write merely छ *chh* in the place of च्छ *chchh*. On the other hand C and D commonly write No. 17 and च्छ respectively in the place of छ *chh*.

10. The symbol of *jj* is No. 20 or 21, correctly transcribed in A and B by ज्ज.

11. The symbols Nos. 22—26 or Nos. 27 and 28 for *jjh* are used in C and D. The copyists of A and B, not understanding the former, variously transcribe it by Nos. 29—36.

12. The symbol ड्ड for *ṭṭh* is commonly used by A, B, D; rarely ट्ठ or ड्ढ. C has always ट्ठ. Similarly the symbols ड्ढ or ढ्ढ for *ḍḍh* are commonly used by all four MSS. I may here add the general remark, that conjuncts consisting of the unaspirate and aspirate of the same class, are treated with great laxity, as regards *writing* them; though, doubtlessly, they were always *pronounced* correctly (according to the rules Ch. III, 26. Vr. III, 51. H. C. II, 90). Thus hard aspirate conjuncts might be written in three ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its unaspirate. A sonant aspirate conjunct might even be written in four ways: either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or the aspirate preceded by the hard unaspirate, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its sonant unaspirate. Examples of nearly each of these varieties may be found in the four MSS. of Chanda. I have met with every one of them in the MSS. of the Prithiráj Rasau. Thus the symbol No. 37 is strictly *pbh*, while Nos. 38 or 39 are *bbh*. Similarly Nos. 13 and 14 (in the Prithiráj क्ख) are strictly *khkh*, while Nos. 11 and 12 are *kkh*.

13. The symbols ख, ख, ध, घ, are often confounded in A and B, showing that the copyists were imperfectly acquainted with the orthography of the

* The former are to be seen in Weber's *Bhagavatí*, Plate I, lines 6 and 8 (*dukkhâṇaṁ*). The latter were in MS. W of the Prákṛita Prakáśa, as noted by Cowell, p. 90, (sutra 20).

originals. It may be observed that, as a rule, ध *dh* is a mistake for च *chch* and ध *gh* for व *vv*; thus the former occurs in A सधिय (II, 17) for सचिय, B साध (III, 9) for साच; the latter in B पर्घतः (III, 9) for पर्व्वतः. The occasional use of क्ख or च्छ for च्च is peculiar to D; *e. g.*, कक्खं for कच्चं (III, 2), पुच्छो for पुच्चो (C D III, 15*a*).

14. The symbol No. 39 is used by C for *bbh* and *mbh*. MS. D has No. 38; and A B have Nos. 29, 40 and 41.

15. The mis-spelled symbol ह्म *hm* occurs very frequently in B and D. In A it is very rare; in C it never occurs.

16. The symbol म् or मु is very commonly written in A and B, in the place of an anusvára, at the end of a phrase or sentence (see footnote to I, 1); never in C and D. In A the class nasal is not unfrequently written instead of the usual anusvára, in conjuncts; *e. g.*, *lingañcha* (I, 2), *hiñcha* (I, 17), *tumandevo* (I, 19), *kinte* (I, 23), *jalanti* (I, 12), *vambhaṇá* (II, 12), &c.

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prákrit observable in the MSS. are two:

1. The presence of the dental न *n*. In MSS. A and B, न, whether single or conjunct, is always used when standing at the beginning of a word, and almost always when in the middle of a word. In MSS. C and D, न is every where changed to ण, in accordance with the commoner Prákrit usage (see Vr. II, 42). This is rather a strange circumstance, seeing that the two MSS. C and D otherwise exhibit, in many ways, a more distinctly Jain character than A and B; compare, *e. g.*, their introductory salutation, and their additions in sútra I, 5.*

2. The so-called *ya-śruti*, *i. e.*, the insertion of an euphonic य *y* between two vowels, the latter of which must be *a*, while the preceding may be any one. This rule, however, is not uniformly observed in the MSS.

The text presented in these four MSS. differs very greatly. The most obvious difference is in extent, as will be seen at once from the relative size of the MSS. and from the list of sútras appended to this edition. The MSS. may be divided into two classes. The text of A and B is substantially the same, so is that of C and D; but while the former MSS. contain 99 sútras divided into three chapters, the latter extend to 126 and 128 sútras distributed into four chapters. The owner of A and B, who however had not examined his MSS., expressed a suspicion that they were fragmentary.† On first receiving them, I was myself inclined to think, that they contained a mutilated text. But further examination soon showed me, not only that A and B contained a complete, but that, in fact, they contained an older and a more original

* For a possible reason of this circumstance, see below p. xxiv.

† See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, November 1878.

text than C and D; that of the latter two MSS. being a much later, rearranged and enlarged, recension of the text of A and B. I shall here describe some of the most striking points of evidence: others will be noticed in the foot-notes to the English translation.

In the first place, as to the originality of the text of A and B. The order of the Sútras I, 19, 20, 21 in A and B is consistent, while their order I, 19, 21, 20 in C and D is inconsistent and necessitates an unusual interpretation of the term *cha* "also" in sútra I, 20. The word *cha* "also", used as a grammatical technical term, has a well-known and well-defined meaning. It always refers to the preceding rule and implies that what is mentioned there is *also* applicable to the rule in which *cha* occurs. Thus in MS. A and B, sútra I, 19 तुमं सौ सविभत्तौ is followed by I, 20 अमि तुए च. The term च in the latter indicates, that the form तुमं mentioned in the former is *also* to be understood in the latter. The Revisionists, however, in order to dispose of all sútras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accusative, change the order of the sútras, placing them thus: I, 19. तुमं सौ सविभत्तौ, I, 21 तुम्हे जसि, I, 20 अमि तुए च. But when the sútras are thus placed, the term च would imply that तुम्हे of the preceding sútra is also to be understood in the last sútra. As this result would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists actually *insert* into the last sútra the forms, which ought to be indicated by च as *understood*, and, therefore, alter the sútra to अमि तुए तुमं तं च (see App. C D, p. 41), so that here च does not refer to a preceding sútra but to a part of the sútra itself in which it occurs! There could hardly be a clearer piece of evidence as to which of the two texts is the original.

Again the omission of the sútra III, 10 in C and D disturbs the originally consistent plan on which the third chapter is drawn in A and B, and consequently necessitates in C and D a very inconsistent use of the sibilant स् *s* in the sútras of that chapter. According to the plan of A and B in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sútras (III, 1—9); the remaining sútras (III, 11—39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants; the intermediate sútra (III, 10) is intended to indicate this division.* In the first part (III, 1—9), all conjuncts are reduced to single consonants, by eliding, in some way or other, all consonants of the conjunct save one. Having thus simplified the problem, so as to have none but single consonants (whether original or resultant) to deal with, Chaṇḍa next proceeds in the second part (III, 11—39) to enumerate the manifold changes

* No other division of the consonants, so far as these sútras are concerned, is recognised; it makes no difference, whether the conjunct or single consonant is medial or initial; or whether the single consonant is one which was originally single or has only become so as the result of the simplification of a conjunct consonant.

that the single consonants (no matter, whether original or resultant) may undergo. Now in the second part Chaṇḍa rules that every *single* ष ṣ or श *sh* changes to स *s* in Prákrit (III, 18); so that as regards *single* consonants, स *s* represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chaṇḍa has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of स *s*. Thus we have sútra III, 14 शकारस्य खछहाः, illustrated by दृश = दृच्छ; again sútra III, 39 मागधिकायां रसयोर् लशौ, illustrated by शेषः = शेसे = शेशे.* Here ष *ṣ* and श *sh* are indicated by स *s*, because by sútra III, 18 they are no more ष ṣ and श *sh*, but have been already changed to स *s*; that is, दृश = दृस = दृच्छ, and शेषः = सेसे = शेशे.* This procedure, of course, could not be applied to the first part (III, 1—9) which treats of *conjuncts* and which is not affected by sútra III, 18. In that part, स *s* cannot represent the whole sibilant class; for there the three Sanskrit sibilants, *as such*, become the subjects of change. In the first part, therefore, either all three sibilants must be enumerated severally whenever the sibilant class is spoken of, or some other short sign for them must be adopted. Chaṇḍa elected the latter course, and the sign he selected appears to have been the sibilant ष ṣ; most probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (ष, श, स). Thus in sútra III, 2 श्रवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं, ष represents स in स्वर्ग = सग्गं, and ष in श्रोतव्यं = सोतव्वं. That is, व *v* and र *r* are respectively elided after स *s* and ष ṣ; next स *s* and ष ṣ, having now become single consonants, pass into the second part, where ष ṣ at once comes under the operation of rule III, 18 and turns into स *s*; while स *s*, of course, remains unchanged.† I think it will be admitted that in this arrangement Chaṇḍa follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sútra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts; and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making sûtra III, 18 applicable to the whole third chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of ष ṣ and स *s*. Consequently they use स *s* throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants ष ṣ and श *sh* practically do not exist, having at once changed to स *s*.

* It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दृस and सेसे are here introduced by a silent reference to sútra III, 18. Such "silent references" occur in all Prákrit Grammarians. As an instance from Hemachandra, I may mention his sútra I, 259, where he rules that the *v* of *svapna* becomes *m*; but in reality the *p* of *svapna*, having become *v* by silent reference to sútra I, 231, becomes *m*. That the *p*, not the *v*, of *svapna* is referred to in I, 259, may be seen by comparing the sútras I, 46 and II, 108.

† The whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sútra III, 23, but though that sútra is in the second part, the sibilants are referred to there, not as *single* consonants, but as parts of a *conjunct*. Hence, naturally, the sibilant used to indicate them is not स *s*, but ष ṣ.

Thus C D read सवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं in sútra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example श्रोतव्यं = सोतव्वं; that is, they make स *s* to indicate श्र *ś*, because, according to them, श्रोतव्यं changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into स्रोतव्यं; whereupon र *r* is elided by rule III, 2. This process, no doubt, simplifies the original method, by substituting one sign for the sibilant class in the place of two; but it does so at the expense of all symmetry and consistency of the original plan; for with the exception of those two sútras III, 10 and III, 18, all others are still treated as if the original plan of the division into two parts, referring to conjuncts and singles respectively, were still in force. This inconsistency becomes especially glaring in the case of sútra III, 8 षाट् टः, which, on the revisionist principle, ought to have been changed to साट् टः. For just as in the previous case श्रोतव्यं becomes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, स्रोतव्यं, so here स्पष्टं becomes by the same rule स्फष्टं; next स *s* would be elided. So that, consistently, स *s* should here have been written to represent ष *sh*. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sútra षाट् टः is correct; it could not have been spelled श्राट् टः, because the sibilant ष *sh* is the only (*conjunct*) sibilant to which the rule applies. Briefly, the matter as between Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists stands thus: Chaṇḍa uses श् *s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever the rule is applicable to all the sibilants severally; hence when the rule applies to only one member of the sibilant class, he cannot use श् *s*, but must use that member itself. On the other hand, he uses स *s* to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever ex hypothesi (that is, by silent reference to rule III, 18) no longer any other sibilant, but स *s*, is supposed to exist. This terminology, however, presupposes and necessitates the division of the chapter into two parts, which I have already explained. The Revisionists abolish the division and accept only the latter half of Chaṇḍa's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than स) as an indicatory in any sútra; for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but स *s*, is supposed to exist. The matter is complicated; but I trust I have succeeded in making it sufficiently clear. Perhaps a complete understanding of the point at issue will not be attainable, unless by practically working through the examples, as I have done, by the light of either of the rival theories. Unfortunately the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty of the spelling in the MSS. A and B. How little reliance can be placed on their spelling may be seen from the fact, that MS. B spells लसो for लश्रो in sútra III, 39. I must reserve the discussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored श *ś* in all sútras, in which the original plan of Chaṇḍa requires it; *i. e.*, in III, 2. 4. 6. 23.*

* The only two Prákrit Grammarians, who, to my knowledge, use a *sanjñá* or sign for the sibilant class are Trivikrama and Ṣubhachandra. The former uses ष् *ṣu* (T. V.

Next, as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS., the wording of sútra III, 34 in MSS. A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prákrit language, than the wording of the same sútra in MSS. C and D; and this circumstance is confirmed by sútras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sútra III, 34 in A and B, but not with that in C and D. It is further confirmed by the omission in A and B of all reference to the (so-called) Ṣaurasení dialect, that is, by the omission of sútra III, 39*a* which refers to one of the most incisive differences between that dialect and the (so-called) Máháráshṭrí; a difference which, at the period of the formulation of the rules as they are in the text of A B, evidently did not yet exist, while it was fully developed at the time when the text of C D was settled. A comparison of sútra III, 34 with III, 12 and of III, 13 with III, 11 shows that at that period when the text delivered in A B was written, hard medial single unaspirate consonants were not elided, nor hard medial single aspirates reduced to ह *h* (with the exception of क *k* and ख *kh*), though occasionally the former were changed into the corresponding soft consonants. On the other hand a comparison of those sútras, as they stand in A B, with the same sútras, as C D have them, shows that at the period, when the text contained in C D was written, all unaspirate consonants (exc. ड *ḍ* and ट *ṭ*), whether surd or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether surd or sonant (exc. palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to ह *h*. I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sútras II, 1*a*, 1*b*, 1*c*, the texts of C and D are nearly identical. There is a much greater difference between the texts of A and B. The latter (MS. B) contains some additional matter, one part of which is peculiar to B, while the other it has in common with C and D. On the other hand, A has nothing in common with C D, which does not also occur in B. Though, therefore, the texts of A and B are substantially the same, yet B occupies a slightly intermediate position between A on the one hand, and C D on the other. The general result, thus, is that the original grammar of Chaṇḍa presents a very old phase of the Prákrit language, and that the MS. A contains that grammar in its oldest and most genuine form; but that this grammar has undergone at various periods, more (in C D) or less (in B) thorough-going revisions.

I, 1, 7.); the latter has ष्प (Ṣ. C. I, 1. 7). Chaṇḍa's *sanjñá* ष्प *ṣa* is perhaps somewhat anomalous; for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add *u* or *varga* to a consonant, in order to form a *sanjñá* (*e. g.*, कु or कवर्ग for the guttural class). This may have been one of the reasons for the alteration of the Revisionists. But it is possible that Chaṇḍa's sign may really have been ष्प or ष्प; in sútra III, 4, MS. B reads सो, which may be an error for सो (ष्पो); and ष्पो would be the locative of ष्प or ष्प; see the footnote to translation of sútra III, 4.

If that had been all, there would not have been much reason for complaint. Unfortunately, the Revisionists have not been content with merely revising or rather recasting and enlarging Chaṇḍa's grammar; but while leaving the framework, as it were, of the rules of Chaṇḍa untouched, they have attempted to adjust his grammar to a later phase of the language, by altering the spelling of the Prákrit words and forms, occurring in it, so as to bring them in agreement with that later phase. The result in some cases is very ludicrous. Thus according to Chaṇḍa's rule III, 11 थ *th* changes to ध *dh*; by way of illustration the Revisionists make नाथः *náthaḥ* to change into नाहो *náho*. Again according to the rule III, 34 च *ch*, त *t*, प *p* are not elided; by way of illustration we have सुई *suí* for शुचिः *śuchiḥ*, वाओ *váo* for वातः *vátaḥ*, नेउरं *neuraṁ* for नूपुरं *núpuraṁ*, in direct defiance of rule III, 12. The ignoring of these three rules, indeed, has been consistently carried out throughout the grammar.* It was impossible to print the text together with all these inconsistencies; and it became necessary to restore the original text, as far as it could be done with safety.

In reference to some of the most important cases of restoration, I shall now explain the reasons that have guided me. In the case of others of minor importance my reasons for preferring a particular spelling will be found in the footnotes to the English translation. One important case of restoration regarding the sibilants has been already explained (see pp. IX, X). With regard to these restorations, though I conceive that they could not be avoided in a scientific edition of the text and though I have given, of course, what after mature consideration of all relevant circumstances, appeared to me to have the greatest probability, I can well foresee, and there is undoubtedly room for, difference of opinion. But considering the difficulties of the case, perhaps I may venture to hope an indulgent consideration of the results such as they are. A more generally satisfactory settlement of the text must wait for more and better MSS., especially of the older text, or for a more competent editor than myself.†

* Another instance is sútra II, 10, according to which the nominative singular of *i*-bases should end with a short *i*; but one of the examples given is *buddhí* for *buddhi*. Similarly according to sútras I, 3 and I, 7 the instrumental plural in Prákrit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the exception of Sansk. *bhis* becoming Prák. *hi*; the examples, however, are *aggíhi*, *mahúhi* for *aggihi*, *mahuhi* = Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, *madhubhiḥ*. See the further remarks in the Sketch of Chaṇḍa's Grammar.

† As to the possibility or probability of such revisions of old texts by later hands, I may quote Jacobi's remarks in his Introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa sútra (p. 4), "it has been considered as a proof of the priority of Buddhism that Páli is a more archaic language than the Prákrit of the Jainas. The fact is true, but it proves nothing. For the form of the Jaina sútras was fixed only one thousand years after Mahávíra's death. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the language of the sútras underwent great alterations in consequence of the natural tendency

(1). With regard to my restoration in the text of the surd consonants, my reasons were briefly the following :—

First.—There is (as already noticed on p. xi) the direct evidence of sútras III, 11 and 34, which, admitting only the elision of *k* and reduction of *kh*, by implication enjoins the retention of the other surds.

Second.—The most authentic information that we have as to the state of the oldest Indian Vernacular, in rock-inscriptions, &c., shows that, *as a rule*, the surd consonants were retained, while the sonants might be elided; precisely what Chaṇḍa's rules III, 12, 34 indicate.

Third.—It will be seen from the critical footnotes to the text, that the MSS. A and B in a few cases still retain an original त *t*. Thus in II, 26 A B read भे छतं । त्वया छतं ॥ Originally, I think, the example must have stood भे कतं । त्वया छतं ॥ The copyist, not recognising कतं as a Prákrit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into छतं. The Revisionists of C and D, on the other hand, recognising the old Prákrit form कतं, but objecting to it on the score of obsoleteness, changed it into the correct later Prákrit form कयं. This appears much more probable than to assume that the scribe of A and B, finding कदं (or even कयं) in his original, changed it into छतं. On this view, it must be admitted that the Revisionists of A and B, while carrying through their modernisation of the spelling of their text, occasionally overlooked a word and left it standing in its old dress. That, however, is nothing to be wondered at. To us it is a cause of congratulation, as it helps restoring the original text.

Fourth.—Even as regards the Revisionists of C and D; it is easier to understand their modernizing, *e. g.*, कतं into कयं, than कदं; for though कतं could not possibly have been later Prákrit, कदं might have been so. If they had found कदं or अच्छदि (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prákrit is not altogether unknown; but if they found कतं or अच्छति, they could not do otherwise but change it into कयं and अच्छइ, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day.

Fifth.—Chaṇḍa's rules merely state facts as facts, without defining the range of their applicability; some of the rules are compulsory, others are not so; but whether they are or are not so, does not appear on the face of the rule. Thus rule III, 16, although it might appear so at first sight, is undoubtedly not compulsory; it enjoins the change of न *n* to ण *ṇ*; but as a matter of fact, an initial न *n* never changes to ण *ṇ*, and even a medial न *n* does so only in comparatively exceptional cases. The rule, in fact, states an *exceptional* fact; but as it *is* a fact, the fact is duly noticed, though no intimation is given as to

of those who handed down the sútras by oral tradition or writing to substitute current idioms for antiquated forms," see also *ibidem*, pp. 19, 20, also pp. 15, 16, 17.

its frequency, whether it is constant or only occasional.* The case of rule III, 12 is similar; it states several facts, some of which are exceptional, while others are nearly constant. Thus, in the face of rule III, 34, there can be little question, but that the change of क *k* to ग *g* was a comparatively exceptional occurrence; on the other hand the change of ट *ṭ* to ड *ḍ* must have been comparatively constant. It follows, therefore, that, as to the change of त *t* to द *d*, and of प *p* to व *v*, the rule does not necessarily imply invariability. What the amount of its frequency may have been, must be judged from other considerations; and for the reasons given under Nos. 2, 3, 4, it seems to me, that the change must have been a comparatively exceptional one, *i. e.*, as a rule त *t* and प *p* were retained. On the other hand, the retention of क *k* must have been comparatively exceptional; as a rule it was elided or, less frequently, changed to ग *g*.

Sixth.—In sútra II, 22 there is an undesigned coincidence which very strikingly proves the truth of my restorations. Among the substitutes of *vat* "like", there is also mentioned *jahá*. Now *jahá* is clearly the same as the Sanskrit *yathá*. If at the time of the language of the Grammar, it had been the universal practice to reduce a surd aspirated थ *th* to ह *h*, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word *jahá* for particular notice. But if थ *th* at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to ध *dh*, then *jahá* would at once become an exceptional form requiring particular notice. The Revisionists when remodelling Chaṇḍa's grammar and reducing (according to the practice of their day) every *th* to *h*, failed to notice the inconsistency of permitting *jahá* to remain in the sútra. Not so Hemachandra; he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sútra into his grammar (see H. C. II, 182), omitted *jahá*.†

There is, in sútra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chaṇḍa the surd unaspirates were not usually subject to elision. In that sútra it is ruled that the Sanskrit *iti* "thus" changes in Prákrit to *iya*. If it had been usual at that time to elide all surd unaspirates, there would have been no need to say anything more in the sútra than that the

* The rule also enjoins the change of the dental consonants into palatal or cerebral. As it occurs in that part of the grammar which applies to single consonants, the rule as it stands would seem to apply to *all* single dental consonants. As a matter of fact, however, it has a very limited range and chiefly applies to such single dental consonants as had originally formed part of a particular compound. This circumstance is, no doubt, connected with the peculiar plan on which Chaṇḍa's Grammar is drawn, and which has been briefly noticed on p. VIII and will be fully explained afterwards in the Analysis of his Grammar.

† This is one of the indications (of which some more will be noticed afterwards) of the posteriority of Hemachandra to Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists.

final *i* of *iti* changes to *a*. Now this is precisely what Hemachandra in his grammar (see H. C. I, 91) does. In his time, it had long since become usual to elide a medial त *t*; accordingly, seeing that Chaṇḍa's sútra stated more than was needed, he reformulated it so as to omit what was superfluous. Chaṇḍa's Revisionists, however, were again, *more suo*, not so wise as Hemachandra, but allowed Chaṇḍa's sútra to keep its original wording.

It is much to be regretted that the Revisionists did not always act with such inconsistency. But though in a few cases, and those not unimportant ones, it can hardly be doubted but that they did venture to tamper with the sútras,* yet happily as a rule they contented themselves with the less objectionable process of only remodelling the commentary.

Seventh.—Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that Chaṇḍa spelled his words with the hard unaspirates. In later times, as is known from Vararuchi and Hemachandra, hard dentals (त) were, as a rule, elided, while hard labials (प) were generally softened (व). Accordingly one would expect the revision of Chaṇḍa, made by the authors of C and D, to conform to the later practice. On examination, it will be found that that is so. I have counted all cases of hard unaspirates in that portion of Chaṇḍa which is common to all four MSS. There are altogether 50 instances of the hard dental (त); among these, C D elide it 47 times, soften it twice and retain it once.† Of the hard labial (प) there are 10 cases; among these C D elide it only once, in the remaining nine cases they soften it (to व).‡ But further, having thus changed the original spelling, the Revisionists could not help observing that the result was inconsistent with the express rule III, 34 of the grammar they were revising. Hence to allow of their eliding the hard dentals (and the hard unaspirates

* These are, strictly speaking, only sútras I, 16, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS. agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sútras, my restored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS.; thus, of B in sútra I, 21 and in III, 23, of A B in I, 19, 20, II, 14, 19, 21, III, 2, 13, 22, 34.

† The softenings are, कदं in the special sútra III, 11 and हवदि in the Mágadhí sútra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the sútra. The retention is in पलातं in sútra I, 23. A retains त in 4 cases (I, 23, II, 2, 26. III, 39), and B in 5 cases (I, 23. II, 26. III, 9. 23. 39). These retentions are doubtlessly mere oversights.

‡ The solitary case of elision is नेउरं, which I am inclined to think a very old exceptional case; perhaps already existing in Chaṇḍa's time. It is however worth noting, that C spells नेवुरं in II, 4 (confirmed by the marginal gloss); though it has नेउरं in III, 34. In one case (पुनर् अपि II, 10) D retains प; so also A once (रूपं I, 17); these are probably more oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains ख (III, 3), and A B once retain ठ (I, 3 पौठं). [N. B.—पुणरवि in the Text, p. 16, is a misprint for पुणरपि.]

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that sûtra (compare the terms of sûtra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sûtra in the Text); and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (प) notwithstanding the revised terms of sûtra III, 34, they further altered the terms of sûtra III, 22 (from यवयोर् व्यत्यासः to पवयोर् व्य॰) and inserted an altogether new sûtra (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sûtras. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists; compare H. C. I, 177, 231, and Vr. II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of sûtra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sûtra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sûtra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *kh* in sûtra III, 13 and subsuming it under sûtra III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*; thus, in the examples of sûtra III, 11, they change both थ *th* and ख *kh* to ह *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *kh* in sûtra III, 13 is superfluous; accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it; they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of sûtra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sûtra III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order; compare H. C. I, 187, 236 and Vr. II, 27, 26.

(2). Another restoration is the form *tumbhe* in sûtra I, 21. Here C and D read *tumhe jasi*. That *tumhe* cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3, I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the sûtra. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbhe* and B reads *tumbhe;* but in sûtra I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbhe* and B *tumbhe*. Chaṇḍa cannot possibly have written the same word in both sûtras; that would be contrary to the whole genius of sûtra-writing; if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but *one* sûtra: *tubbhe* (or *tumbhe*) *jaṣṣasoḥ*. In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS. A and B the conjuncts *mbh*, *bbh* and *jjh* are perpetually confused; the two symbols भ्ब or भ्भ* being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells सिभ्भा for

* Once or twice also म्ब and म्भ; those are clearly only due to careless writing.

सिम्भा III, 2, जिम्भा for जिब्भा III, 1, वम्भो for वब्भो III, 20; सम्भावं for सब्भाव III, 8, मम्म for मज्झ I, 30. There is a simple explanation for this confusion. In the Jaina Prákrit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them.* There can be very little doubt, that the MSS. A and B were copied from an original MS. written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sútras I, 21 and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Nágarí symbol. Since however the two sútras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols. The question is, which were they, from among the three. As to sútra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy; it must have contained the symbol for *bbh*. For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sútra I, 22 (and also in [illegible]3 where the word re-occurs). On this point C and D may be trusted; the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters; the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing; and both C and D never confound the symbol for *bbh* with those for *jjh* or *mbh*. The case is more complicated as to sútra I, 21. Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have a different reading. Yet indirectly their reading *tumhe* declares for *tumbhe* having been the original one. For it is easier to conceive that *tumbhe* has been modified into *tumhe* than that *tujjhe* should have done so. Even at the present day *mh* and *mbh* constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars. In Hindí, *e. g.*, *thámhai* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thámbhai*. For these reasons I have adopted the spelling *tumbhe* in I, 21, and *tubbhe* in I, 22.

(3). For some important restorations in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in *i* and *u*, in the Sketch of Chaṇḍa's Grammar.

The subject of the restorations in Chaṇḍa's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar. If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chaṇḍa are correct, it would follow that his Prákrit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Páli. This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chaṇḍa's grammar. Here it will suffice to point out, that Chaṇḍa's Prákrit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Páli. It agrees

* The close resemblance of the symbol for *mbh* to those for *bbh* and *jjh* is strikingly shown in sútra III, 2, where C appears to read *sijjhá* and D *sibbhá* for *simbhá*.

with Páli, in retaining, as a rule, the surd consonants, aspirate and unaspirate; but it differs from Páli in eliding, as a rule, the sonant unaspirates and reducing to *h* the sonant aspirates; the surd gutturals being treated in both languages respectively after the analogy of the sonants. Still, if the MSS. may be trusted, there is one very striking instance in which Chaṇḍa's Prákrit represents an older phonetic stage than even Páli. This is the accusative singular of feminine nouns in *á*, *í* and *ú*, and of the first and second personal pronouns. Here Chaṇḍa's Prákrit agrees with Sanskrit in preserving the long vowel (see I, 3), while Páli as well as the later Prákrit shorten it; *e. g.*, Skr. and Ch. *gañgám*, but Pá. and Pr. *gañgaṁ*; Skr. *nadím*, Ch. *naím*, but Pá. *nadiṁ*, Pr. *naïṁ*; Skr. *mám* "me", Ch. *máṁ*, but Pá. *maṁ*, Pr. *maṁ*. Both Vararuchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prákrit (see Vr. V, 21. H. C. III, 36); so also Kachchayana for the Páli (see Kach. II, 1, 33, p. 49), while there is no trace of any such rule in Chaṇḍa; a fact which strongly makes for the correctness of the forms given in I, 3.*

It may now be asked, what language this old Prákrit of Chaṇḍa may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the *Árshaṁ* of Hemachandra (H. C. I, 2. IV, 287). By "ársha" Hemachandra understands the language, spoken (as he says) by the *Rishis*†, or (as he says in IV, 287) the *old* language. With regard to this Arsha Prákrit Hemachandra expressly states in his rule I, 3, that it cannot be brought under strict rules‡, and that all its rules are *permissive* only, not compulsory§. This exactly agrees with what I have had already occasion to point out (see p. XIII), that Chaṇḍa's rules are only permissive; *i. e.*, they merely state facts without defining their constancy or variability; they may or may not be acted upon according to circumstances which must be ascertained from other sources than the rule itself. Again after giving in IV, 287 the ordinary Mágadhí Prákrit rule, that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *e*, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old *(poráṇaṁ)* or ársha

* The rule Kach. II, 1, 33 does not apply to fem. nouns in *á*; those are provided for by rule II, 1, 32. Now Chaṇḍa's sútra II, 1 corresponds to Kach. II, 1, 32, and it might be supposed that Ch. II, 1 would similarly necessitate the shortening of *á*. That was evidently the opinion of the Revisionists of C D, who write *gañgam* and *tam*, but *naím*. But it is very improbable that in Chaṇḍa's Prakrit *í* should have remained long, while *á* was shortened. Either all three (*á*, *í*, *ú*) were shortened or none was shortened. Now that *í* and *ú* were not shortened, is admitted even by the Revisionists. The fact is, Ch. II, 1 is formulated so as to allow the very forms *gañgám*, *tvám*; for these are due to sandhi (*gangá + am*, *tva + am*).

† *Rshíṇám idam ársham.*

‡ H. C. I, 3. *ársham prákritam bahulam bhavati.*

§ H. C. I, 3. *árshe hi sarve vidhayo vikalpyante.*

Prákrit, in common with the Árddhamágadhí Prákrit which it follows, agrees with .the Mágadhí in regard to the termination of the nominative singular, but not in any other respect. Then he goes on to quote, as an example of the Árddhamágadhí, the phrase *kayare ágachchhaï* "which of the two has come." The *poráṇa* or *ársha* form of it would be, *katare ágachchhati.** Now this is the very example, which is given in Chaṇḍa's grammar, to illustrate his rule II, 10, that the nom. sing. may end in *e*. It would thus appear from Hemachandra's statement, that by the term *ársha* he understands that ancient *(poráṇa)* form of the Prákrit language which included what in his day was called the Árddhamágadhí, and which, while agreeing with the Mágadhí as regards the termination *e* of the nom. sing., but differing from it with regard to the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ś* (H. C. 4, 288) and some other minor points peculiar to Mágadhí, was in all other respects identical with the so-called Máhárâshṭrí. Or to put it in another way: Árddhamágadhí is the same as Máhárâshṭrí in all respects, except the nom. sing. in *e*, which peculiarity it shares with the Mágadhí; on the other hand Mágadhí is identical with Árddhamágadhí in all respects, except the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ś* (omitting minor points) which are peculiar to the former. If we now substitute the short name Ársha in the place of Árddhamágadhi *plus* Máhárâshṭrí (of which jointly the Ársha is simply the ancient form), we have an exact statement of the facts as represented in Chaṇḍa's Grammar. He speaks of four Prákrits, *viz.*, the Prákrit, the Mágadhí, the Paiśáchí and the Apabhraṃśa. He omits all mention of the so-called Máhárâshṭrí and Śaurasení; further his rules on *the* Prákrit substantially contain everything, commonly ascribed to the Máhárâshṭrí Prákrit, with the addition however of the nom. sing. in *e*; while he makes his Mágadhí to differ from his Prákrit with regard to the changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ś*. It thus seems to me very clear, that the Prákrit of Chaṇḍa is the *ársha* or ancient *(poráṇa)* form of the Árddhamágadhí, Máhárâshṭrí and Śaurasení.†

* Hemachandra's words are: *yad api "poráṇam addhamágahabhásániyayam havaï suttam" ity ádiná árshasya árdhamágadhabháshániyatatvam ámnáyi vṛddhais tad api práyo 'sya eva vidhánát, na vakshyamáṇalakshaṇasya; i. e.*, "what has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Árddhamágadhí,' that may be also understood of the present rule (viz. H. C. 4, 287), but of that rule only, not of the succeeding ones." Jacobi's interpretation of this important passage, if I understand it rightly, somewhat differs from mine; though the general tenor is the same. (See *Kalpa Sútra*, p. 17.) I do not think Jacobi has quite caught Hemachandra's meaning. Hemachandra does not wish to contradict the old tradition, but only guard his own grammar against a wrong interpretation of it. "Rightly understood", he means to say, "the old tradition confirms my grammar, for it refers only to the first rule, not to the whole of my chapter on Mágadhí."

† As a minor evidence of Chaṇḍa's Prákrit being the Árṣha, I may mention the

It would at the same time seem to be proved by Chaṇḍa's Grammar, that at that early period, the later division into Árddhamágadhí, Maháráshṭrí and Śauraseni probably did not yet exist; but that these three later subdivisions originally formed but one great language, which was looked upon as *the* (standard) Prákrit. By the side of this great or standard Prákrit, however, there existed two other Prákrits of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard Prákrit, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser Prákrits were the Mágadhí and the Apabhraṃśa. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of *r* and *s* to *l* and *ś* respectively; that of the latter was the retention of *r* as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the Prákrits in Chaṇḍa's time is very clearly shown by his Grammar (comp. III, 37, 39). The question is, is it possible to fix historically the time when that was the case. I believe we have in the language of the famous Rock-inscriptions of Aśoka the means of approximately fixing the date. I cannot do better than quote on this subject the remarks of General A. Cunningham in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I, p. 43.* "The Inscriptions of Aśoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B. C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was *essentially the same*† throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya, from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some *marked points of difference*, which show that there were *at least three distinct varieties* of Páli (or Prákrit) in the time of Aśoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the Panjábí or north-western dialect, the Ujjení or middle dialect, and the Mágadhí or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the Panjábí or the dialect of North-Western India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined *r*"; that of the Mágadhí or the eastern dialect is "the entire want of the letter *r*, for which *l* is uniformly substituted." (Corp. I. I. pp. 43, 44.) If we substitute Apabhraṃśa for General Cunningham's Panjábí, we have almost the very words of Chaṇḍa's Grammar. It would be, however, going too far, I think, to ascribe that Grammar to the third century B. C. Probably it was com-

fact, that certain forms which are expressly noted by Hemachandra as peculiar to the Árśa, are given as ordinary forms by Chaṇḍa; e. g., *kaṭṭu* II, 19, cf. H. C. II, 146; *suhumam* or *suhamam* III, 30, cf. H. C. II, 101, 113, etc.

* See, however, Lassen's similar remarks in his *Indian Antiquities*, vol. II, p. 221 (quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. II, pp. 109, 132).

† The italics in the extract are mine.

⊡ Inscriptions with *l* and *r*; and *e*

⊙ „ „ *l* „ „ *e*

⊡ „ „ *r*; „ *e*

□ „ „ *r*; „ *o*

△ „ „ Subjoint *r*; „ *o*

———— *Boundary of Eastern and Western Prâkrit*

..... „ *Subdivisions of* „ „

The numbers affixed to the names of the Inscriptions are their approximate dates B C, in round numbers

250 *Shahbazgarhi or Kapardagarhi* △

N

⊙ *Khalsi* 250

⊙ *Mirat* 220

⊙ *Delhi*

220 ⊡ *Bairat*

W

230 ⊙ *Lauriya*

Allahabad 220

C

200 *Bharhut* ⊡

220 ⊙ *Sahasaram*

⊙ *Baraibar* 250

230 *Sanchi* ⊡

Rupanath 230 ⊡

⊙ *Ramagarh*

E

250 *Girnar* □

100 *Deotek* □

M-K

190 *Khandagiri* □

250 *Dhauli*

250 ⊙ *Jaugada*

M S A K

MK = Mahâ Kosala

M = Mahârâshtra

A = Andhra

K = Kalinga

N = Northern India

W = Western India

C = Central India

E = Eastern India

S = Southern India

MAP
OF
INDIA
SHEWING THE
DISTRIBUTION
OF THE
PRAKRIT LANGUAGES
IN
B.C. 300—1.

Lith & Printed by W. Newman & Co

Calcutta.

posed at a somewhat later time; for the elision of the sonant unaspirates and the reduction to *h* of the sonant aspirates appear to have been a much more generally prevailing practice in the language of the time of Chaṇḍa, than in that of the time of Aṣoka, as exhibited in his Rock-inscriptions.*

As to the Paiṣáchí, mentioned by Chaṇḍa in III, 38, it is provided for by the term "at least" in the above quoted extract from General Cunningham's work. My view of the Paiṣáchí, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prákrit, as pronounced or rather mis-pronounced by the aboriginal population.

An attempt may now be made, with the help of the known localities of the Inscriptions, to approximately determine the boundaries of the areas, respectively occupied by the Prákrit languages, named by Chaṇḍa. One of the principal peculiarities of the Mágadhí or Eastern Prákrit, mentioned by Chaṇḍa, is the substitution of *l* for *r*.† This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Mirat, Lauriya, Sahasarám, Barábar, Rámagaṛh, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (see Map).‡ At Bairát, one inscription shows it, the other does not; and the same is the case at Allahábád. If, therefore, a line be drawn from Khalsi, southward to Bairát, thence eastward to Allahábád and again southward by Rámagaṛh to Jaugaḍa, that line will be the approximate boundary between the Eastern or Mágadhí, and the Western or Chaṇḍa's Standard Prákrit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prákrit, on the other hand, occupies the south-western half of Central India, the whole of Western India and an indefinite part of Southern India, probably down to the southern limits of the Mahárâshṭra, Andhra and Kalinga kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhraṃṣa Prákrit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Sháhbázgaṛhí Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chaṇḍa to that Prákrit, *viz.* the retention of the subjoined *r*. Further Chaṇḍa mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prákrit, the nominative singular sometimes ends with an *e*, sometimes with an *o*. Now the Inscriptions at Sanchi and Rúpanáth show the termination *e*, while

* Professor Jacobi, in the introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa Sútra, mentions another sign of the old vernacular, which appears to be borne out by Chaṇḍa's grammar. "A trace of a still older phase of the language (than Jaina Prákrit) is the optional insertion of a vowel between two consonants incapable of assimilation" (see p. 19, also p. 4). This seems to be indicated by Chaṇḍa's sútra III, 30.

† With regard to the other peculiarity of substituting the palatal ṣ for the dental *s*, the Inscriptions seem to give no evidence; except one of them at Rámagaṛh, which has ṣ throughout.

‡ This map is based on the frontispiece-maps in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, and his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I.

those of Girnár, Deotek and Khandagiri have *o*. Thus a line drawn from Bairát, in a south-easterly direction towards Deotek and thence eastward to the Mágadhí area, will approximately divide the *e*-area of the Western Prákrit from its *o*-area. The former of these two areas may be described as that of, what was afterwards called, the Árddhamágadhí Prákrit, because this Prákrit possesses the termination *e* in common with the Mágadhí. The other subdivisional area will, then, be that of, what in later times come to be called, the Máhárâshṭrí and Śaurasení Prákrits. The Paiśáchí must have been current in the southern half of Central India and in the whole of Southern India, in the wild regions to the north and south of the Vindhya range of mountains.

Another chronological question, on which the foregoing investigations throw some light, is that of the relative age of Chaṇḍa and his Revisionists with regard to the two other well-known Prákrit Grammarians, Vararuchi and Hemachandra. As regards the latter, I have already (p. xiv) incidentally shown grounds for believing that he must have been acquainted with Chaṇḍa's Grammar, in the recension of the Revisionists. Indeed, as to Chaṇḍa's Grammar generally, that is almost capable of demonstration. In his sútra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns *idaṃ*, *tad*, *etad* assume the form *se* in the genitive singular and the form *siṃ* in the genitive plural; but he adds that "another Grammarian allows the form *se* also in the genitive plural of the two pronouns *idam* and *tad*".* The singular number "another Grammarian" is noteworthy. It cannot refer to Vararuchi; because the latter (VII, 11, 12) agrees with Hemachandra in the distribution of the forms *se* and *siṃ* to the singular and plural respectively; and moreover Vararuchi allows those forms only to the pronoun *tad*. On the other hand, Hemachandra's remark exactly agrees with Chaṇḍa's statement in his sútra I, 17, that "the two pronouns *tad* and *idaṃ* assume the form *se* in the genitive of both the singular and plural".† The coincidence is too striking to be merely accidental. Of course, this would leave it still an open question, whether or not Hemachandra is prior to the Revisionists of Chaṇḍa. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that the latter must be placed earlier than Hemachandra. It is true, that most of the additional matter in C and D, is also found in Hemachandra's Grammar, in some cases expressed in the very same words. But the manner of its arrangement and wording seem clearly to show, that it is original in C D, and that Hemachandra in writing his own grammar drew on the text of C D rather than that the latter rearranged and modified Hemachandra's rules. Thus the wording of some rules in CD is very inaccurate, as compared with the corresponding rule in

* *Idam-tador ámápi se ádeśam kaśchid ichchhati*, H. C. III, 81.

† *Tadidamoḥ se shashṭhí-rúpáṇám*, Ch. I, 17.

Hemachândra (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 6*a* with H. C. III, 14, 24). Some old Prákrit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13*a*, 13*b*) are subsumed by Hemachandra under another rule (H. C. III, 137).* Many peculiar forms, mentioned by C D as belonging to the ordinary Prákrit, are referred by Hemachandra to the Apabhraṃsa dialect (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 27*l* with H. C. IV, 444). All this is hardly likely to have been done by any one working with Hemachandra's grammar before his eyes; whereas it is natural that Hemachandra, having before him the text of C D and noticing its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, should have set about remodelling and rearranging it.† The only evidence of any moment, which seems to make for the priority of Hemachandra is the sútra I, 16, where the Revisionists have elided the *d*, while Hemachandra in his corresponding sútra III, 8 still preserves it. But the evidence on the other side seems to me much stronger, and I think it, therefore, more probable, that the text of C and D, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemachandra. On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS. D, with its peculiar additions of sútras II, 1*a*, 1*b*, 1*c*, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding sútras in Hemachandra are I, 5, 6, 8. Two of them, indeed, *viz.*, I, 6 and I, 8, are, word for word, the same as Ch. II, 1*a* and I, 1*b*. But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed. Sútra II, 1*b* in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 8, while II, 1*c* in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 6. That Hemachandra's order is the correct one follows from the fact, that the negative particle *na* "not", which must be understood in sútra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sútra-works, supplied from the *preceding* sútra I, 6. On the other hand in MS. D, the sútra II, 1*b*, as it is not preceded by any sútra containing the negative particle, remains simply unintelligible, unless, contrary to the well-established practice, the negative particle is supplied from the succeeding

* It may be noted that the omission of all mention of these old Prákrit forms in the text of the MS. A B makes for the antiquity of the latter. For it shows that in their time these forms were not "old" or obsolete, but fresh and living, and called for no special remark.

† Many other evidences for the priority of C and D with regard to Hemachandra will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation. I will mention here only one. Supposing that Hemachandra knew the text of C and D, he could not help noticing the discrepancy between its sútras III, 34 and III, 12. What more natural than to accept sútra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prákrit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sútra III, 12 under it as an exception? Now this is, what Hemachandra actually has done; (see H. C. I, 177 and compare the examples). This, at all events, is a much more probable explanation of the circumstances, than to suppose the reverse to have taken place. See also the footnote on p. xiv.

sútra. This appears to me to be conclusive as to the priority of Hemachandra. It might be thought, at first sight, that the fact, that Hemachandra's sútra IV, 353 is found in MS. C, but not in MS. D, goes to prove similarly that the text of C also is later than Hemachandra. But I think it exceedingly probable that the omission of that sútra in D is quite accidental, perhaps even a mere error of the writer of my copy. For omitting from D the sútras II, 1*a*, 1*b*, 1*c* which are undoubtedly drawn from Hemachandra I, 5, 6, 8, MS. D has only *one* sútra less than MS. C, and as the text of the two is otherwise nearly identical, it is more than probable that sútra I, 11*a* ought to be supplied in D.* As regards the relative age of Vararuchi and Chaṇḍa, the indications seem sufficiently marked to attempt a decision. The treatment of the ablative suffixes *do* and *du* in Vr. V, 6 as compared with their treatment by the Revisionists in I, 16, makes it certain, that Vararuchi is earlier than the Revisionists, who possibly may have been guided by his grammar in making their revisions of Chaṇḍa. The strange circumstance that the Revisionists, though evidently men of the Jain community, yet, contrary to the practice of Jaina Prákrit, changed *every* dental *n* to cerebral *ṇ*, seems to be strongly confirmatory of an influence on them by the absolute rule (II, 42) of Vararuchi's grammar. Hemachandra's rules (I, 228, 229), undecided as they are, could not have influenced them. (See remarks on p. xxv). On the other hand the terms of Vr. II, 2 as compared with those of Ch. III, 34 in MSS. A and B, would seem to make it equally certain, that Vararuchi was later than Chaṇḍa. But as to whether he was acquainted with Chaṇḍa's work, there is too little evidence to form an opinion. On the whole, I should think it improbable.

A SKETCH OF CHAṆḌA'S GRAMMAR,

Compared with those of Vararuchi and Hemachandra.

1, Vowels.

The vowel system does not materially differ from that of the ordinary Prákrit. But many of the peculiarities of the latter do not yet show themselves in the earlier Prákrit of Chaṇḍa.

In common with the later, the old Prákrit does not possess the following Sanskrit vowels; *ṛi* (II, 5), *ai* (II, 6), *au* (II, 8) and the protracted (*pluta*, II, 14). Nothing is said regarding *ṛí*, *ḷṛi*, *ḷṛí*, but they seem to be included in the term *ṛvarṇasya* (II, 5).

* A similar accidental omission of sútra I, 15 has occurred in the case of MS. B.

Instead of *ṛi*, either the syllable *ri* or any other vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*) may be used, according to circumstances (II, 5).

Instead of *ai* either *aï* or *e*, and instead of *au* either *aü* or *o*, may be used, according to circumstances (II, 6-9) : but not *i*, *í* and *u*, as in later Prákrit.

With regard to the changes of those vowels which the old Prákrit possesses, there are the following two broad laws :

1. *A long vowel (á, í, ú) preceding a conjunct consonant is shortened (a, i, u)*, II, 3. Hemachandra's rule, H. C. I, 84, corresponds to this ; Vararuchi has no corresponding rule, see Cowell, p. 185.

2. *The final vowel of the former part of a compound word is dropped, if the initial vowel of the latter part is followed by a conjunct consonant* (II, 2) ;. e. g., *deva* + *indra* would in Sanskrit be *devendra*, but in the Árṣha the final *a* of *deva* is elided, hence the compound is *devinda.** There is nothing corresponding to this rule in either Vararuchi or Hemachandra ; they apparently did not acknowledge it. But evidences of the change to which the rule refers are by no means uncommon, even in the later Jaina Prákrit ; thus in the Bhagavatí occur ~~*goṇuvaoe* = Skr. *yogopayogaḥ*~~, *appusue* = Skr. *alpotsukaḥ*, *paḍuppanna* = Skr. *prati-utpanna*, *sattuttaraṁ* = Skr. *saptottaraṁ*, (see Weber's edition, pp. 386, 406, 408, 427).

On the other hand the later Prákrit changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* (Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116) are unknown to Chaṇḍa. Thus we have *giṇhati* in Ch. III, 23 for *geṇhaï* in H. C. IV, 209.

For the rest, *vowels are liable to a great variety of interchanges*, and that, whether they occur in a single word (II, 4) or when they occur at the point of junction in a compound word or even at the point of contact of two words in a sentence (II, 1). It is this miscellany of changes, summed up by Chaṇḍa in two short rules (I, 1, 4), the separate enumeration of which in distinct rules has given rise to the great expansion of the chapter on vowels in the Grammars of Vararuchi and Hemachandra. It is quite possible, however, that a few of the interchanges, noted by the latter, did not yet obtain in the earlier Prákrit.

2, Consonants.

With regard to the Consonants, there are five points in which the older Prákrit of Chaṇḍa differs from its later forms, as exhibited in Vararuchi and Hemachandra.

1. The preservation of the dental *n*, in every case, whether single or double, whether initial or medial in a word. This follows from sútra II, 14

* Hemachandra mentions this very word in an Árṣha sentence, *devindo iṇaṁ abbavî* see H. C. III, 162.

when compared with its revised terms in C D II, 14, and from the uniform spelling of the Prákrit examples with *n* in MSS. A and B. Still in exceptional cases the change of *n* to *ṇ* does occur in the older Prákrit (III, 16). But, the almost general rule of the latter is to follow the Sanskrit usage, to change *n* to *ṇ* only in those cases where the change would occur in Sanskrit under the influence of a preceding (cerebral) *ṛi*, *r* or *sh*. The Prákrit of Vararuchi (II, 42) as well as the practice of the Revisionists exhibits the exact counterpart; *viz.*, a uniform substitution of the cerebral *ṇ* for the dental *n*. Hemachandra's Prákrit (the so-called Jaina Prákrit) exhibits a practice more approaching to that of Chaṇḍa; *viz.*, dental *n* may be preserved when double medial or single initial, but is changed to *ṇ*, when single medial (H. C. I, 228, 229). Still the difference is marked, and Hemachandra knew it; for he points it out himself.*

2. The preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants, with the only exception of *k* which may be elided. This follows from sútra III, 34 as compared with the terms of that sútra in C D III, 34. But *ṭ* was not unfrequently, and *t* and *p* were exceptionally, softened to *ḍ*, *d*, *v* respectively (III, 12). See also introductory remarks on pp. xiii, xiv. In the later Prákrit of Vararuchi (II, 2) the surd consonants are elided, with the exception that *ṭ* is always (Vr. II, 20), and *t* and *p* not unfrequently (Vr. II, 7. V, 6. II, 15), softened to *ḍ*, *d*, *v* respectively. The still later Prákrit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H. C. I, 177, 195, 231), except that dental *t* is now always elided (H. C. I, 209); its softening to *d* now only surviving in the Śaurasení and Mágadhí dialects† (H C. I; 209, IV, 260, 302). The three successive stages of phonetic decay can be clearly traced; and this explains why the peculiarity of Śaurasení and Mágadhí in retaining the sonant *d* is not noticed by Chaṇḍa; it was simply because in his time no difference in this respect between those two dialects and *the* great Prákrit had declared itself. The fact seems to be, that *the* great Prákrit dialect decayed much faster, than the other two Prákrit dialects; though the long lapse of years has now practically obliterated any difference. In the modern dialects all over North India, there is no appreciable difference in the treatment of *d*; perhaps the only trace of the original tenacity of the Mágadhí in retaining *d* being preserved in the past participial terminations *il* or *al* in Bangáli, Oṛíyá, Eastern Hindí and Maráṭhí (the nearest representatives of the old Mágadhí), which in all probability are the same as the Mágadhí

* *Árshe; áranálam, anilo, analo; iti ády api;* i. e., in the ársha medial *n* is preserved, as also the initial *n*. (H. C. I, 228).

† I leave here aside the curious rule of Hemachandra with reference to the Apabhramśa (H. C. IV, 396). It refers to an ancient kind of Apabhramśa, as I shall show in the footnotes to the English Translation.

termination *ida* (Sanskrit *ita*); see the introductory remarks in my *Comparative Grammar*, also *ibid*, §§ 109, 306, pp. 62, 139.

3. The preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants, with the only exception of *kh* which may be reduced to ह. But *th* was not unfrequently, and the rest were exceptionally softened, to dh, etc. This has been shown in the introductory remarks pp. xiii, xiv. In the later Prákrit of Vararuchi, only *chh* is preserved, but *th* is always, and *ph* generally, softened to *dh* and *bh* respectively (Vr. II, 24, 26), while *kh* and *th* are always reduced to *h* (Vr. II, 27). The still later Prákrit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H. C. III, 187, 199), except that *ph* may now be either softened to *bh* or (more usually) reduced to *h* (H. C. I, 236). Here again the softening of *th* to *dh* only survives in the Śaurasení and Mágadhí dialects (Vr. XII, 3. H. C. IV, 267, 302). The phonetic parallelism between this and the preceding case will not fail to be observed.

4. The preservation of the single medial semi-consonants *y* and *v*. This follows from a comparison of sútra III, 34 with its terms as revised in C D III, 34. In the later Prákrit of Vararuchi and Hemachandra *y* was always and *v* commonly elided (Vr. II, 2. H. C. I, 177). In those cases where Hemachandra seems to have preserved *y*, it is really not the semi-consonant which has been retained, but the semivowel *y* (see No. 5) which has been inserted.

5. The insertion of the semivowel *y* to fill up the hiatus whenever the second vowel is *a* (III, 35). This is the so-called *ya-śruti*, as it is named by Hemachandra (I, 180). According to him, however, both vowels must be *a*. Vararuchi's Prákrit knows nothing of this usage. It is not the peculiarity of any age or locality of Prákrit, but the degree of its use or disuse marks the degree of the vernacular or artificial character of Prákrit. It is very observable in the less artificialized Jaina Prákrit.

In all other respects there is no difference between the older Prákrit and that of the later Grammarians.

The only consonants of the Sanskrit system which the former does not possess are the guttural ङ *ń*, the palatal ञ *ñ* (II, 14), the palatal श ś and the cerebral ष *sh* (III, 18). Both Vararuchi (IV, 17) and Hemachandra (I, 30) allow the two nasals in conjunction with their own class. To Chaṇḍa this practice appears to have been not unknown, as sútra II, 15 would indirectly seem to show. However, there can be but little doubt, that this was only an orthographic, and not a phonetic question; the class-nasal was probably always *pronounced* (just as it is now, in the modern Gaudians), though it might be *written* in either way, by its own proper symbol or by the anusvára. Nevertheless, though that is the theoretical rule of the grammars (even now), practically the class-nasal is never written, but always the anusvára.

The other consonants of the Sanskrit system, which the old Prákrit possesses, are subject to the following laws :

a, *Single Consonants.*

1, Final consonants are either dropped or changed to anusvára or preserved by the addition of the vowel *a* (II, 11. III, 33). In Vararuchi and Hemachandra these cases are particularised in a number of separate sútras (Vr. IV, 6—12. H. C. I, 11—24).

2, Medial sonant unaspirate mute consonants are elided, (III, 34), though there are occasional exceptions (III, 30, C D II, 26).

3, Medial sonant aspirates are reduced to *h* (III, 13).

4, Initial *g* is once (in *gharaṃ*) said to become *gh* (III, 20).

5, [In those cases, where *j* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct *(jñ)*, it becomes *n* (III, 19)].

6, *ḍ* sometimes changes to *l* (III, 21). Only one example (*solasa*) is given, but it is probably meant as a type of others. In later times, at all events, this change was not uncommon; see C D III, 21. Vr. II, 23. H. C. I, 202.

7, *ṇ* changes to *n* in Paiśáchí (III, 38).

8, Dental consonants (incl. *n*) exceptionally change to the corresponding cerebral (III, 16). [In those cases where they have arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct *(ty, dy, sth,* etc.) they may change to the corresponding palatal or cerebral (III, 16); once (in *khambho)* such a *th* becomes *kh* (III, 19)].

9, Once (in *vammatho*) *m* changes to *v* (III, 21).

10, Initial *y* becomes *j* (III, 15); except in the second personal pronominal base, where it becomes *t* (III, 17). Medial *y* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii); except in the passive where it is changed to *jj* (III, 25), and in those cases in which it is vocalized to *i* and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). [In those cases where *y* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct, it becomes *j* or, exceptionally, *l* (III, 15, 22)]. In *teraha* it is apparently said to become *r* (III, 22); but the same word is explained differently in III, 31.

11, *r* remains unchanged; excepting a few rare cases in which it is said to change to *s* or *ṇ* (III, 18, 20). These exceptions, however, can be explained differently. In the Paiśáchí and Mágadhí dialects it always changes to *l* (III, 38, 39).

12, *v* remains unchanged (see above, No. 4, p. xxvii), excepting those few cases of medial *v*, in which it is vocalized and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31). Once (in *rukkho*) it is said to become *r* (III, 22).

13, *s* remains unchanged, excepting a few cases in which it becomes *h* (III, 14). In Mágadhí, however, it always changes to *ś* (III, 39). [In those cases where it has arisen from a Sanskrit *sh* or conjunct consonant, it may change to *kh* or *chh* or *h* (III, 14)].

14, *h* remains unchanged; excepting one case (*gharaṃ*) where it is said to become *r* (III, 19). [In those cases where it has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*hy*, *hv*), it changes to *jh* or *bh* (III, 20, 21)].

b, *Conjunct Consonants.*

In the treatment of these the older Prákrit is altogether in accord with the later. They may be dealt with in two ways:—

1, either they may be dissolved by interposing some short vowel (*a* or *i* or *u*), III, 30.

2, or they may be simplified by eliding one of them (III, 1—9) and doubling the other (III, 24, 27).

As regards doubling, an aspirate is reduplicated by means of the corresponding unaspirate (III, 26); and it never takes place in the beginning of a word (III, 28), nor in a few exceptional cases (III, 29).

With regard to elision Chaṇḍa's *formal system* much differs from that used in Vararuchi and Hemachandra, though the *material result* is the same. In the latter Grammarians most conjuncts are changed *bodily* to a single consonant (see Vr. III, 9—66. H. C. II, 1—115); but Chaṇḍa strictly carries out the theory of elision. For this purpose he arranges the consonants according to their degree of persistency, thus *r*, *y*, *v*, *l*, *h*, class consonants (incl. nasals), sibilants. Here each consonant resists those preceding it, but gives way to those succeeding it. Thus *r* gives way under all circumstances (III, 9, exc. in the Apabhraṃśa III, 37); *y* gives way to *v*, *l*, *h*, etc. (III, 1, 2, 3, 5), but not to *r*; *v* gives way to *l* (III, 2) or *h* (III, 1) or the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r* and *y* (III, 2, 9); *l* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r*, *y*, *v* (III, 2, 9); *h* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3), but not to *y* and *v* (III, 1); the class-consonants, including the nasals, give way to the sibilants (III, 4, 6, 8), but not to *r* (III, 3, 5, 9) or *y*, *v*, *l* (III, 3, 5) or *h* (III, 3); lastly a sibilant gives way to no other consonant (III, 2, 4, 8), except to a succeeding *single* class-consonant or nasal (III, 3, 6 in *sk*, *sp*, *shṇ*, *ṣn*, *sn*, *sm*, *shm*, etc.). This is his principle of elision. But his principle of arranging the sútras is the order of the letters in the alphabet. He commences with the last letter in the alphabet *h* (III, 1), then proceeds to the sibilants and semi-consonants (III, 2); next he takes the class-consonants (III, 3—8); and lastly he gives the peculiar case of *r*, which is always elided (III, 9). The six sútras, referring to the class-consonants, are arranged according to the

principle of the order of the elided letter in the conjunct. First Chaṇḍa gives two rules about eliding the first in the conjunct (III, 3, 4), then one rule about eliding the second in the conjunct (III, 5), lastly three rules about optionally eliding the first or the second (III, 6—8).

After the elision has been made and before the doubling takes place, the remaining single consonants undergo some highly artificial changes. These have been already enumerated under the rules regarding the changes of single consonants where they are indicated by being placed within angular brackets. Here it only remains to add, that when the remaining single consonant happens to be a palatal or cerebral sibilant (*ś* or *sh*), it is *ipso facto* (*i. e.* by silent reference to III, 18) supposed to be changed to the dental *s* and treated as such in regard to the needful change before doubling (see remarks on pp. ix, x). The reason of this will be at once understood, when it is recollected (see p. xxvii), that those two sibilants are the only consonants of the Sanskrit phonetic system (beside ङ *ṅ* and ञ *ñ*) which do not exist in Prákrit.

It may be well to illustrate Chaṇḍa's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as *lakshmí, kṛshṇaṃ, spashṭaṃ, sthitaḥ, vidyá, jihvá, váhyah.* Here LAKSHMÍ first becomes *lakshí* (by III, 6), then *lashí* (III, 4) or *lasi* (III, 18); next *lachhí* (III, 14), finally lachchhí (III, 24, 26). KṚSHṆAM becomes first *kṛṇaṃ* (III, 6) or *kaṇaṃ* (II, 5), and then *kaṇhaṃ* (III, 23). SPASHṬAM becomes first *pashṭaṃ* (III, 3) or *pushṭaṃ* (II, 4), then *phushṭaṃ* (III, 11, 28), finally *phuṭaṃ* (III, 8); or *pushṭaṃ* may become *puṭaṃ* (III, 8), then *puṭhaṃ* (III, 11), finally *puṭṭhaṃ* (III, 24, 26). STHITAḤ becomes first *thitaḥ* (III, 3), then *ṭhitaḥ* (III, 16, 28), then *ṭhitao* (II, 10), finally *ṭhito* (II, 1) VIDYÁ first becomes *vidá* (III, 5), then *vijá* (III, 16), finally *vijjá* (III, 24, 27). JIHVA′ becomes first *jihá* (III, 1), then *jibhá* (III, 21), finally *jibbhá* (III, 24, 26). VA′HYAḤ becomes first *váhaḥ* (III, 1), then *vájhaḥ* (III, 20), then *vájjhaḥ* (III, 24, 26), then *vajjhaḥ* (II, 3), next *vajjhao* (II, 10), finally *vajjho* (II, 1).

It will be now understood from the preceding remarks, why the division of the third chapter of Chaṇḍa's Grammar into two parts, one (III, 1—9) on conjuncts, the other (III, 9—39) on single consonants, is such an important, and even essential, feature of his grammatical arrangement. To abolish that division, as the Revisionists have done, is to destroy its symmetry and coherency.

3, ANUSVÁRA.

The anusvára is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prákrit (II, 15, 11), as in the later (H. C. I, 23—30. Vr. IV, 12—17). It is not only used where it also occurs in Sanskrit; but sometimes it takes

the place of an elided consonant, which may have been either the final of a word (II, 11) or the first part of a conjunct (II, 15); or again it may be added at the end of a word for the mere sake of euphony (II, 15).

4, Visarga.

The visarga in the older Prákrit, as in the later, is never tolerated (II, 10). It is either dropped altogether or changed into *o* or *e* or *r*. The change to *o* or *e* occurs, *e. g.*, in the nominative singular, that to *r* in *puṇarapi* (compare H. C. II, 179).

5, Nouns.

The older Prákrit, like the later, has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter (I, 2); but the gender is variable (I, 4). It has also like it, only two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being also used in the place of the Sanskrit dual (II, 12). It further has only six cases, the genitive being used in the place of the dative (II, 13).* The six cases with their case-suffixes are the following, for masculine nouns:

Singular.	Nom. *o, e* (II, 10) or—	Plural.	— (I, 11) or *ṇo* (I, 12).
	Acc. *am* (I, 3)		*e* or — (I, 11, 15), *ṇo* (I, 12)
	Intr. *iṇa* or *ṇá* (I, 3)		*hi* (*hiṁ*) (I, 7).
	Abl. *á, to, tu, hinto* or *ṇo* (I, 12, 16)		*hinto* (I, 8).
	Gen. *ssa* or *ṇo* (I, 13)		*ṇa, ha* (*ṇaṁ, haṁ*) (I, 5).
	Loc. *e, mmi* (I, 14)		*su* (*suṁ*) (I, 3).

N. B.—The forms given after "or" belong to nouns in *i* and *u*, the others are general, except those of the nom., instr., abl. singular and acc. plural and *e* of the loc. sing. which belong to nouns in *a*. The sign (—) means absence of any suffix.

The vocative sing. and voc. plur. are nowhere noticed by Chaṇḍa, which may be explained in two ways, either that their forms were the same as in Sanskrit, or that they were the same as those of the old Prákrit nominative.

Feminine nouns add the same suffixes, except in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., where they take the suffix *e* (I, 9), and in the nom. and acc. plural, where they take the suffixes *o* or *u* or no suffix (I, 10).

Neuter nouns also take the same suffixes, as the masculines, except in the nom. and acc. plural, where they add the suffix *ṇi* (I, 3).

N. B.—Those suffixes which are used independently of the gender of the word Chăṇḍa indicates by the term *lingát parasya* (I, 7, 8), unless where the fact is otherwise obvious (as in I, 3, 5).

* It is one of the clumsy inconsistencies of the Revisionists of C D that they insert the word *sapta* "seven" in the commentary to sútra I, 3. Chaṇḍa had very properly omitted it, as sútra II, 13 shows that Prákrit has only six cases.

In adding these suffixes, the final vowel of the base of the word may undergo the same changes of elision or sandhi as in Sanskrit (I, 3. II, 1), or it may be exchanged with other vowels (II, 4). Thus in the acc. sing. *deva* + *am* = *devaṁ* (II, 1), *aggi* + *am* = *aggiṁ* (II, 1, 4), *dhenu* + *am* = *dhenuṁ* (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p. 3); nom. sing. *deva* + *o* = *devo* (II, 1); *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); inst. sg. *deva* + *iṇa* = *deveṇa* (II, 1); *buddhi* + *e* = *buddhíe* (II, 4); loc. sg. *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1); nom. acc. plur. *buddhi* + *o* = *buddhío* (II, 4); inst. pl. *deva* + *hi* = *devehi* (II, 4); loc. plur. *deva* + *su* = *devesu* (II, 4), etc. See also the additional remarks in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's nominal declension.

Prákrit has only three declensions; *viz.* those ending in *a* (or feminine *á*), *i* and *u* (or feminine in *í* and *ú*). Nouns ending in *í* or *ú* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u* (see, e. g., I, 9), but masculines in *í* and *ú* are nowhere especially mentioned by Chaṇḍa. Nouns originally ending in a consonant either drop the final consonant or add *a* to it, so that they come under one of the three declensions in *a* or *i* or *u* (see II, 11). Nouns originally ending in *ṛi* are nowhere noticed by Chaṇḍa, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5, by which *ṛi* would change to *u* and, in some cases, to *ara* or *ára*, as in Páli and the later Prákrit. There is one exceptional declension; *viz.* that of the word *go* "cattle" (II, 16).

a, Declension in *a*.

The nom. sing. ends in *o* or *e* masc., e. g., *devo* or *deve*; *á* fem., e. g., *gangá*; *am* neut., e. g., *kulaṁ*.

The acc. sing. ends in *aṁ* masc. and neut., e. g., *devaṁ*, *kulaṁ*; *áṁ* fem., e. g., *gangáṁ*.

The instr. sing. ends in *eṇa* masc. and neut., e. g., *deveṇa*, *kuleṇa*; *áe* fem., e. g., *gangáe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *á* or *áto* or *átu* or *áhinto* masc. and neut., e. g., *devá* or *deváto* or *devátu* or *deváhinto*, *kulá*, etc.; *áe* fem., e. g., *gangáe*. To these forms may be added the abl. made with the suffix *to* (= Sanskrit *taḥ*). It is not noticed by Chaṇḍa, because it is not technically a declensional form. For the same reason it is separately noticed by Kachchayana (II, 5, 1, p. 116). But its existence in the Árṣha is guaranteed by its existence in Páli, and by its existence in the modified form *tto* in the later Prákrit (H. C. III, 8); also by the existence in the Árṣha itself of the pronominal forms *maïtto*, *taïtto* (I, 24, 28).

The gen. sing. ends in *assa* masc. and neut., e. g., *devassa*. Curiously enough the genitive sing. of *a*-bases is nowhere noticed, unless it be indirectly taught by sútra I, 13. The latter was the opinion of the Revisionists; and

it is possible that on that account they may have removed it from I, 3, where one would naturally expect to find it mentioned by Chaṇḍa. Fem. *áe*, e. g., *gangáe*.

The loc. sing. ends in *e* or *ammi* masc. and neut., e. g., *deve* or *devammi*, *kule* or kulammi; *áe* fem., e. g., *gangáe*.

The nom. plur. ends in *á* masc., e. g., *devá*; *áo* or *aü* or *á* fem., e. g., *gangáo*, *gangáu*, *gangá*; neut. *áni* or *áṇi*, e. g., *kuláni* or *kuláṇi*.

The acc. plur. ends in *e* masc., e. g. *deve*; *áo* or *áü* or *á* fem., e g., *gangáo*, *gangáü*, *gangá*; *áni* or *áṇi* neut., e. g., *kuláni* or *kuláṇi*.

The instr. plur. ends in *ehi* or *ehiṁ* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devehi*, or *devehiṁ*, *kulehi* or *kulehiṁ*; *áhi* or *áhiṁ* fem., e. g., *gangáhi* or *gangáhiṁ*.

The gen. plur. ends in *áṇa* or *áha* or *áṇaṁ* or *áhaṁ* (II, 15); e. g., *deváṇa* or *deváha* or *deváṇaṁ* or *deváhaṁ*, *gangáṇa*, etc., *kuláṇa*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *esu* or *esuṁ* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devesu* or *devesuṁ*, *kulesu* or *kulesuṁ*; *ásu* or *ásuṁ* fem., e. g., *gangásu* or *gangásuṁ*.

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Páli and later Prákrit or Arddha-Mágadhí forms for purposes of comparison.

Masculines in *a*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Árṣha.	Prákrit.*
Sing. Nom.	देवः	देवो	देवो or देवे	देवो or देवे†
Voc.	हे देव	हे देव	हे देव or हे देवो	हे देव or हे देवो
Acc.	देवं	देवं	देवं	देवं
Instr.	देवेन	देवेन	देवेण	देवेण
Abl.	देवात्	देवा	देवा	देवा
	देवतः	देवतो	देवतो	देवत्तो
			देवातो or °वातु	देवाओ or °वाउ
	——	देवम्हा or °स्मा	देवाहिंतो	देवाहिंतो or देवाहि
Gen.	देवस्य	देवस्स	देवस्स	देवस्स
Loc.	देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे
	——	देवम्हिं or °स्मिं	देवम्मि	देवम्मि
Plur. Nom. Voc.	देवाः	देवा	देवा	देवा

* The forms in this column are from Hemachandra's Grammar.

† Arddha-Mágadhí; see H. C. IV, 287.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Acc.	देवान्	देवे	देवे	देवा or देवे
Instr.	देवैः	देवेभि or देवेहि	देवेहि or °हिं	देवहि or हिं or °हिँ
Abl.	देवेभ्यः	देवेभि or हि	देवेहिंतो	देवेहिंतो or °सुंतो
Abl.	——	——	——	देवाहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	देवानां	देवानं	देवाणं or देवाण	देवाणं or देवाण
Gen.	——	——	देवाहं or °ह	देवाहं or °ह
Loc.	देवेषु	देवेसु	देवेसु or °सुं	देवेसु or °सुं

Feminines in *á*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा
Voc.	गंगे	गंगे	गंगा or गंगे	गंगा or गंगे
Acc.	गंगां	गंगं	गंगां	गंगं
Instr.	गंगया	गंगाय	गंगाए	गंगाए or °ए or °अ*
Abl. Gen.	गंगायाः	गंगाय	गंगाए	गंगाए or °ए or °अ*
Loc.	गंगायां	(or loc. गंगायं)		
Plur. Nom. Voc. Acc.	गंगाः	गंगा	गंगा	गंगा
		गंगाओ	गंगाओ or गंगाउ	गंगाओ or गंगाउ
Instr.	गंगाभिः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहि or हिं	गंगाहि or °हिं or °हिँ
Abl.	गंगाभ्यः	गंगाभि or गंगाहि	गंगाहिंतो	गंगाहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	गंगानां	गंगानं	गंगाणं or गंगाण	गंगाणं or गंगाण
Gen.	——	——	गंगाहं or °ह	गंगाहं or °ह
Loc.	गंगासु	गंगासु	गंगासु or °सुं	गंगासु or °सुं

* Or abl. = abl. masc., exc. the forms in *á* and *áhi*, see H. C. III, 126, 127.

Neuters in *a*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Árṣha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom. Acc.	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं	कुलं
Voc.	कुल	कुल	कुल	कुल
Plur. Nom. Voc. Acc.	कुलानि	कुलानि or कुला	कुलानि or °णि	कुलाणि or °लाइं or °लाइँ

The remainder like masc. in *a*.

b, Declensions in *i* and *u*.

These two are treated alike, *mutatis mutandis*; thus:—

The nom. sing. ends in *i* and *u*; e. g., masc. *aggi*, *guru*; fem. *buddhi*, *dhenu*; neut. *dahi*, *mahu*.

The acc. sing. ends in *im* and *um*; e. g., masc. *aggim*, *gurum*; fem. *buddhim*, *dhenum*; neut. *dahim*, *mahum*.

The instr. sing. ends in *iṇá* and *uṇá* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇá*, *guruṇá* and *dahiṇá*, *mahuṇá*; *íe* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhíe*, *dhenúe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *iṇo* and *uṇo* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo*, *guruṇo* and *dahiṇo*, *mahuṇo*; *íe* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhíe*, *dhenúe*. There is also the quasi-abl. in *ito* and *uto*; e. g., *aggito*, *guruto*, etc.

The gen. sing. ends in *iṇo* or *issa* and *uṇo* or *ussa* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiṇo* or *aggissa*, *guruṇo* or *gurussa* and *dahiṇo* or *dahissa*, *mahuṇo* or *mahussa*; *íe* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhíe*, *dhenúe*.

The loc. sing. ends in *immi* and *ummi* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggimmi*, *gurummi* and *dahimmi*, *mahummi*; *íe* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhíe*, *dhenúe*.

The nom. and acc. plur. end in *ayo* or *í* or *iṇo* and *avo* or *ú* or *uṇo* masc., e. g., *aggayo* or *aggí* or *aggiṇo*, *guravo* or *gurú* or *guruṇo*; *í* or *ío* or *íu* and *ú* or *úo* or *úu* fem., e. g., *buddhí* or *buddhío* or *buddhíu*, *dhenú* or *dhenúo* or *dhenúu*. The neuter is not noticed; probably *íni* and *úni*; e. g., *dahíni*, *mahúni*; or possibly like the masculine, *dahí* or *dahíṇo*, *mahú* or *mahúṇo*. The masculine forms in *ayo* and *avo* are not especially noticed by Chaṇḍa, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in *ayaḥ*, *avaḥ*, and would come under his general rule I, 3. Their existence is guaranteed by the Páli on the one side, and the later Prákrit on the other. (Vararuchi V, 16 specially notes a nom. and acc. form in *ío* and *úo*, which is the same as *ayo* and *avo*, with *ay*, *av* contracted to *í*, *ú* respectively.)

The instr. plur. ends in *ihi* or *ihiṁ*, and *uhi* or *uhiṁ*; e. g., masc. *aggihi* or *aggihiṁ*, *guruhi* or *guruhiṁ*; fem. *buddhihi* or *buddhihiṁ*, *dhenuhi* or *dhenuhiṁ*; neut. *dahihi* or *dahihiṁ*, *mahuhi* or *mahuhiṁ*.

The abl. plur. ends in *ihinto* and *uhinto*; e. g., masc. *aggihinto*, *guruhinto*; fem. *buddhihinto*, *dhenuhinto*; neut. *dahihinto*, *mahuhinto*.

The gen. plur. ends in *íṇa* or *íha* or *íṇaṁ* or *íhaṁ*, and *úṇa* or *úha* or *úṇaṁ* or *úhaṁ*; e. g., masc. *aggíṇa* or *aggíṇaṁ* or *aggíha* or *aggíhaṁ*, *gurúṇa* or *gurúṇaṁ* or *gurúha* or *gurúhaṁ*; fem. *buddhíṇa* or *buddhíha*, etc., *dhenúṇa* or *dhenúha*, etc.; neut. *dahíṇa* or *dahíha*, etc., *mahúṇa* or *mahúha*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *isu* or *isuṁ* and *usu* or *usuṁ*; masc. *aggisu* or *aggisuṁ*, *gurusu* or *gurusuṁ*; fem. *buddhisu* or *buddhisuṁ*, *dhenusu* or *dhenusuṁ*; neut. *dahisu* or *dahisuṁ*, *mahusu* or *mahusuṁ*.

To the voc. sing. and plur. the same remark applies as to the voc. of the *a*-declension.

Unfortunately there is not a little untrustworthiness and inconsistency in the MSS., regarding this declension. Yet with a careful combination of all indications, it is not impossible to recognise its real circumstances. The main points are four:

(1). In sútra I, 3 all MSS. make the termination of the nom. sing. of all nouns in *i* and *u*, of whatever gender, to be *í* and *ú*. This is almost certainly false; for (a) even in the later Prákrit of Vararuchi (V, 30) and Hemachandra (III, 25) the nom. sing. neuter ends in short *i* and *u*; and (b) what is more important, there is no sútra in Chaṇḍa's grammar to account for the long *í* and *ú* of the nom. sing., as compared with the short *i* and *u* of the Sanskrit. I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's rules on nominal declension that Chaṇḍa enumerates in sútra I, 3 all those declensional forms which are *like* the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*saṁskṛitavad vibhaktayaḥ*), excepting so far as they are modified by the *general* phonetic laws of the Prákrit. Now by sútra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination *iḥ* or *uḥ* is omitted, but there is no sútra anywhere in Chaṇḍa to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short *i* or *u*. Hence it is very probable, that in Chaṇḍa's Prákrit the nominative singular ended in *i*, and similarly in *u*. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sútra II, 5 there occurs the word *ṛishiḥ*, the Prákrit form of which in all MSS. is given as *isi* (not *isí*); again in that very sútra II, 10 one example is *vati*, as all MSS. read, for Skr. *vṛitiḥ**; again in sútra II, 17 we have *mati* and *gati*, with all MSS. (exc. B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Páli, which Chaṇḍa's Prákrit resembles in so many

* Not = Skr. *patiḥ*, as C D have it, but = Skr. *vṛitiḥ*.

ways, affords a further confirmation of the truth; for there the nom. sing. also ends in *i* and *u* (see Minayef, pp. 64, 66, 69). Accordingly I have restored the short *i* and *u* in the nom. sing. throughout.

(2). It is very similar with the instr., abl., and loc. plural. Here all MSS. read long *í* and *ú* before the suffixes *hí*, *hinto* and *su*. But as Chaṇḍa has no sútra to enjoin the lengthening of *i* and *u*, it is probable that in his Prákrit they were not long, as in the later Prákrit, but short, as (optionally) in Páli (see Minayef *ibid.*, also Kuhn, pp. 79, 81, 82). The fact that Chaṇḍa places the forms of the instr. and loc. plural under sútra I, 3, which enumerates whatever in declension was like Sanskrit, tends in the same direction; and it is further curiously confirmed by his excluding the abl. plural from sútra I, 3. Suppose, e. g., that *aggíhi*, *aggíhinto* and *aggísu* be correct forms; if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sútra I, 3, as they are all *unlike* Sanskrit on account of their long *í*; but let the forms be *aggihi*, *aggihinto*, *aggisu*, then only *aggihinto* is unlike Skr. *agnibhyaḥ*, on account of *hinto*, and must be excluded from I, 3, whereas *aggihi* is like Skr. *agnibhiḥ* (*ḥ* being dropped by II, 10 and *bh* becoming *h* by III, 13) and *aggisu* like Skr. *agnishu* (*sh* becoming *s* by III, 18); hence these two forms will come under I, 3. This is precisely what we find Chaṇḍa to have actually done; it follows that his premises must have been what we have supposed them to have been. Accordingly I have restored the short *i* throughout in those three cases.*

In confirmation of the above reasoning it should be noticed, that whenever the short *i* and *u* are really lengthened to *í* and *ú* in Chaṇḍa's Prákrit, as in the instr., abl., gen. and loc. singular and nom. and acc. plural of feminine nouns, the change is expressly enjoined by Chaṇḍa, by sútra II, 4, where he gives the two examples *buddhíe*, *dhenúe* (not *buddhie*, *dhenue*).

(3). The acc. singular of feminine nouns in *í* and *ú*, as well as of feminine nouns in *á*, has a long termination; thus *gangáṁ*, *naíṁ*, *vahúṁ*. The MSS., on the whole, are decisive on this point. For though C and D read *gangaṁ* in I, 3, B reads *gangám* (A omits it); on the other hand C and D read *ṇaíṁ* in I, 3 (A B omit it). This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prákrit, but even Páli (see Minayef, pp. 64, 67, 70) have the short termination, so that, if the long termination in Chaṇḍa were due to the Revisionists, they would have acted contrary to their usual instincts of conforming to the later Prákrit; and this strongly makes for the genuineness of the long terminations. The fact, that Chaṇḍa enumerates them under

* Perhaps no great stress can be laid on the fact that in MS. D the short *i* and *u* occur three times; viz. *buddhihim*, *guruhim* in I, 3 and *guruhinto* in I, 8. They may be mere clerical errors.

sútra I, 3, makes in the same direction; for if they had been short, they would have been too *unlike* Sanskrit to be noticed in that sútra. Another evidence in the same direction is the fact, that in sútra II, 16, where Chaṇḍa gives the declension of the noun *gávi* "cow", the two MSS. C D again read *gávim* in the acc. sing. (A B omit it); this carries all the more weight, as it is again an undesigned coincidence. Lastly there is another striking evidence, in the personal pronouns, which also preserve the Sanskritic long termination in their acc. sing. *tvám* or *tám* and *mám* (see remarks, p. xlvi).

(4). All MSS. assign a locative singular in *e* to the nouns in *i* and *u*; thus *aggie*, *gurue*. That this is false, and rests on a misconception by the Revisionists of the intention of sútra I, 14, I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chaṇḍa's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms.

Masculines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Árṣha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	अग्निः	अग्गि	अग्गि	अग्गी
Voc.	अग्ने	अग्गि	अग्गि	अग्गी or अग्गि
Acc.	अग्निं	अग्गिं	अग्गिं	अग्गिं
Instr.	अग्निना	अग्गिना	अग्गिणा	अग्गिणा
Abl. अग्नेः		अग्गिना	अग्गिणो	अग्गिणो
		अग्गिस्मा or °म्हा	——	अग्गीहिंतो
Abl. अग्नितः		अग्गितो	अग्गितो	अग्गित्तो
		——	——	अग्गीओ or अग्गीउ
Gen.	अग्नेः	अग्गिनो or °स्स	अग्गिणो or °स्स	अग्गिणो or अग्गिस्स
Loc.	अग्नौ	अग्गिस्मिं or °म्हि	अग्गिम्मि	अग्गिम्मि
Plur. Nom.	अग्नयः	अग्गयो	अग्गयो	अग्गीओ or अग्गीउ
Voc.	——	अग्गी	अग्गी	अग्गी
	——	——	अग्गिणो	अग्गिणो
Acc.	अग्नीन्	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr. अग्निभिः		अग्गिभि or °हि	अग्गिहि or °हिं	——
		अग्गीभि or °हि	——	अग्गीहि or °हिं

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Abl.	अग्निभ्यः	अग्गिभि or ०हि अग्गीभि or ०हि	अग्गिहिंतो ——	—— अग्गीहिंतो or ०सुंतो
Gen.	अग्नीनां	अग्गीनं	अग्गीणं or ०ण अग्गीहं or ०ह	अग्गीणं or ०ण (*deest*)*
Loc.	अग्निषु	अग्गिसु अग्गीसु	अग्गिसु or ०सुं ——	—— अग्गीसु or ०सुं

Feminines in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	बुद्धिः	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धी
Voc.	बुद्धे	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धि or बुद्धी
Acc.	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं	बुद्धिं
Instr.	बुद्ध्या	बुद्धिया (abl. loc. also बुद्ध्या, loc. बुद्धियं, बुद्ध्यं, बुद्धिं, बुद्धे)	बुद्धीए	बुद्धीए or बुद्धीइ
Abl. Gen.	बुद्ध्याः or बुद्धेः			बुद्धीआ or बुद्धीअ
Loc.	बुद्ध्यां or बुद्धौ			
Plur. Nom. Voc.	बुद्धयः	बुद्धी बुद्धियो	बुद्धी बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ	बुद्धी बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ
Acc.	बुद्धीः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	बुद्धिभिः	बुद्धिभि or ०हि बुद्धीभि or ०हि	बुद्धिहि or ०हिं ——	—— बुद्धीहि or ०हिं
Abl.	बुद्धिभ्यः	बुद्धिभि or ०हि बुद्धीभि or ०हि	बुद्धिहिंतो ——	—— बुद्धीहिंतो or ०सुंतो
Gen.	बुद्धीनां	बुद्धीनं	बुद्धीणं or ०ण बुद्धीहं or ०ह	बुद्धीणं or ०ण (*deest*)*

* See H. C. IV, 300.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Loc.	बुद्धिषु	बुद्धिसु बुद्धीसु	बुद्धिसु or सुं ——	—— बुद्धीसु or °सुं

Neuters in *i*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	दधि	दधि	दहि (acc. दहिं)	दहि or दहिं or दहिँ (voc. only दहि)
Plur. do.	दधीनि	दधी or दधीनि	दहीनि or °णि	दहीणि or दहीइं or दहीइँ

The remainder, like masculines in *i*,

Masculines in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	गुरुः	गुरु	गुरु	गुरू
Voc.	गुरो	गुरु	गुरु	गुरु or गुरू
Acc.	गुरुं	गुरुं	गुरुं	गुरुं
Instr.	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा
Abl. गुरोः		गुरुणा	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्मा or °न्हा	——	गुरुच्चिंतो
Abl. गुरुतः		गुरुतो	गुरुतो	गुरुत्तो
		——	——	गुरुच्चो or गुरुउ
Gen. गुरोः		गुरुणो	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स
Loc. गुरौ		गुरुस्मिं or °म्हि	गुरुम्मि	गुरुम्मि
Plur. Nom. Voc. गुरवः		गुरवो	गुरवो	गुरवो or गुरओ or °उ
		गुरू	गुरू	गुरू
		गुरुणो*	गुरुणो	गुरुणो

* Like जंतुनो, see Minayef, p. 69.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Instr.	गुरुभिः	गुरुभि or ०हि *	गुरुहि or ०हिं	——
		गुरूभि or ०हि	——	गुरूहि or ०हिं
Abl.	गुरुभ्यः	गुरुभि or ०हि	गुरुहिंतो	——
		गुरूभि or ०हि	——	गुरूहिंतो or ०सुंतो
Gen.	गुरूणां	गुरूणं	गुरूणं or गुरूण	गुरूणं or गुरूण
			गुरूहं or गुरूह	*deest*†
Loc.	गुरुषु	गुरुसु	गुरुसु or ०सुं	——
		गुरूसु	——	गुरूसु or ०सुं

Feminines in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	धेनुः	धेनु	धेनु	धेणू
Voc.	धेनो	धेनु	धेनु	धेणु or धेणू
Acc.	धेनुं	धेनुं	धेनुं	धेणुं
Instr.	धेन्वा	धेनुया	धेनूए	धेणूए or धेणूइ
Abl. Gen.	धेन्वाः or धेनोः			धेणूआ or धेणूअ
Loc.	धेन्वां or धेनौ			
Plur. Nom. Voc.	धेनवः	धेनू	धेनू	धेणू
		धेनुयो	धेनूओ or धेनूउ	धेणूओ or धेणूउ
Acc.	धेनूः	like nom.	like nom.	like nom.
Instr.	धेनुभिः	धेनुभि or ०हि	धेनुहि or ०हिं	——
		धेनूभि or ०हि	——	धेणूहि or ०हिं
Abl.	धेनुभ्यः	धेनुभि or ०हि	धेनुहिंतो	——
		धेनूभि or ०हि	——	धेणूहिंतो or ०सुंतो
Gen.	धेनूनां	धेननं	धेनूणं or धेनूण	धेणूणं or धेणूण
			धेनूहं or धेनूह	*deest*†

* Like जंतुहि, see Kuhn, p. 82.

† See H. C. IV, 300.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Loc.	घेनुषु	घेनसु	घेनुसु or °सुं	——
		घेनूसु	——	घेणूसु or °सुं

Neuters in *u*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	मधु	मधु	मऊ (acc. मऊं)	मऊ or मऊं or मऊँ (voc. मऊ).
Plur. do.	मधूनि	मधू or मधूनि	मऊनि or °णि	मऊणि or मऊइं or मऊइँ

The remainder, like masculines in *u*.

Masculine nouns in *í* and *ú* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting the nom. sing. which ends in *í* or *ú* respectively.*

Feminine nouns in *í* and *ú* are declined like those in *i* and *u*, excepting, of course, that they have long *í* and *ú* wherever the latter have short *i* and *u*.

Feminines in *í*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	नदी	नदी	नईं	नईं
Voc.	नदि	नदि	नइ	नइ
Acc.	नदीं	नदिं or नदियं	नईं	नईं
Plur. Instr.	नदीभः	नदीभि or °हि	नईहि or °हिं	नईहि or °हिं
Abl.	नदीभ्यः	नदीभि or °हि	नईहिंतो	नईहिंतो or °सुंतो
Loc.	नदीषु	नदीसु	नईसु or °सुं	नईसु or नईसुं

The remainder, as in feminines in *i*.

Feminines in *ú*.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	वधूः	वधू	वहू	वहू
Voc.	वधु	वधु	वऊ	वऊ
Acc.	वधूं	वधुं	वहूं	वऊं

* Thus *náni* I, 24, *sasí* III, 18, *savvaṇṇú* in C D III, 6.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Plur. Instr.	वधूभिः	वधूभि or ०हि	वहूहि or ०हिं	वहूहि or ०हिं
Abl.	वधूभ्यः	वधूभि or ०हि	वहूहिंतो	वहूहिंतो or ०सुंतो
Loc.	वधूषु	वधूसु	वहूसु or ०सुं	वहूसु or ०सुं

The remainder, as in feminines in *u*.

The declension of the noun *go* "cow".

The declension of this noun is given in sútra II, 16. It is not really an irregularly declined noun. The fact is, the Sanskrit word *go* is *generis communis*. The Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit), however, have formed separate words for the two genders; viz., *gávo* masc. and *gávi* fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of *naí* "river".

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	(गौः)	गावी*	गावी	गावी or गाई†
Acc.	(गां)	गाविं	गावीं	गाइं
Plur. Nom.	(गावः)	गाविंयो*	गावीओ or ०उ	गावीओ† or गाईओ or गाईउ
Acc.	(गावः)	गावी*	गावी	गाई

The remainder, like feminines in *i*.

6, Pronouns.

a, Personal Pronouns.

The original forms of the base of this pronoun are म and अम्ह (= Sanskrit अस्म), of which, in Sanskrit, the former belongs to the singular and the latter to the plural. In the Vernaculars (Páli, Prákrit), however, this distinction is not strictly observed. Moreover there are some by-forms of the base; viz., *mama*, *mayha*, *maha*, *majjha*. The last two, which occur in the Ársha, are, probably, mere modifications of *mayha* which occurs in Páli

* *Gávi* nom. sing. in Kuhn, p. 85, and *gáviyo* nom. plur. in Childers, p. 145, and *gávi* in Kachch. II, 1, 23 (Senart, p. 44).

† *Gávi* in H. C. II, 174 and *gái* in H. C. I, 158 and *gávio* in H. C. II, 174.

and, in the form *mahya*, in Sanskrit. In the Árisha these by-forms occur only in a few isolated cases; but in the later Prákrit they have a nearly regular declension.

The Árisha, also, has an indeclinable form *bhe*, which may be used for any of the six cases (II, 27). Hemachandra (III, 106) allows it only in the acc. plural. It is probably a modification of *mhe*, curtailed from *amhe*.

Declension.

Cases.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Árisha.	Prákrit.
Sing. Nom.	अहं	अहं	अहं	अहं or अहयं
	——	——	——	अम्हि or अम्मि
Acc.	मां	मं	मां	मं
	——	ममं	——	ममं or मिमं, etc.
Instr.	मया	मया	मए	मए or मइ
	——	——	मे	मे or मि
	——	——	——	ममए, etc.
Abl.	मत्	मया	मइत्तो	मइत्तो
		——	——	ममत्तो or ममादो, etc.
		——	——	मइत्तो or मइादो, etc.
		——	——	मज्झत्तो or मज्झादो, etc.
Gen.	मे	मे	मे	मे, etc.
	मम	मम or ममं	मम	मम
	——	——	मह	मह or महं
	——	मय्हं	मज्झ	मज्झ or मज्झं
	——	अम्हं	——	अम्ह or अम्हं
Loc.	मयि	मयि	मयि	मइ, etc.
	——	——	——	ममम्मि
	——	——	——	मइम्मि
	——	——	——	मज्झम्मि
	——	——	——	अम्हम्मि

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Plur. Nom.	वयं	मयं	वयं	वयं
	——	अम्हे	अम्हे	अम्हे or अम्हो or अम्ह
Acc.	अस्मान्	अम्हे (or अम्हाकं)	अम्हे	अम्हे or अम्हो or अम्ह
	नः	नो	नो	णे
Instr.	अस्माभिः	अम्हेभि or °हि	अम्हेहि or °हिं	अम्हेहि or °हिं
				अम्हाहि or °हिं, etc.
Abl.	अस्मत्	अम्हेभि or °हि	अम्हेहिंतो or	(अम्हेहिंतो?) or °सुंतो
		——	अम्हहिंतो	अम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो
		——	——	(ममेहिंतो?) or °सुंतो
		——	——	ममाहिंतो or °सुंतो
Gen.	नः	नो	नो	णो or णे
	अस्माकं	अस्माकं or अम्हाकं	अम्हाणं or °ण	अम्हाणं or ण
	——	——	अम्हाहं or °ह	अम्हाहँ
	——	——	——	ममाणं or °ण
	——	——	——	मह्माणं or °ण
	——	——	——	मज्झाणं or °ण
	——	अम्हं	अम्हं	अम्हं or अम्ह
Loc.	अस्मासु	अम्हेसु	अम्हेसु or °सुं	अम्हेसु or अम्हसु
	——	——	——	ममेसु or ममसु
	——	——	——	मह्मेसु or मह्मसु
	——	——	——	मज्झेसु or मज्झसु ;
	——	——	——	also अम्हासु or °सुं, [etc.

b, Second Personal Pronoun.

The original bases of this pronoun are *tva* or *ta* and *tumha* (Sanskrit *yushma*). In Sanskrit they belong to the singular and plural respectively; but in the Vernaculars (Páli and Prákrit) the distinction is not strictly observed. There are, moreover, the following by-forms of the base:

tu or *tava* or *tuva* or *tuma* and *tuyha* or *tuha* or *tujjha* or *tubbha* or *tumbha*. The first four are probably modifications of *tva*, and the others, of *tumha*. The Árṣha possesses most of these by-forms, though they occur only in isolated cases; absent are only *tu*, *tuva*, *tuyha*. In the later Prákrit, however, they are capable of almost regular declension.

The Árṣha possesses also an indeclinable form *bhe* which may be used in any of the six cases (II, 26). Hemachandra confines its use to the instrumental singular and to the nominative, accusative, instrumental and genitive plural (H. C. III, 94, 91, 93, 95, 100).

The second personal pronoun in Chaṇḍa's Prákrit is especially deserving of notice, as some of its forms bear a striking witness to its antiquity. I mean the forms of the nom. acc. and loc. sing., which, just as in Páli, may optionally preserve the initial conjunct *tv*. The MSS. are on this point in considerable confusion, owing to the, perhaps, natural mistake of the Revisionists, that these were the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prákrit forms. This can be very clearly shown in regard to the accusative case. The readings are the following:

A त्वां । मां । तं ॥
B त्वां । मां । तं । मं ॥
C त्वां । मां । तं । मं ॥
D त्वां । तं । मां । मं ॥

A has nearly preserved the original reading, as I shall presently show. The Revisionists, mistaking *tvám* and *mám* for Sanskrit, were naturally surprised to miss in A the corresponding form मं; so they quietly added मं in B and C. Next noticing that these four forms did not observe their proper order, they change the latter to *tvám*, *tam*, *mám*, *mam* in D. This no doubt is the correct order; provided that *tvám* and *mám* are really Sanskrit.* But the truth is that they are not Sanskrit. Indeed, one of the indications that they are not Sanskrit, is the very fact of the absence of that order in A B C. On the other hand, on the supposition that they are not Sanskrit, but Prákrit, it will at once appear that the reading of A does observe the proper order; moreover it will also be seen, why A omits *mam*. The order of the forms of the nom. plural (*vayam*, *tuhme*, *ahme*) clearly shows Chaṇḍa's method. *Vayam* is a tatsama; *tuhme* and *ahme* are tadbhavas; the tatsama form corresponding to *vayam* is *yúyam*, but that does not exist in Prákrit. Chaṇḍa's method, evidently, is to give firstly the tatsama forms, afterwards the tadbhava. Applying this key to the explanation of accusative singular forms,

* It is well known, that native Grammarians, when treating of "persons" or "personal" pronouns do not commence, as we do, with the first person and then proceed to the second and third; but they begin at the other end. Hence with them the second personal pronoun always precedes the first. Hence the change in D to *tvám tam*, *mán mam*,

we find that *tvám*, *mám* is the tatsama pair; the tadbhava pair should be *tám*, *mám*, but *mám* is not a tadbhava; hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is *tvám*, *mám*, *tám*. That *tám* must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument; if *tam* were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form *mam* would be unaccountable; while if *tám* was the original reading, its change into *tam* by the first Revisionist can be easily accounted for by his taking *tvám* for Sanskrit and *tám* for (what it undoubtedly would be in that case) an erroneous Prákrit spelling. But if *tvám* is a Prákrit tatsama, its immediate tadbhava is *tám*, not *tam*. And there is this to be said for the form *tám*, that it agrees with the general law of Chaṇḍa's Prákrit, of preserving the long termination in the acc. singular (see the remarks on p. xxxvii). Moreover if *tam* were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chaṇḍa under sútra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit *tvám* to be fairly called a *saṃskṛitavad vibhakti*. It would, no doubt, have had a special sútra assigned to it; as indeed is done by the Revisionist authors of C D (in I, 20) who seem to have felt a little the inconsistency of their changing *tám* into *tam*. It being thus established, that *tvám* is the tatsama form of the acc. singular, there is little difficulty in adjusting the forms of the nom. and loc. singular. The tatsama forms of the former are *tvam*, *aham*; the tadbhava is *tam*, which is not mentioned in sútra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sútras (*e. g.* in II, 18). The tatsama locatives are *tvayi*, *mayi*; the tadbhava is *tayi*. There are, of course, no tadbhava forms of *aham* and *mayi*.

Declension.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Árṣha.	Prákrit.
Nom.	त्वं	त्वं	त्वं or तं	तं or तुं
	——	तुवं	तुमं	तुवं or तुमं
	——	——	——	तुह
Acc.	त्वां	त्वं or तं	त्वां or तां	तं or तुं
	——	तवं or तुवं	तुमं	तुवं or तुमं
	——	——	——	तुह
	——	——	तुए	तुए or तुमे
Instr.	त्वया	त्वया or तया	तए or तइ	तए or तइ
	——	——	ते or तुमे	ते or तुमे
	——	——	——	तुमए or तुमइ

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Abl.	त्वत्	त्वया or तया	तद्दो	तद्दो
		——	तुमातो	तुमत्तो or तुमाओ
		——	तुमाहिंतो or °हिं	तुमाहिंतो or °हिं
		——	——	तुवत्तोorतुवाओ,etc.
		——	——	तुहत्तोorतुहाओ,etc.
		——	——	तुम्हत्तोorतुम्हाओ,etc.
		——	——	तुम्हत्तोorतुम्हाओ,etc.
		——	——	तुज्झत्तो or तुज्झाओ [etc.
Gen.	ते	ते	ते	ते or दे or दि or ए or इ
	तव	तव	तव	तुव or तुम, etc.
	——	——	तुह	तुह or तुहं
	——	——	तुज्झ	तुज्झ or उज्झ
	——	तुम्हं	तुम्ह	तुम्ह or उम्ह or तुम्हं
	——	तुह्मं	——	उह्म
	——	——	——	तुम्ह or उम्ह
Loc.	त्वयि	त्वयि or तयि	त्वयि or तयि	तइ or तुम्मि, etc.
	——	——	——	तुमेortुमम्मिortुवम्मि
	——	——	——	तुहम्मि
	——	——	——	तुज्झम्मि
	——	——	——	तुम्हम्मि
	——	——	——	तुम्हम्मि
Plur. Nom.	यूयं	तुम्हे	तुम्हे or तुम्भे	तुम्हे or तुम्ह
		——	——	तुम्हे or उम्हे
		——	——	तुज्झे
		——	——	तुम्भे or तुम्ह

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Acc.	यूयम्	वो	वो	वो
		तुम्हे (or तुम्हाकं)	तुम्हे	तुम्हे
		——	तुम्भे	तुम्भे or तुम्ह
		——	——	तुह्हे or उह्हे
		——	——	तुज्झे
Instr.	युष्माभिः	तुम्हेभि or °हि	तुम्हेहि or °हिं	तुम्हेहिं or उम्हेहिं
		——	(तुम्भेहि or °हिं?)	तुम्भेहिं or उम्भेहिं
		——	——	तुह्हेहिं or उह्हेहिं
		——	——	तुज्झेहिं
Abl.	युष्मत्	तुम्हेभि or °हि	तुम्हेहिंतो	तुम्हेहिंतो or °सुंतो*
				तुम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो
		——	——	तुम्भे° or तुम्हा°,etc.
		——	——	तुह्हे°or तुह्हा°*,etc.
		——	——	तुज्झे°or तुज्झा°,etc.
Gen.	यूयम्	वो	वो	वो
	युष्माकं	तुम्हाकं	तुम्हाणं or °ण	तुम्हाणं or °ण
				तुम्हाहँ
			तुम्हाणं or °ण	तुहाणं or °ण
			तुम्हाहं or °ह	तुमाणंor तुवाणं or°ण
				तुम्भाणं or °ण
				तुज्झाणं or °ण
	तुम्हं	——		तुम्ह or तुम्हं
				तुम्भ or तुव
				तुज्झ or तुज्झं

* Also उम्हहिंतो or °सुंतो, उम्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो, उह्हेहिंतो or °सुंतो, उह्हाहिंतो or °सुंतो।

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Loc.	युष्मासु	तुम्हेसु	तुम्हेसु or °सुं	तुम्हेसु or तुम्हसु*
		——	——	तुमेसु or तुमसु
		——	——	तुवेसु or तुवसु
		——	——	तुहेसु or तुहसु
		——	——	तुज्झेसु or तुज्झसु
		——	——	तुज्झेसु or तुज्झसु
		——	——	तुसु

b, Demonstrative Pronouns.

These are *tad*, *etad* and *idam*. Their declensional bases are *ta*, *eta* and *ima* respectively. They are regularly declined, like nouns in *a*. Of the regular forms of *tad* the following are mentioned by Chaṇḍa, nom. sing. neuter *taṃ* (II, 17); nom. plur. masc. *te* (I, 31); instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. fem. *táe* (I, 9); gen. plur. com. gen. *táṇaṃ* or *táhaṃ* (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed; nom. sing. masc. *sa* (II, 17, Skr. *sa*), fem. *sá* (II, 1, Skr. *sá*); abl. sing. fem. *tassá* (B C D, I, 3, Skr. *tasyáḥ*), gen. sing. or plur. com. gen. *se* (I, 17); gen. plur. masc. or neut. *tesaṃ* (Skr. *teshám*) or *tesiṃ* (I, 3); loc. sing. masc. or neut. *tasmiṃ* (Skr. *tasmin*) or *tamhi* (B C D, I, 3). All these anomalous forms are relics from the Sanskrit, excepting the genitive *se*. They also occur in Páli, excepting the genitive general *se* and the genitive plural *tesiṃ* (see Minayef's Páli Grammar, pp. 83—85). There are also evidences of the existence of an irregular feminine base *ti* or *tí*; *viz.*, instr., abl., gen., loc. sing. *tíe* (I, 9) and abl. sing. *tissá* (B C D, I, 3).

Of the base *eta*, the only forms noticed are the Sanskritic nom. sing. masc. *esa* (II, 10) and the anomalous gen. general *se* (I, 17).

Of the base *ima*, only the regular form *imá* of the nom. sing. fem. (II, 1) and the anomalous form *se* of the genitive general (I, 17) are mentioned.

c, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

The bases are *ja* and *ka*, which are declined regularly, like nouns in *a*. There are only three forms, however, noticed in Chaṇḍa; *viz.*, the irregular Sanskritic abl. sing. masc. or neut. *jamhá* (III, 23) of the relative pronoun

* Also तुम्हासु, नमासु, तुवासु, तुहासु, तुज्झासु, तुम्हासु; also every form with final °सुं.

and the irregular Sanskritic nom. singular neuter *kiṃ* (I, 23) and the regular gen. plural *kánaṃ* or *káhaṃ* (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun.

d, Pronominal Adjectives.

The pronouns of quantity are *táva* "so much", *jáva* "as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit *távat*, *yávat*, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant *t*. Besides *táva* there also occurs the anomalously shortened form *tá* (but not *já*, for *jáva*). The Páli has only *táva*, *jáva*, but not *tá* (see Childers, pp. 500, 599). The later Prákrit has both pairs complete, *táva* and *jáva*, *tá* and *já* (H. C. I, 271). Páli has also a form *jávaṃ* (apparently really a nom. sing., like *mahaṃ*, *bhavaṃ*) ; the Árṣha probably had both *távaṃ* and *jávaṃ ;* at least they occur in the Jaina Prákrit of the Bhagavatí (see Weber's *Fragment*, p. 257).

There is also mentioned the interrogative pronominal adjective, nom. sing. masc., *katare* "which of two" (II, 10, Skr. *kataraḥ*).

7, Numerals.

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chaṇḍa, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in *ṇhaṃ* (I, 6). From this fact, however, it may be concluded, that, in all other respects, the declension of numerals was regular and followed that of nouns. That is to say, that *eka* "one", *pancha* "five", and all others, ending in *a*, were declined like nouns in *a* (e. g., *deva) ; di* "two" (Skr. *dvi*) and *ti* "three" (Skr. *tri*), like nouns in *i* (e. g., *aggi) ;* and *chatu* "four" (Skr. *chatur*), like nouns in *u* (e. g., *guru*). It is probable, however, that the nominative and accusative of the second and fourth numerals were taken directly from the Sanskrit ; *viz.*, *do* or *duve* or *ve* (Skr. *dvau*, *dve*, Páli *dve*, *duve*, Prákrit *do*, *duve*, *ve*, *doṇṇi*, *veṇṇi*) "two" ; *chattáro* (acc. also *chaturo*), *chatasso*, *chattári* (so also in Páli ; Skr. *chatváraḥ*, *chaturaḥ*, *chatasraḥ*, *chatvári ;* Prák. *chattáro*, *chaüro*, *chattári*) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally :

6. *chha* (III, 14), Skr. *shaṭ*, Pá. *chha*, Prák. *chha*.
10. *daha* (III, 14), Skr. *daṣa*, Pá. *dasa*, Pr. *dasa* or *daha*.
13. *teraha* (III, 22, 31) Skr. *trayodaṣa*, Pá. *teraha* or *telaha*, Pr. *teraha*.
16. *solasa* (III, 21), Skr. *shoḍaṣa*, Pá. *solasa*, Pr. *solaha* (?)
20. *vísá* (III, 32), Skr. *viṃṣati*, Pá. *vísati* or *vísaṃ*, Pr. *vísá*.
30. *tísá* (I, 6), Skr. *triṃsat*, Pá. *tiṃsati* or *tísaṃ*, Pr. *tísá*.
50. *panná* (III, 32), Skr. *panchásat*, Pá. *paññásaṃ*, Pr. *paṇṇásá*.
55. *paṇapaṇṇasa* (III, 33), Skr. *panchapanchásat*, Pá. *panchapaññása*, Pr. *paṇavaṇṇá*.

The following numerals are also mentioned, *viz.* :—

6th *chhaṭṭho* (III, 26), Skr. *shashṭhaḥ*, Pá. *chhaṭṭho* or *saṭṭho* (Kachch. p. 200), Pr. *chhaṭṭho*.
"6 fold" *chhakkaṁ* (III, 3), Skr. *shaṭkaṁ*, Pá. *chhakkaṁ*, Pr. *chhakkaṁ*.

8, The Verb.

Chaṇḍa's Grammar takes no formal notice of the conjugation of the Verb. Incidentally, however, not a little information is supplied; and that shows that, on the whole, the conjugation did not differ much from its Sanskrit prototype, so far at least as the ordinary tenses are concerned. The difference does not appear to have been greater than that between the Páli and Sanskrit.

The old Prákrit, like the Páli and Sanskrit, had parasmaipada and átmanepada forms; thus parasm. *gachchhati* "he goes" (II, 4); átm. *najjate* "it is known" (III, 25). These two examples also show the existence of the active and passive voices. The MSS. vary a good deal in their spelling (see the *var. lect.)*; sometimes all give the ending *e* of the átmanepada (e. g., *vijjhate* in III, 11); sometimes only one or the other (e. g., *dísate* in II, 5. *najjate* in III, 25), while the rest give the termination *i* of the parasmaipada. I have preferred restoring uniformly the átmanepada ending, as it has undoubtedly the support of antiquity and because Chaṇḍa has no sútra to allow for the change of the átmanepada into the parasmaipada. That change became almost universal in later Prákrit; its beginnings are already to be found in Páli (Kachch. III, 4, 37. p. 263); and it may have occasionally occurred in the Árṣha; it certainly *did* occur in the Árṣha in the present participle, where it is enjoined by an especial sútra (II, 25); but the absence of any such sútra with reference to the tenses seems to show that the change did not yet affect the latter.

There was no dual, as sútra II, 12 shows. The examples are all taken from the noun; but if the noun had no dual, the verb is not likely to have had it.

With regard to the three persons, examples occur of all three, both in the singular and plural; but only in the present and imperative tenses. Thus present tense 1st sing. *bhaṇámi* (I, 20. 22), *vemmi* (III, 3); 2nd sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18); 3rd sing. *eti* (I, 12), *achchhati* (II, 1), *gachchhati* (II, 4. 10), *bháti* (II, 22), *hoti* (III, 31), *havati* (III, 39); 1st plur. *bhaṇámo* (II, 27); 3rd plur. *jalanti* (I, 12). Again imperative tense, 2nd sing. *passa* "see thou" (I, 12), 3rd sing. *rakkhatu* (I, 3), 2nd plur. *nisámetha* (II, 26), 3rd plur. *rakkhantu* (I, 4).

These examples also show traces of the existence of verbal classes. Thus *bhavati*, *jalanti* (Skr. *jvalanti*), etc. are of the Ist class; *eti*, *bháti*, *vemmi*

(Skr. *vachmi*) of the IInd class; *lijjante* (Skr. *líyante*) is of the IVth class; *nisámetha* (Skr. *niṣámayata*) of the Xth class.

The passive may be formed in two ways, either by assimilating the suffix *ya* to the preceding consonant, or by changing it to *jja* if preceded by a vowel, or to *ijja* if preceded by a consonant (III, 25). Thus 3rd sing. pres. *dísate* for Skr. *dṛiṣyate* "it is seen" (II, 5), *dajjhate* for Skr. *dahyate* "it is burnt" (III, 1); again *najjate* for Skr. *jñáyate* "it is known" (III, 25), *váhijjate* for Skr. *vádhyate* "he is troubled" (III, 25).*

The causal is formed by means of the suffix *e*, as in the 2nd plur. imper. *nisámetha* for Skr. *niṣámayata*.

As to the participles, see the following section.

Conjugation of *bhaṇ* "speak".

Present tense.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Ársha.	Prákrit.
Sing. 1st	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि or भणमि
2nd	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि
3rd	भणति	भणति	भणति	भणइ
Plur. 1st	भणामः	भणाम	भणामो	भणामो or भणमो भणाम or भणम, etc.
2nd	भणथ	भणथ	भणथ	भणह or भणित्थ
3rd	भणंति	भणंति	भणंति	भणंति.

Imperative.

Sing. 2nd	भण	भण	भण	भण
3rd	भणतु	भणतु	भणतु	भणउ
Plur. 2nd	भणत	भणथ	भणथ	भणह
3rd	भणन्तु	भणंतु	भणंतु	भणंतु

Passive.

Sing. 3rd	भण्णते	भञ्ञते भणीयते ——	भण्णते भणिज्जते	भण्णए or भण्णइ भणीअए or ०अइ भणिज्जए or ०ज्जइ

* MS. A in II, 25 has the curious reading *sáhiyyantam* (see Appendix), which raises a doubt, whether *yy* may not possibly be the correct reading throughout for *jj*; the latter being due to the Revisionists. The reading *yy* would well agree with sútra III, 25 (*nayyate, váhiyyate*); though, no doubt, sútra III, 15 may account for the change of *yy* to *jj*.

Causal.

Person.	Sanskrit.	Páli.	Arsha.	Prákrit.
Sing. 3rd	भाषयति	भाषेति	भाषेति	भाषेइ
		भणापेति	(भणापेति?)	भणावेइ

The following specialities may be noticed: the root *hava* "be" may be optionally contracted to *ho*; e. g., *hoti* "it is" (III, 31); so also in Páli (see Minayef, p. 113). Again the root *as* "be" drops its initial *a* in the 2nd pers. sing. *si* "thou art" (II, 18). The roots *grah* "take" and *ḱar* "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, *giṇhati* "he takes" (III, 23), *ḱarati* "he does" (see App. B C D, III, 3).

9, Suffixes.

a, Participial.

a, *anta* (Skr. *at*) forms the participle-present of the parasmaipada verbs and optionally of the átmanepada. Thus *arahanto* (II, 11) for Skr. *arhan*; pass. *bhijjantaṃ* (II, 25) for Skr. *bhidyámánaṃ*.

b, *mána* forms optionally the participle present of the átmanepada verbs; e. g., *sáhijjamánaṃ* (App. A, II, 25) for Skr. *sádhyamánaṃ*.

c, *ta* forms the participle past of the passive; e. g., *ḱataṃ* (Skr. *ḱṛtaṃ*, I, 23), *sutaṃ* (Skr. *śrutaṃ*, III, 2), *palátaṃ* (Skr. *paláyitaṃ*, I, 23), etc. After consonants it inserts *i* or is assimilated: thus *osaritaṃ* (Skr. *apasaritaṃ*, II, 23), *diṭṭhaṃ* (Skr. *dṛishṭaṃ*, I, 27).

d, *tavva* (Skr. *tavya*) forms the participle future passive. Thus *sotavvaṃ* (Skr. *śrotavyaṃ*, III, 2), *ḱátavvaṃ* (Skr. *ḱartavyaṃ*, II, 4. III, 9, 29).

e, *ttá* or *ttu* (Skr. *tvá*) form the conjunctive participle. Thus *bhottuṃ* (Skr. *bhuktvá*, II, 19, final anusvára by II, 15), or, with connecting vowel *i*, *vandittá* and *vandittu* (Skr. *vanditvá*, II, 19). Sometimes *tvá* forms *chchá* and *ṭṭu* by assimilation; e. g., *suchchá* (Skr. *śrutvá*, II, 19); *ḱaṭṭu* (Skr. *ḱṛtvá*, II, 19); or even *ppi*, as in *ḱappi* (Skr. *ḱṛtvá*, II, 19, cf. *gappi* of *gam* in the Apabhraṃśa, H. C. IV, 442).

f, *o* (or rather *io*) may form the conjunctive participle; e. g., *vandio* (Skr. *vanditvá*, II, 19).*

* I suspect that there is here some corruption in the text. The suffix is perhaps *iya* (as in Páli). MS. A reads the example *vandiva* (not *vandio*); similarly A reads *iva* in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is *iya*. Hence the correct reading in II, 19 may be *vandiya*, and accordingly the suffix *iya* (not *o*).

g, *túṇa* or *ttúṇa* (Skr. *tvána*) forms the conjunctive participle; e. g., *bhottúṇa* (Skr. *bhuktvá*, II, 19), *kátúṇa* (Skr. *kṛtvá*, II, 5).

b, Nominal.

ála and *illa* derive nouns expressive of possession. Thus *jaḍálo* or *jaḍillo* (Skr. *jaṭaván*) II, 20.

10, Indeclinables.

a, *ṇaï*, *cheya* or *chiya* (Skr. *eva*) express emphasis (II, 17). After short vowels *ch* is doubled; thus *taṁ cheya*, but *sa chchiya*.

b, *piva*, *viva*, *viya*, *vva*, *va* (Skr. *iva*) express likeness (II, 22); thus *gimho viya*, *kamalaṁ viva*; but *piva* apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvára, e. g., *chaṇḍaṇaṁ piva* (cf. *pi*). The Sanskrit form *iva* also occurs, e. g., *chamaram iva*.

c, *jahá* (Skr. *yathá*) also expresses likeness (II, 22); e. g., *jahá sankho*.

d, *pi* (Skr. *api*) expresses addition or emphasis (II, 18), thus *kataṁ pi*, *súro pi*.

e, *khu* (Skr. *khalu*) expresses emphasis (II, 24); thus *evaṁ khu*.

f, *tá* or *táva* (Skr. *távat*) and *jáva* (Skr. *yávat*) express measure (II, 21); e. g., *tá vichchhinnaṁ*, *táva gambhírá*, *jáva lijjante*. The abbreviated form *já* does not occur. See pronominal adjectives, p. li.

g, *iya* (Skr. *iti*) indicates a quotation (II, 28); e. g., *iya evaṁ*.

h, *o* (Skr. *ava* or *apa*) is a prefix (II, 23); e. g., *ohasitaṁ* (Skr. *avahasitaṁ*), *osaritaṁ* (Skr. *apasaritaṁ*).

ANALYSIS OF CHAṆḌA'S SŪTRAS

On Nominal Declension, I, 3. 5–10.*

The plan on which these sútras are arranged is to notice *first* all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, though modified in accordance with the general phonetic laws of Prákrit. These forms are enumerated in sútra I, 3.

Secondly, all those forms which are peculiar to Prákrit and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskritic forms are enumerated in the sútras I, 5—16.

The following table will show at a glance this cardinal division of the Prákrit declensional forms:

* A brief analysis of the second and third chapters of Chaṇḍa has already been given; see pp. viii—x, xxiv—xxxi.

	masc. *a* bases.		masc. *i*, *u* bases.		fem. *a*, *i*, *u* bases.	
	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.	Sansk.	Prák.
Sing.	Nom.	——	Nom.		Nom.	
	Acc.	——	Acc.		Acc.	
	Instr.	——	Instr.		——	*Instr.*
	——	ABL.	——	Abl.	——	*Abl.*
	——	GEN.	——	GEN.	——	*Gen.*
	——	Loc.	——	Loc.	——	*Loc.*
Plur.	Nom.	——	——	Nom.	——	*Nom.*
	——	ACC.	——	Acc.	——	*Acc.*
	——	*INSTR.*	Instr. ½	*INSTR.* ½	Instr. ½	*INSTR.* ½
	——	*ABL.*	——	*ABL.*	——	*ABL.*
	Gen. ½	*GEN.* ½	Gen. ½	*GEN.* ½	Gen. ½	*GEN.* ½
	Loc.	——	Loc.	——	Loc.	——

The forms in the Sanskrit columns are those which Prákrit shares with the Sanskrit; those in the Prákrit columns are the forms peculiar to Prákrit.

Now it will be observed (1) that in the Prákrit columns the only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and for all three genders are those of the instrumental, ablative and genitive plural; indicated by capital italics.

(2). The only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *feminine* gender are those of the instr., abl., gen., loc. singular and the nom. acc. plural indicated by small italics. (In the other genders, the same forms are not alike for the three kinds of bases.)

(3). The only forms, which are *wholly* alike for the bases in *i* and *u* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl. sing. and nom. and acc. plural; indicated by ordinary type.

(4). The only forms which are *partially* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *masculine* gender are those of the genitive and locative singular; indicated by small capitals. (In the gen. sing. the suffix *ssa*, and in the

loc. sing. the suffix *mmi*, are common to all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, while the suffix *ṇo* of the gen. is confined to bases in *i* and *u*, and the suffix *e* of the loc. to bases in *a*.)

(5). The only forms which are peculiar to the bases in *a* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl. sing. and the acc. plural; indicated by large capitals. (This is the converse of No. 3.)

The principle in the above explained order is to proceed from the most general to the most particular forms. It will be seen at once that it is this principle on which the sútras I, 5—16 are arranged. We have first (by No. 1) sútras on the instr., abl. and gen. plural of all genders (*lingát parasya*, I, 5—8); secondly (by No. 2) sútras on the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., and the nom. and acc. plural of the feminine (*striyám*, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No. 3) sútras on the abl. sing. and nom. acc. plural of the masculine (*puṃsi*, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No. 4) sútras on the gen. and the loc. singular of masculines (*puṃsi*, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No. 5) sútras on the abl. sing. and acc. plur. of the masculine (*puṃlinge*, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sútras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatical usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chaṇḍa commences with the sútra on the gen. plur., because the gen. plur. has *two* forms for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*), one of which it has in common with Sanskrit (see Sanskrit column). This is indicated by the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$. The gen. plur., therefore, is the natural link between the Sanskritic cases, treated in sútra I, 3, and the Prákritic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sútra on the instr. plur., because this case has its form in common with Sanskrit, with the exception of masc. bases in *a*.* Lastly comes the sútra on the abl. plural

* The treatment of this case requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chaṇḍa was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prákrit instr. plur. suffix *hi* is really the same as the Skr. *bhis* (or *bhiḥ*), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prákrit (*i. e.*, by the rules III, 13. II, 10, 11). Accordingly there would have been no need of any special sútra (I, 7), teaching the formation of the Prák. instr. plur., if only Sanskrit had used the suffix *bhis* with every kind of base; but unfortunately Sanskrit does not use *bhis*, but *ais*, with masc. bases in *a*. It, therefore, became necessary for Chaṇḍa to formulate a special sútra to meet the exceptional case of these masc. *a*-bases. Here came the dilemma. If he had made a special sútra (after the analogy of I, 15, 16) for masc. *a*-bases alone (say, *hi bhiso'taḥ*), this, by its terms, would have denied the suffix *hi* to all other bases; which would have been manifestly wrong. If, on the other hand, he made a special sútra for all bases, this would seem to imply that the suffix *hi* is altogether Prákritic (like the abl. plur. suffix *hinto* I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (*saṃskṛitavad vibhakti*) and ought to be set down under sútra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chaṇḍa did, was this: in order to indicate the Sanskritic character of the suffix *hi*, he mentioned it under sútra I, 3, but excluded

which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision Chaṇḍa commences with the sútra on the nom. and acc. plural, instead of that on the abl. singular, simply because the sûtra (I, 10) which immediately precedes it referred to the nom. and acc. plur. ; a circumstance which saves the repetition of the term *jaṣṣasoḥ*. Lastly in the fifth subdivision, Chaṇḍa places the acc. plur. before the abl. sing., because the usage of native grammarians is to treat of the accusative (or *second* case), whether plural or singular, before the ablative (or *fifth* case) ; though another reason may have been, that sútras I, 15 and I, 16 on the *a*-bases are parallel to the sútras I, 11 and I, 12 on the *i*- and *u*-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sútras. That the sútras I, 5—10 refer to any of the three kind of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) is shown by the absence of any limitation in their terms as well as (in some of them) by their examples. But sútras I, 11, 12 are, as far as their terms are concerned, equally unlimited; yet they are only applicable to bases in *i* and *u*. How is this to be known ? The limitation is ingeniously indicated in two ways ; 1, by the examples ; these are only taken from bases in *i* and *u ;* the example of the *a*-base will be found in sútra I, 3 ; thus indicating, that the *a*-base forms its nom. plur. not by the rule I, 11, but by the rule I, 3. Secondly, there is the special sútra I, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sútra I, 11 and shows that the *a*-base forms its acc. plur. not by the rule I, 11 but by the rule I, 15. The sútra I, 11 being thus limited to the *i*- and *u*-bases, the sútra I, 12, of course, is equally limited to those bases by the well-known grammatical usage of *vartanam* or "implication."* Moreover the same implication is carried on to sútras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term *ataḥ* "after *a*-bases" in sútra I, 15. At the same time, the two sútras I, 13 and I, 14 are only *partially* applicable to bases in *i* and *u ;* for they partially refer also to bases in *a*. How is

examples of masc. *a*-bases ; next to meet the exceptional case of the latter bases, he formulated a special sútra (I, 7) in *general* terms (*hi bhisaḥ*), but excluded examples of any base save those of masc. *a*-bases. In either case, therefore, he uses the examples which he gives to define the exact range of the terms of the sútra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sútra, is a favorite one with Chaṇḍa. Another striking example (regarding the gen. and loc. sing.) will be noticed further on in the text.

* The limitation of sútra I, 12 is also indicated by the existence of sútra I, 16. In fact, there are two sets of sútras, *viz.*, I, 11, 12 and I, 15, 16, both being on the acc. plur. and abl. sing. Of these the latter set, *viz.* I, 15, 16, being limited, by its very terms, to *a*-bases, shows that the former set must be limited to bases in *i* and *u*. There are, thus two sútras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in *i* and *u* only ; next two sútras I, 13, 14 referring, partially, to both *a*-bases and *i*- and *u*-bases ; lastly two sútras I, 15, 16 referring to *a*-bases only.

this again to be known? The reply is the same as before; by the examples. In sútra I, 13 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give two forms of the genitive, but that of the *a*-base gives only one form, thus indicating that the *a*-base does not form a genitive in *ṇo*, but only one in *ssa*. Similarly in sútra I, 14 the examples of the *i*- and *u*-bases give only one form of the locative each, while the examples of the *a*-base give two forms; thus showing that the loc. in *e* does not belong to the *i*- and *u*-bases, but only to the *a*-base.* It hardly needs adding, that in sútra I, 16, of course, the term *ataḥ* is again "implied" from the preceding sútra; though its limitation to the *a*-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix *át* (instead of *ńasi*) used in the sútra.

To return to the Sanskrit columns; they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prákrit columns, and which are "*saṃskṛitavad*," that is, the same as in Sanskrit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prákrit phonetic laws (II, 1, 4, 10, 11). These forms are:—

(1.) The nom. and acc. singular of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. nom. sing *grámaḥ*, Ár. *gámao* (II, 10) = *gámo* (II, 1; cf. Kachch. II, 1, 32. p. 48); or Skr. *píṭhaṃ*, Ár. *píḍha* + *aṃ* = *píḍhaṃ* (II, 1; cf. Páṇini VII, 1. 24. in Laghu Kaumudí, p. 83) or Skr. *agniḥ*, Ár. *aggi* (II, 10); or Skr. *dadhi*, Ár. *dahi* (II, 10; cf. Paṇini VII; 1. 23. in L. K. p. 85); or Skr. *nadí*, Ár. *naí*; or Skr. *vadhúḥ*, Ár. *vahú* (II, 10). Acc. sing. Skr. *grámaṃ*, Ár. *gáma-aṃ* = *gámaṃ* (II, 1; cf. Páṇini VI, 1, 107 in L. K. p. 47); or Skr. *agniṃ*, Ár. *aggi*+*aṃ* = *aggiṃ* (cf. Páṇini *ibid.*); or Skr. *gangáṃ*, Ár. *gangáṃ*; or Skr. *nadíṃ*, Ár. *naíṃ*, etc.

(2.) The nom. plural of masculine and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devấḥ*, Ár. *devá* (II, 10); or Skr. *kulấni*, Ár. *kulấni* or *kulấṇi* (III, 16).

* There can be no doubt that the forms *aggie*, *gurue* (or *aggíe*, *gurúe* sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtless Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sútra. For the forms have no support either from Páli or from Prákrit; indeed Hemachandra and Vararuchi expressly forbid them in their rules (*H. C.* III, 128. Vr. VI, 61), which would almost seem to have had in view these forgeries of the Revisionists. Of course, the forms *aggie*, *gurue* are simply the regular Prákrit forms for the Sanskrit locatives *agnike*, *gurúke*, containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*. Nor can it be doubtful that the example *devassa sohá* is only by some mischance omitted in MSS. A and B. For the gen. sing. of *a*-bases is not mentioned in I, 3 (by any of the four MSS.) where one might expect it, as it is a Sanskritic form; and if it were also omitted in I, 13, there would be no notice of it in the grammar at all. That, in such an important form as the gen. sing. of *a*-bases in *ssa*, would be simply incredible. Hence the reading of MSS. C D, in this respect, must be correct. But the stupid remark *chakáragrahaṇát*, etc., of course, is altogether the Revisionists' own contribution. It was *their* way of solving the difficulty which I have explained in the text. They either did not understand Chaṇḍa's method, or thought it not explicit enough. But *their* solution makes it no better, involving as it does a most fanciful use of the term *cha*.

(3.) The instr. singular of masc. and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devéna*, Ár. *deveṇa* (III, 16).

(4.) The instr. plural of all bases in *i* and *u* and of all three genders; thus Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, Ár. *aggihi* (II, 10. III, 13), or Skr. *nadíbhih*, Ár. *naíhi*, etc. The Skr. suffix *bhiḥ* drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes *bh* to *h* by III, 13. The Ársha form, therefore, is perfectly regular; but as the *a*-bases also take *hi* (for Skr. *aiḥ*), it is given as the general suffix of the instr. plur. in I, 7. See the footnote on page lvii.

(5.) The gen. plural for all three kinds of bases (in *a, i, u*) and for all three genders; thus Skr. *grámáṇám*, Ár. *gáma* + *ṇam* = *gámáṇam* (I, 5. II 1; cf. Páṇini VI, 4. 3. and VII, 1. 54 in L. K. p. 51.; *i. e.*, Skr. *ṇám* becomes *ṇam* by I, 5; but *ṇam* consists of the augment *ṇ* and the real suffix *am*, and the final vowel of the base *gáma* becomes long *á* before the initial vowel of the suffix *am*, by II, 1).

(6.) The loc. plur. of all three kinds of bases (in *a, i, u*) and of all three genders; thus Skr. *deveshu*, Ár. *deva-su* = *devesu* (cf. Páṇini VII, 3, 103 in L. K. p. 50), or Skr. *agnishu*, Ár. aggisu (III, 18), or Skr. *nadíshu*, Ár. *naísu*, etc.

It will be observed, that these forms are precisely those which are enumerated by Chaṇḍa in sútra I, 3.

In MS. B a few additional forms are given in sútra I, 3, which, however, do not materially affect the above given explanation. They occur in the acc. plur., and abl. gen. and loc. singular. They may possibly be original portions of the sútra, as some of the pronominal forms are very old tatsamas (*tasmim*, *tvayi*, etc.). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But *gangá*, *tumhe* and *amhe* in the acc. plur. and *gáme*, *kule* in the loc. sing. are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sútra, as the former forms come under sútra I, 10, 15, the latter under sútra I, 14. For this reason and because the standard MS. A omits them, I have relegated all these additions to the Appendix B C D.

ON THE CHANGE OF DENTAL *N* TO CEREBRAL *Ṇ*.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xxv, xxvi.

The only instances in which the Ársha shows an almost uniform use of the cerebral *ṇ*, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, are suffixes and particles. Thus there are the declensional suffixes *ṇa* or *ṇá* of the instr. sing. (I, 3), *ṇo* of the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. (I, 11, 12), *ṇi* of the nom. plur. neut. (I, 4), *ṇa* (or *ṇam*) of the gen. plur. (I, 5). Again the derivative suffixes *túṇa* (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and

ttaṇa (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle *ṇaï* (II, 17, but never the negative *na*). In all these cases Sanskrit, whenever it has a corresponding form, uses the dental *n*.

In the case of bases of nouns or verbs, the tendency of the Árṣha is just the other way. Here the dental *n* is almost uniformly used; there are exceptions in which the cerebral *ṇ* occurs, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound; but there is no apparent principle in these exceptions; for the same word is at one time spelled with dental *n*, at another, with cerebral *ṇ*; e. g. *náṇaṃ* (III, 6), but *nánaṃ* (III, 19); *dhannaṃ* (B C D, III, 27), but *dhaṇṇaṃ* (III, 16).

Even as regards suffixes and particles, there is no absolute uniformity of spelling with cerebral *ṇ*. Especially is this want of perfect uniformity striking in MS. B. Thus it has instr. sing. *devena* in I, 3, *nehena* in II, 27; nom. plur. *kulání* in I, 3 (but *deváṇi* in I, 4); gen. plur. *devánaṃ* in I, 3 (but *buddhíṇaṃ*, *naíṇaṃ*, etc.) and *no* in the sútra of I, 5 (but *ṇa* in all examples); *ttana* in II, 29 (in the comment, but *ttaṇa* in the sútra and in all examples); *naï* in II, 17 (in the sútra, but *ṇaï* in the comment, and in all examples). There are only three cases in which MS. B has uniformly the cerebral *ṇ*; *viz.*, in the instr. sing. suffix *ṇá* (I, 3), the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. suffix *ṇo* (I, 11, 12), and in the derivative suffix *túṇa* (II, 19). In the MS. A there are only two instances of want of uniformity; *viz.*, the nom. plur. *kulání* in I, 3 (but *deváṇi* in I, 4), and *naï* in II, 17 (only in the sútra). In most cases, probably, this want of uniformity is to be ascribed to the carelessness of the writers or copyists of the MSS. But in the case of the nom. plur. neuter (where both MSS. A and B agree) and, probably, of the instr. sing. of *a*-bases (which MS. B uniformly spells with dental *n*), I am inclined to believe that both ways of spelling (with *n* or *ṇ*) are correct. It will be noticed that in these two cases the Árṣha forms are tatsamas, while in the others they are, more or less, decided tadbhavas. This would account for the change of the dental *n* into the cerebral *ṇ* being more firmly established in the latter than the former cases; in the case of the instr. sing. suffix *ṇá*, the tendency to that change has even prevailed over the tatsama character of the suffix.

That there *was* such a tendency to the preferential use of the cerebral *ṇ* in Prákrit (at least in the Western Prákrit), there can be no doubt; evidence of it, in the modern Western Gauḍian, can still be observed. And that it assumed somewhat larger dimensions in later Prákrit times, is clearly shown by the statements of Hemachandra in his Grammar (already referred to on p. xxvi). But there can be no doubt that, in the main, this tendency affected tadbhava forms and words only, and that in the living language, the *vernacular* Prákrit, it never assumed those large and uniform

dimensions, which are taught in the Grammars of Vararuchi and others, and are exhibited in the dramatic and other non-Jaina literature. The state of the modern Western Vernaculars of India renders it doubtful whether, even in the far more limited dimensions taught by Hemachandra, the tendency ever existed in the vernacular Prákrit. That, as soon as the vernacular Prákrit was used for literary purposes, any such tendency should become slightly more accentuated, by being subjected to uniform rules, is but natural and a phenomenon attending the literary cultivation of all languages. But that exaggeration of it, which characterises the non-Jaina grammars and literature of Prákrit, is clearly the outgrowth of a scholastic pedantry and a mark of utter artificialness. In my opinion, the so-called Jaina Prákrit and the so-called Máhárásht*r*í Prákrit merely differ in so far as that the former is the natural, the latter the artificial literary representative of the vernacular Western Prákrit. The Jain community, always very strong in Western India, employed their vernacular as the language of their sacred writings; and the literary language, thus formed, naturally kept more or less close to its vernacular prototype; for otherwise it would have defeated its own object of serving as the vehicle of conveying religious instruction to the masses. The Brahmanical opponents of the Jains, who had no need to be guided by any such consideration, and who employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prákrit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization.

There are other evidences, making in the same direction, which however I can here only briefly refer to, as the subject is not strictly within the scope of the present work. One is the so-called *ya-śruti*, mentioned on p. vii. In Prákrit there is a tendency to elide medial single consonants. There is no difficulty in pronouncing the resultant hiatus, when the latter of the two meeting vowels is *i* or *u*; for then the vowels practically tend to combine (*a*+*i* = *ai* or *ay*, *a*+*u* = *o* or *au*, etc.). But if the second vowel is *a*, there is some awkwardness in pronouncing the hiatus, especially if both vowels are *a* (*a* + *a* or *a* + *á*, etc.). Hence a tendency arose in the vernacular Prákrit to overcome the awkwardness by sounding the semivowel *y* (or sometimes *v*) between the hiatus-vowels (*aya* = *a* + *a*, *iya* = *i* + *a*, *uya* or *uva* = *u* + *a*, etc.); a tendency the operation of which explains the origin of many modern Gaudian forms and which is still observable in the present day. When, however, the vernacular Prákrit came to be cultivated by the Jains, another tendency, apparently, arose, of looking upon the *ya-śruti* as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandra, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prákrit, allows the *ya-śruti* only in the more difficult

case of the hiatus between two *a* (H. C. I, 100). The non-Jain cultivators of Prákrit (*e. g.*, Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Máhárásh*ṭ*rí Prákrit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the *ya-śruti* altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prákrit rule of eliding medial consonants and thus creating hiatuses.

Another evidence is the curious rule of Chaṇḍa (II, 2), that the first of two hiatus-vowels is elided, if the second is followed by a conjunct consonant.* Hence arise such words as *devindo* for *devendo*, *katujjoo* for *katojjoo*. This rule is utterly ignored by the grammarians of the later literary Prákrit, both the Jaina and the Máhárásh*ṭ*rí. Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prákrit, for it is still observed in the present day (*e. g.*, in Hindí *joginda*, *narinda*, as well as *jogenda* and *narenda*). The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prákrit was probably this. In the later Prákrit a tendency arose to change *i* and *u* to *e* and *o* respectively before conjunct consonants (see Vr. I, 12, 20. H. C. I, 85, 116); a practice apparently unknown to the older Prákrit of Chaṇḍa. The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (*devinda* and *devenda*; *kaujjoo* and *kaojjoo*); of these forms those with *e* and *o* (*devenda* and *kaojjoo*) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (*devendra*, *kritodyoga*) much more nearly than the others with *i* and *u*. Hence the latter forms, together with the rule which produced them, came evidently to be looked upon as vulgarities and accordingly as things to be avoided. But that is an incorrect view; and that the forms with *i* and *u* are the older of the two (those with *a* and *o* being in fact, in many cases, modifications of the older forms in *i* and *u*, and not direct derivatives of their Sanskrit counterparts) is proved by the practice of the modern Vernaculars, in which both forms often occur side by side.

ON THE TREATMENT OF MEDIAL SINGLE CONSONANTS.

Postscript to pp. xxvi and xxviii.

The remark as to the permissive character of Chaṇḍa's rules, of course, also applies to his rule III, 34. It is not to be supposed that in the Prákrit of Chaṇḍa's time the sonant consonants were uniformly elided, any more than that the surds were uniformly preserved. But just as the latter were occasionally softened to the corresponding sonants (see Ch. III, 12), so the former were occasionally retained. But I think the existence of the rule III, 35 (on the *ya-śruti*), which provides for the treatment of a particular

* The rule, apparently, only applies to compound words, as shown by the examples.

kind of hiatus, shows that such hiatuses must have been sufficiently common to require that rule; and since hiatuses could only arise by the elision of sonant consonants, it is clear that such elision was a common occurrence. I conclude therefore, that in the Prákrit of Chaṇḍa's time, as regards surd consonants, preservation was the regular practice, while as regard sonants, elision was the rule; in both cases, there might be exceptions; but Chaṇḍa's grammar, clearly, was formulated so as to suit the generality of phenomena, leaving exceptional or less general phenomena to be provided for by the permissive character of his rules. This is the point of view I have followed in editing and, where necessary, restoring his Grammar. It may be added that rules, like Ch. III, 31. II, 21, 23, also point to a greater tendency towards detrition on the part of the sonants, than on that of surd consonants.

॥ (१)ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः(२) ॥

प्रणम्य* शिरसा वीरं सर्व्वैर् व्यापिभिर्† अक्षरैः ।
लक्षणं प्राकृतस्य‡ वक्ष्ये किंचिद् बुद्धिमताद् अहं ॥ १ ॥
क्वचिल् लोपः क्वचित् सन्धिः क्वचिद् वर्णविपर्य्ययः ।
(३)आगमोऽन्तादिमध्येषु लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं ॥ २ ॥

॥ (४)अथ क्रमेण नवनवतिः सूत्राणि ॥

॥ 1 ॥ सिद्धं(५) प्राकृतं चेया ॥ २ ॥

सिद्धं(६) प्रसिद्धं प्राकृतं त्रेधा(७) त्रिप्रकारं(८) भवति(९) ॥ (१०)संस्कृतयोनिः§ । तच् चेदं । ‖यज्ञः(११) जन्नो(१२)। ¶माचा मत्ता । **नित्यं निच्चं । इत्यादि(१३)॥

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* C अहं बुद्धिमतात् किंचित् प्राकृतं लक्षणं वक्ष्ये अक्षरैः सर्व्वैर् व्यापिभिः शिरसा वीरं प्रणम्य ॥ † C व्यापिभिर् व्यापनशीलैः ॥ ‡ C प्राकृतं । प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं । तत्रभवं ततः आगतं वा प्राकृतं । संस्कृतं सर्गिणां भाषा शब्दशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता । प्राकृतं तज्जं तत्तुल्यं देशाद्यनेकधा ॥ § C संस्कृतयोनि । संस्कृताद् योनिर् यस्य तत् संस्कृतयोनि ॥ ‖ C यज्ञः यजनं । पुंलिंगे । यस्य जः (iii, 15 जज्ञः) । वर्णविश्लेषं कृत्वा ज्ञश्च पञ्चमो वा (iii, 6 जज्ञः) । कृजथानां रनखाः (iii, 19 जनः) । लोपे द्विर्वं (iii, 24 जन्नः) । एदोद्वर्लोपा विसर्ज्जनीयस्य (ii, 10 जन्नओ) । स्वराणां स्वरे परे० (ii, 1) जन्नो ॥ ¶ C माचा कालविशेषः स्याद् वा अक्षिस्पन्दनप्रमाणकालः । स्त्रीलिंगे ॥ ** C नित्यं । नपुंसके ॥

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(१) C prefixes ८० = 80 ; the same number occurs in the same place in a MS. of the Jain work *tatvárthádhigamam mokshaśástram*, in my possession ; D pref. ६०=60. (२) C ओं नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ; D ओं नमः सिद्धं ॥ (३) So A ; C D read आगमोऽन्तादिमध्येषु लक्ष्यः स्यात् स सुभाषितात्; B om. the second verse altogether. (४) So A ; B C D om. this clause. (५) B om. this sútra, giving only the commentary. (६) B om. (७) B त्रिधा ॥ (८) A D om. (९) A B om. (१०) So D ; A B C ०योनिः ॥ (११) A यच्च, B यज्ञाः ॥ (१२) A जन्ना, B जन्नाः, C D जन्नो ॥ (१३) A B om.

(१)संस्कृतसमं* । तच् चेदं । †सूरो । सोमो । जालं(२) । कंदलं(३) । कोमलं(४) । इत्यादि ॥ देशीप्रसिद्धं(५) (C D(६)) । तच् चेदं ॥ हर्षितं(७) ल्हसिअं । (८)सुट्ठं चन्द्रिकोज्वलितं (९)पुट्ठं चन्द्रिकोज्जलीय । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 2 ॥ लिंगं च(१०) ॥ २ ॥

प्राकृते लिंगम् अपि त्रेधा(११) त्रिप्रकारं(१२) भवति ॥ देवो(१३) । गंगा(१४) । कुलं ॥

॥ 3 ॥ तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात् लिंगात् पराः संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयो(१४) भवंति ॥ सि(१५) ॥ देवो‡ । अग्गि§ । रिपु(१६) । बुद्धि(१७) । धेनु(१८) । नई(१९) । ‖वह्नु(२०) । पीढं(२१) ।

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* C संस्कृतसमं संस्कृतेन समं ॥ † C सूरो रविः । सोमो चन्द्रः । जालं पाशः । कंदलं कलहः । कोमलं सुकुमारं ॥ ‡ C देवः । एदोद्द० (ii, 10 देवस्यो) । स्वराणां स्वरे प्रक्रतिलोपसंधयः (ii, 1) देवो । § C अग्गी अग्निः । ग्राच्च० (iii, 6 अग्गिः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 अग्गिः) । स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य (ii, 4 अग्गीः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10) अग्गी ॥ ‖ C वह्नु । हो घघधभानां (iii, 13) ॥

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(१) A B सम संस्कृतं ॥ (२) A B जाल ॥ (३) A कंदल, B कं ॥ (४) A B कोमल; C D add कमलं ॥ (५) B देशीयप्रसिद्धम्; it may be noted here, that A B not uncommonly write म् or मु for a final anusvára at the end of a clause or sentence. (६) C D om. the remainder, in the place of which they have a different reading; see Appendix C D. (७) A om. Sanskrit. (८) A पुटं चण्डिकोच्यदुली । (९) B चम् ॥ (१०) A B त्रिधा ॥ (११) A D om., B त्रिःप्रकारं ॥ (१२) D adds Skr. देवः ॥ (१३) B गंगः or गंगाः ? ॥ (१४) C D prefix सप्त ॥ (१५) A B om. this case-term; A B C D read final *i* and *u*, where the text has *i* and *u*, and C D add the Skr. translations देवः । अग्निः । रिपुः । बुद्धिः । धेनुः । नदी । वधू । पीठः । दधि । मधु । त्वं । अहं । देवाः । कुलानि । etc. (१६) C D add गुरुः । गुरू ॥ (१७) A B बुद्धी; C D om. this example. (१८) B धेनुः, C D धेणू ॥ (१९) A C D णदं ॥ (२०) A C वह्न ॥ (२१) C D पीठः । पीढो ॥

दहि । मज्ज । त्वं(१) । अहं(२) ॥ जस् ॥ देवा(३) । कुलानि(४) । वयं(५) तुह्मे अह्मे । (C D) ॥ अम्(६) ॥ देवं । अग्गिं । गुरुं(७) । (८)गंगां* । बुद्धिं(९) । धेनुं† । नदिं(१०) । पीढं(११) । दहिं । मज्जं । (१२)त्वां मां तां रक्खतु(१३) ॥ शस्(१४) (B C D) ॥ टा ॥ देवेण(१५) । गुरुणा(१६) । दहिणा(१७) ॥ भिस् ॥ अग्गिहिं(१८) । रिपुहिं(१९) । बुद्धिहिं(२०) । नदीहिं(२१) । दहिहिं । मज्जहिं(२२) । ‡तुम्हेहिं(२३) । अम्हेहिं(२३) ॥ ङसि(२४) (B C D) ॥ श्रस्(२४) (C D) ॥ ङस्(२४) (B C D) ॥ आम् ॥ देवाणं(२५) । बुद्धीणं(२६) । धेनूणं(२७) । नदीणं(२८) । तेसं(२९) §तेसिं(३०) ॥ ङि(३४)

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* C गंगं गंगां । स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन गंगं ॥ † C धेनुं । (धेनु-अम्) । स्वराणां० (ii, 1 धेन्-अम् or धेनम्) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 धेनुम्) । अदागमो० (ii, 11 धेनुं) ॥ ‡ C युष्माभिः । युष्मदो यस्य तः (iii, 17 तुष्माभिः) । रषाणां सः (iii, 18 तुस्माभिः) । वर्गे (iii, 3 तुमाभिः) । शहयोर्० (iii, 23 तुम्हाभिः) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 तुम्हेभिः) । अदागमो० (ii, 11 तुम्हेभिं) । हिं भिसः (i, 7) तुम्हेहिं ॥ § C तेसिं । तेषां । रषाणां सः (iii, 18 तेसां) । स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन षाम् इति सिं भवति । तेसिं ॥

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(१) So A (see Kacc. ii, 2, 21), B तुमम्, C D तुमं ॥ (२) D अह्मं and, after it, adds इत्यादि ॥ (३) A देवाः, B देवः (cf. p. 2, note १३). (४) C D कुलाणि ॥ (५) B वयं; C D have a different reading, see Appendix C D. (६) A reads confusedly बुद्धिं । जस् । धेनुं । पीठं । मज्जं । त्वां । मां तं रक्खयो, om. the rest of the examples of the acc. sing.; C D add the Skr. translations देवं । अग्निं । गुरुं । गंगां । बुद्धिं । धेनुं । नदीं । पीठं । दधि । मधु ॥ (७) C D add रिपुं रिवुं (D in MS. रिबुं) ॥ (८) So B; C D गंगं ॥ (९) B D वुद्धिं ॥ (१०) C D णदिं, A B om. (११) A B पीठं ॥ (१२) A reads त्वा मां तं र०, B C त्वां मां तं र० मं र०, D त्वां तं मां मं र० ॥ (१३) A B रक्खयो, C D रक्खउ ॥ (१४) A om.; see App. B C D. (१५) B देवेन; C D add Skr. देवेन । गुरुणा । दध्ना ॥ (१६) B C D add मज्जणा ॥ (१७) D adds हरिणा ॥ (१८) A B C D अग्गीहिं ॥ (१९) C रिवूहिं, D रिवूहिं; B om. this example; A om. this and the remaining examples of the instr. plur.; C D add the Skr. translations अग्निभिः । रिपुभिः । बुद्धिभिः । नदीभिः । दधिभिः । मधुभिः । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः ॥ (२०) B वुद्धीहिं, C बु०; D वुद्धिहिं and adds गुरुहिं ॥ (२१) C D णदिहिं ॥ (२२) B C D दहीहि, मज्जहिं ॥ (२३) B D read ०म्हे० ॥ (२४) A om.; see App. B C D. (२५) B देवानां (see i, 5); D adds Skr. देवानां ॥ (२६) D वु० ॥ (२७) A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen. plur.; C D धेणणं ॥ (२८) C D णदिणं ॥ (२९) B D तेषां, C om. (३०) C D add जेसिं । गिरीणं ॥

(B C D) ॥ ङस्य ॥ देवेसु[1] । अग्गिसु[2] । बुद्धिसु[3] । माला-सु[4] । नईसु[5] । कुलेसु[6] । तुम्हेसु[7] । अम्हेसु[8] । (C D) ॥ इत्यादि[9] ॥

॥ ५ ॥ क्वचिद् व्यत्ययः* ॥ ४ ॥

एषां लिंगानां क्वचिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जस्[10] ॥ विज्जुणो† । देवाणि[11] रक्खेंतु[12] ॥

॥ ६ ॥ भावलक्षाध्य आमो णो[13] हो[14] वा ॥ ५ ॥

[15]सागमस्यामोऽनागमस्यापि णकारो भवति हो वा ॥ ‡ताणं ताहं ॥ §देवाणं[16] देवाहं । कम्माणं । कम्माहं । [17]सरिताणं सरिताहं । (C D) । [18]तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं‖ । (C D) ॥

॥ ७ ॥ संख्याया[19] वचः ॥ ६ ॥

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* C व्यत्ययः । विपर्ययः ॥ † C विज्जुणो । विद्युत् । वदागमो० (ii, 11 विद्यु) । वर्गाद्० (iii, 5 विद्यु) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 विज्जु) । लोपे० (iii, 24 विज्जु) । णो ङस्य (i, 12 विज्जुणो) ॥ ‡ C ताणं । ताहं । तेषां ॥ § C सर्व्वेषां शब्दानां अग्रे आम् करणीयं । एकस्मिन् स्थाने णः द्वितीयस्थाने हो विकल्पेन द्वौ कर्त्तव्यौ ॥ ‖ C देवानां । कर्म्मणां । सरितां । युष्माकं ॥

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(१) A om., D देवेसुं; B prefixes Skr. देवेषु ॥ (२) A B अग्गीसु, C D अग्गीसुं ॥ (३) A वुद्धीसु, B C बु०, D वुद्धीसुं ॥ (४) A C om., C D add मालासुं ॥ (५) A om., C णईसु, D णईसुं ॥ (६) C D om. (७) D तुमेसु, and adds तुम्हेसुं ॥ (८) B अम्हेसु, C अम्हेसुं, D अम्हेसुं ॥ (९) B C D एवमादि द्रष्टव्यं ॥ (१०) So A; B C D एसो जसो, C D add एसो । कुलो ॥ (११) C adds देवाइं देवाईं; D adds देवाईं ॥ (१२) D रक्खरक्खो ॥ (१३) B नो ॥ (१४) D om. (१५) B सागमस्याप्यमो अनाग० ॥ (१६) B om. (१७) A C D सरिआणं सरिआहं; B सरियाआणं सरियाआहं; D prefixes सरितां ॥ (१८) A B तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं; D तुमाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ (१९) C D संख्यायाः ॥

संख्यायाः परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप् आमो एहो भवति ॥ (C D) । *पंचएहं । †तीसएहं(१) । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 6ª ॥ (C D) ॥ ६ª ॥

॥ 7 ॥ हि(२) भिसः ॥ ७ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भिसो हि(२) भवति ॥ देवेहिं‡ । गामेहिं(३) । (C D) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ हिंतो(४) ङसः ॥ ८ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य ङसो(५) हिंतो भवति ॥ गामेहिंतो(६) । सिद्धेहिंतो(७) । बुद्धिहिंतो(८) । धेनुहिंतो(९) । नईहिंतो(१०) । तुम्हेहिंतो(११) । अम्हेहिंतो(१२) ॥

॥ 9 ॥ ह्रतीयादीनाम् एत्वम्(१३) एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥ ९ ॥

ह्रतीयादीनां टा ङसि ङस् ङि वचनानां स्त्रियां ए भवति ॥ गंगाए§ । बुद्धीए(१४) । नईए(१५) । वहूए(१६) । तीए(१७) । ताए‖ ॥

॥ 10 ॥ ओजसोणा(१८) जश्शसोः(१९) ॥ १० ॥

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* C पंचण्हं। पंचानां ॥ पंचन्। अदागमो० (ii, 11 पंच)। संख्याया एहः (i, 6 पंचएह)। अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 पंचएह) ॥ † C तीसण्हं। त्रिंशतां ॥ त्रिंशत्। रेफः० (iii, 9 तिंशत्)। अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 तिंशत्)। स्वरो० (ii, 4 तीशत्)। रशषाणां सः (iii, 18 तीसत्)। तस्य च दत्य् अनेन तलोपः (iii, 33 तीस)। संख्याया एहः (i, 6 तीसएह)। अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 तीसएहं) ॥ ‡ C देवेहिं। देवैः ॥ § C गंगाए। गंगया। गंगायाः गंगायाः। गंगायां ॥ ‖ C तीए ताए। तया तस्याः तस्याः तस्यां ॥

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(१) A तीअएहं; C D prefix वीसएहं ॥ (२) B C D हिं ॥ (३) C D om.; but see App. C D. (४) A हितो ॥ (५) A भिसो ॥ (६) A C om., B D गमाहिंतो; D prefixes ग्रामेभ्यः ॥ (७) A सिद्धीहिंतो, B सिद्धाहिंतो; C D read देवेहिंतो and add अग्गीहिंतो। गुरूहिंतो ॥ (८) B C बुद्धीहिंतो, A D बु० ॥ (९) C D धेणूहिंतो, A B धेनू० ॥ (१०) C D णईहिंतो ॥ (११) B D तुम्हे० and अम्हे० ॥ (१२) A om.; see i, 29. (१३) A एकत्वम्, B एवम् ॥ (१४) A B D बु० ॥ (१५) C D णईए ॥ (१६) A ब० ॥ (१७) C D place ताए। तीए ॥ (१८) A ओंउ०; B उओलोपो ॥ (१९) C D जसश्शसोः, B जसश्शोः ॥

स्त्रियां वर्त्तमानयोर्(१) जश्शसोर्(२) ओ उ लोपाश् च भवंति(३) ॥ (४)मालाओ मालाउ माला । (५)बुद्धीओ बुद्धीउ बुद्धी । (६)धेनूओ धेनूउ धेनू । नदीओ नदीउ नदी* ॥ एवं शसोऽपि ॥

॥ 10ª ॥ (C D) ॥ १०ª ॥

॥ 11 ॥ पुंसि पूर्व्वत्वं(७) ॥ ११ ॥

पुंसि(८) पुँल्लिंगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जश्शसोः(२) पूर्व्वस्वरो† भवति ॥ अग्गी(९) । गुरू ॥

॥ 11ª ॥ C ॥ ११ª ॥

॥ 12 ॥ णो ङसेश् च ॥ १२ ॥

पुँल्लिंगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जश्शसोर्(२) णो भवति । पंचम्येकवचनस्य च ॥ ‡अग्गिणो जलंति । §मुणिणो पस्स(१०) । ‖गिरिणो एति(११) नदी(१२) ॥

॥ 13 ॥ स्सुश्(१३) च ङसः(१४) ॥ १३ ॥

पुंसि वर्त्तमानस्य ङसो णो भवति । स्सुश्(१३) च भवति(१५)॥ ¶मुणिणो

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* C does not give the Sanskrit equivalent of any of these examples; but, instead of it, the two numbers 13 and 23 are inscribed over each form; thus $\overset{१३}{\underset{२३}{\text{मालाओ}}}$ ॥ † C यादृशः पूर्व्वशब्दस्य स्वरस्तादृश एव कर्त्तव्यः ॥ ‡ C अग्नयः ज्वलंति ॥ § C मुनीन् पश्य ॥ ‖ C गिरेः सकाशात् एति नदी । B गिरितः एति वती ॥ ¶ B मुनेः रूपं ॥

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(१) A réads वर्त्तमाना एते भवंति ॥ (२) C D ज्जस्शसोर् ॥ (३) B reads उ ओ भवंति । लोपो भवति ॥ (४) A has final ओँ, and D has final उ, instead of ओ, in all examples; exc. D णईओ; B places मालाउ मालाओ and so on throughout. (५) B वु० in all three examples. (६) A C D णू for नू in all three examples. (७) B पूर्व्ववत् ॥ (८) A om. (९) C D prefix देवा ॥ (१०) B पस्सन्ति ॥ (११) A B C एइ, D एई ॥ (१२) A C D णई, B वई ॥ (१३) B सश्च ॥ (१४) A ङसो णः ॥ (१५) A om.

(१)रूपं (२)मुणिस्स रूपं । *अग्गिणो सिहा अग्गिस्स सिहा ॥ (३)देवस्स सोहा† । (CD) ॥

॥ 14 ॥ ए म्मि ङः ॥ १४ ॥

पुंसि ङिवचनस्य ए(४) भवति । म्मि च भवति ॥ (५)अग्गिम्मि‡ । (६)गुरुम्मि§ ॥ (७)गामे गाममि ॥

॥ 15 ॥ (८)ह्रस्वादतोऽतः ॥ १५ ॥

अतः(९) अकाराद् उत्तरस्य शसः(१०) पुंल्लिंगे ए भवति ॥ देवे॥ । वंभणे(११) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ (१२)तोदुहिंतोलोपाद् तस्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

(१३)पंचमी-अतः आदेशतकारस्य(१४) तो दु हिंतो लोपा(१५) एते

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* B C अग्नेः शिखा ॥ † C देवस्य शोभा ॥ ‡ C अग्नौ ॥ अग्गी । अग्गी or अग्गिणो (i, 11. 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्गिं । अग्गी or अग्गिणो (i, 11. 12) ॥ २ ॥ अग्गिणा (i, 6a) । अग्गीहिं (i, 7) ॥ ३ ॥ अग्गिणो or अग्गिस्स । अग्गीणं or अग्गीहं (ii, 13. i, 5) ॥ ४ ॥ अग्गिणो (i, 12) । अग्गीहिंतो (i, 8) ॥ ५ ॥ अग्गिणो or अग्गिस्स (i, 13) । अग्गीणं or अग्गीहं (i, 5) ॥ ६ ॥ अग्गिए(१६) or अग्गिम्मि (i, 14) । अग्गीसु or अग्गीसुं (i, 3. ii, 15) ॥ ७ ॥ हे अग्गी । हे अग्गो or हे अग्गिणो ॥ एवं इकारांतानां सर्व्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ § C गुरौ ॥ गुरु । गुरु or गुरुणो ॥ १ ॥ गुरुं । गुरु or गुरुणो ॥ २ ॥ गुरुणा । गुरुहिं ॥ ३ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरुणं or गुरुहं ॥ ४ ॥ गुरुणो । गुरुहिंतो ॥ ५ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरुणं or गुरुहं ॥ ६ ॥ गुरुए (१६) or गुरुम्मि । गुरुसु or गुरुसुं ॥ ७ ॥ हे गुरु । हे गुरु or हे गुरुणो ॥ एवं उकारांतानां सर्व्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ ‖ C देवान् । ब्राह्मणान् ॥

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(१) A reads पस्स (see i, 12) ; B C D रूवं ॥ (२) C D रूवं ; A B om. मुणिस्स रूपं । अग्गिणो सिहा ॥ (३) C places देवस्स सोहा before अग्गिस्स सिहा ; A B om. (४) C D एम्मिश्च भवति ॥ (५) A prefixes अग्गिए, B C D अग्गीए ॥ (६) D prefixes गुरुए, C गुरूए ; but not A B. (७) C D prefix देवे । देवम्मि ॥ (८) B om. this sûtra and its commentary. (९) A अतो अकाराद् ॥ (१०) D शसः ॥ (११) A वम्भणे (see ii, 15). (१२) A B C D read ओउ० for तोदु०, and C D insert हिं after उ ; B has the marginal note हिं त्रुटि ॥ (१३) A पंचमी आगत आदे०, B पंचमी अत आदे०, C पंचमी अत् । आदे०, D पंचत् परस्य आदे० ; C had originally आत्, but the long *á* is changed to *a* by yellow pigment. (१४) B आदेशातकारस्य ॥ (१५) A B C D ओउ० for तोदु० ॥ (१६) MS. अग्गीए and गुरूए ॥

आदेशा भवंति(१) ॥ (२)गयणातो* । गयणातु† । गयणाहिंतो(३) । गयणा(४) ॥

॥ 17 ॥ तदिदमोः(५) से असौऽमुष्मां(६) ॥ १७ ॥

तद्(७) इदम् अनयोर् एकत्वद्वित्वबहुत्वेषु स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकेषु यद् रूपं तस्य से भवति ॥ तस्याः(८) रूपं से रूपं(९) । तस्याः(९) गुणाः(१०) से गुणा(११) । (१२)अस्याः रूपं से रूपं(१३) । (१४)अस्याः गुणाः से गुणा । एवं शेषेष्व् अपि द्रष्टव्याः(१५) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ युष्मदः ॥ १८ ॥

अत(१६) ऊर्द्धं ‡युष्मदध्यायो भवति ॥

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* C गगनात्। कगचज० (or कप्ततीय० iii, 34) इत्यनेन गकारस्य लोपः (गयन)। अस्थिते यत्वम् अवर्णः (or य० अवर्णे iii, 35 गयन)। तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 गयण)। खरो० (ii, 4 गयणा)। ओ० (i, 16) इति गयणाओ ॥ † C गयणे(१७)। गयणा। हे गयणे। हे गयणा ॥ १ ॥ गयणं। गयणा or गयणे (i, 15) ॥ २ ॥ गयणेण। गयणेहिं or गयणेहि or गयणेहिँ ॥ ३ ॥ गयणस्स। गयणाणं or गयणाहं ॥ ४ ॥ गयणाओ or गयणाउ or गयणाहिं or गयणाहिंतो or गयणा। गयणेहिंतो ॥ ५ ॥ गयणस्स। गयणाणं or गयणाहं ॥ ६ ॥ गयणे or गयणम्मि। गयणेसु or गयणेसुं ॥ ७ ॥ एवं सर्व्वेषां अकारांतानां रूपं नेयं ॥ ‡ C युष्मच्छब्दस्य रूपाणि ॥ तुमं। तुम्हे ॥ १ ॥ तुए or तुमं। तुब्भे ॥ २ ॥ ते or तुमे or तइ or तए। तुम्हेहिं or तुम्हेहि or तुम्हेहिँ ॥ ३ ॥ तुह or तुज्झ or तुम्ह। तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाहं or तुम्ह ॥ ४ ॥ तुम्हाहिं or तुम्हाहिंतो or तुम्हाओ or तइन्तो। तुम्हेहिंतो ॥ ५ ॥ तुह or तुज्झ or तुम्ह। तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाहं or तुम्हं ॥ ६ ॥ तइ or तुमम्मि। तुम्हेसु or तुम्हेसुं ॥ ७ ॥

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(१) A adds च्चिअ; B C D insert हिं after ०तु० ॥ (२) A गयणाओ, गयणउ with *ă*, B C D गयणाओ। गयणाउ (with *á*). (३) A गयणहिंतो (with *ă*); it also adds गयणाहिं (with *á*), while B C D prefix it. (४) C D add एवं देवादयः ॥ (५) A B D ०मो ॥ (६) A om. षष्ठी ॥ (७) C D तत् ॥ (८) A B तस्या ॥ (९) So A; B C D रूवं ॥ (१०) A B C गुणा ॥ (११) A D गुणाः ॥ (१२) A B om. the two last examples. (१३) A B C D रूवं ॥ (१४) D om. this example, but, on the other hand, adds तयोः रूपं से रूवं। तासां रूपं से रूवं ॥ (१५) B ०व्या ॥ (१६) C D अतः ॥ (१७) So in MS., as masc.

॥ 19 ॥ (१)तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ १९ ॥

युष्मच्छब्दस्य सविभक्तेः सौ परतः(२) तुमं आदेशो भवति ॥ (३)तुमं देवो(४) ॥ (C D) ॥

॥ 20 ॥ (५)अमि तुए(६) च ॥ २० ॥

युष्मदो अमि परे (७)तुमं भवति तुए च । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमं भणामि* तुए भणामि(८) ॥ (C D) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ (९)तुम्हे(१०) जसि ॥ २१ ॥

युष्मदो (११)जसि परे तुम्हे(१०) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्हे(१०) †मनुस्सा (१२) सूरा(१३) ॥

॥ 22 ॥ तुम्हे(१४) शसि ॥ २२ ॥

युष्मदः(१५) शसि परे तुम्हे(१४) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्हे(१४) ‡मनुस्सा(१६) भणामि(१७) ॥

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* C भणामि । संस्कृतसमम् अत्र ॥ † C माणुस्सा । मनुष्य ॥ खरो० (ii, 4 मानुष्य) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 माणुष्य) । रश्षाणां सः (iii, 18 माणुस्य) । श्वल्लेभ्यो० (iii, 2 माणुस) । लोपे० (iii, 24 माणुस्स) । पंसि० (i, 11 माणुस्सस्य) । खराणां० (ii, 1) माणुस्सा ॥ ‡ C here gives the same gloss as the preceding, omitting only the initial खरो० ॥

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(१) C reads नं तु तुवं तुहं ॥ तुमं सौ स०; D तं तुँ तुवं तुहं तुमं सौ स० ॥ (२) C D read परत एते पंच आदेशा भवंति ॥ (३) C reads नं तु तुवं तुहं ॥ त्वं तुमं दिठो ॥ (४) C दिठो, D दिट्ठो ॥ (५) C D place this sútra after the following. (६) C D add तुमं तं ॥ (७) C D read तुए तुमं तं च भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ (८) C D place this example before the other, and add तं भणामि ॥ (९) C D plaee this sútra before the preceding one. (१०) So B, A तुम्बे, C तुन्हे, D तुह्मे ॥ (११) A places जसि परे after भवति ॥ (१२) So B; A मणिस्सा, C D माणुस्सा; in C मणुस्सा is corrected by later hand, but the original reading (माणुस्सा is supported by the marginal gloss (q. v.). (१३) A खण, B शूराः; C D add the Skr. translation यूयं मनुष्याः शूराः (C in MS. खूराः) ॥ (१४) A तुम्बे, B तुम्भे ॥ (१५) A ०दश् ॥ (१६) A मनुस्सा, C D मणस्सा ॥ (१७) C D add Skr. युष्मान् मनुष्यान भणामि ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ते तुमे तइ तए टाया(१) ॥ २३ ॥

युष्मदः(२) टावचने (३)परे ते तुमे तइ तए एते आदेशा भवंति। सविभक्तेः ॥ किं(४) ते कतं(५)। तुमे *दिट्ठो(६)। †तइ मज्झं(७) कतं(५)। तए ‡पलातं(८) ॥

॥ 24 ॥ तुमाहिं तुमाहिंतो(९) तुमातो(१०) तइत्तो(११) पंचम्याः ॥ २४ ॥

युष्मदः(१२) पंचम्येकवचने परे तुमाहिं(१३) तुमाहिंतो(१४) तुमातो(१५) तइत्तो§(११) एते आदेशा भवंति। सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमाहिं अहं सूरो(१६) तुमाहिंतो(१७) अहं सुहओ(१८)। ‖तुमातो(१०) अहं ‖नाणी(१९)। तइत्तो(११) निक्खंतो(२०) ॥ (C D) ॥

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* C दिट्ठो। दृष्टः ॥ खरादि० (ii, 5) इत्य् अनेन ऋचेण ट इत्य् अस्य दि भवति (दिष्टः)। वर्गे (iii, 3) इत्य् अनेन ऋचेण ष इति षकारस्य लोपः। ट स्थितं (दिटः)। लोपे० (iii, 24 दिष्टः)। तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दिट्ठः)। एदोद्र० (ii, 10 दिट्ठो)। खराणं० (ii, 1 दिट्ठो) ॥ † C B त्वया मध्यं कृतं ॥ ‡ B पलातं। प्रलातं ॥ C पलत्तं। प्रलप्तं ॥ § B त्वद्दं ज्ञानी ॥ ‖ C ज्ञानी। वर्णविश्लेषे कृते सति ज्ञ्ञा इति स्थितं। ज्ञश्च० (iii, 6) इत्य् अनेन ञलोपः (जानी)। हजथानां० (iii, 19 नानी)। तवर्ग्गस्य० (iii, 16 णाणी) ॥

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(१) B च टा ॥ (२) A C D ०दष् ॥ (३) A om. परे-एते incl. (४) A किन्ते ॥ (५) A B C D कयं; C D add the Skr. translations किं त्वया कृतं। त्वया दृष्टः। त्वया मम (B मध्यं in marginal gloss, q. v.) कृतं। त्वया प्रलप्तं (so C; D प्रलपितं) ॥ (६) A B दिट्ठो, C दिठो, D दिट्टो (?) ॥ (७) A मज्ज कयं, B मंचक्खियं, C D मज्झ कयं ॥ (८) A पलात, B पलातं, C पलत्तं, D पलवितं ॥ (९) B तुमहिंतो ॥ (१०) A D तुमाउ, B C तुमाओ ॥ (११) C D तइंतो ॥ (१२) A ०दश ॥ (१३) A तुमाहिम् इत्यादयः, om. the other forms. (१४) B तुमहिंतो, A om. (१५) B C तुमाओ, D तुमाउ, A om. (१६) B सूवो; D adds the Skr. translations त्वद् अहं शूरः। त्वद् अहं सुभगः। त्वद् अहं ज्ञानी। त्वद् अहं निष्क्रांतः, C om. them in the text, but gives them in the marginal gloss. (१७) A om. तुमाहिंतो ॥ (१८) B orig. संहओ, corr. सु०; D सुहउ ॥ (१९) B जाणी, A C D णाणी (see iii, 6. iii, 19). (२०) So D; C णि०, A निक्खान्तो, B रक्खवंतो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तुह तुज्झ(१) तुम्ह(२) षष्ठ्यां ॥ २५ ॥

युष्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे (३)तुह तुज्झ(४) तुम्ह(५) एते आदेशा भवंति। सविभक्तेः॥ *तुह सीलं(६)। तुज्झ(७) कलाओ(८)। तुम्ह(९) गुणा(१०) ॥

॥ 25ª ॥ C D ॥ २५ª ॥

॥ 25ᵇ ॥ C D ॥ २५ᵇ ॥

॥ 26 ॥ अस्मदः ॥ २६ ॥

अत(११) ऊर्द्धं(१२) अस्मदध्यायो भवति(१३) ॥

॥ 26ª ॥ C D ॥ २६ª ॥

॥ 26ᵇ ॥ C D ॥ २६ᵇ ॥

॥ 26ᶜ ॥ C D ॥ २६ᶜ ॥

॥ 26ᵈ ॥ C D ॥ २६ᵈ ॥

॥ 27 ॥ मे मए टायां ॥ २७ ॥

अस्मदः(१४) टावचने परे मे मए भवतः। सविभक्तेः(१५) ॥ †मे कतं(१६)। मए दिट्ठं(१७) ॥

॥ 28 ॥ मह्मो(१८) ङसौ ॥ २८ ॥

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* C तव शीलं। तव कलाः। तव गुणाः ॥ † B मया कृतं ॥

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(१) A तुभ्भ, B तुभ्भ्भ ॥ (२) B तुह्म, C D तुम्हाः ॥ (३) A om. तुह, तुज्झ, तुम्ह ॥ (४) B तुभ्भ्भ ॥ (५) B तुह्म, D तुम्हा ॥ (६) A शीलं ॥ (७) A कालाओ, B कला ॥ (८) A B तुह्म ॥ (९) A गुणी ॥ (१०) B इत, D अतः ॥ (११) B C D ऊर्द्धं ॥ (१२) A निरूप्यते ॥ (१३) A C दृष् ॥ (१४) A B om. (१५) A B C D कयं; C D add the Skr. translations मया कृतं। मया दृष्टं ॥ (१६) A दिष्ठ, B दिट्ठं ॥ (१७) So A; B C D मह्मंतो ॥

अस्मद:(१) पंचम्येकवचने परे मद्दत्तो(२) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ *मद्दत्तो(३) तुमं सूरेा(४) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ अम्हाहिंतेा(५) भ्यसि ॥ २९ ॥

अस्मदेा(६) भ्यसि परे अम्हाहिंतेा(५) भवति । सविभक्तेः(७) ॥ अम्हाहिंतेा(८) तुमं सूरेा(९) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ (१०)मह मज्झ(११) ङसि ॥ ३० ॥

अस्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे मह मज्झ(११) भवतः । सविभक्तेः ॥ †मह सीलं(१२) । मज्झ गुणा(१३) ॥

॥ 31 ॥ अम्हम्(१४) आमि ॥ ३१ ॥

अस्मद्(१५) आमि परे अम्हं(१६) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ ‡अम्हं(१६) चिय ते दोसा(१७) ॥

॥ 31ª ॥ ॥ C D ॥ ३१ª ॥

॥ I ॥ इति चंडकृते प्राकृतलक्षणे विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं समाप्तं ॥ १ ॥

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* C मद्दंतेा । मत् ॥ † C मम शीलं(१८) । मम गुणाः ॥ ‡ B अस्माकन्ते दोषाः ॥

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(१) A °दश ॥ (२) C D मद्दंतेा; B दंतेा om. म; A मे मए भवतः (see i, 27). (३) A मद्दतेा, B C D मद्दंतेा ॥ (४) A शूरः; B places it before तुमं; D adds Skr. translation त्वं शूरः ॥ (५) A हम्हाहिंतेा ॥ (६) B °दः ॥ (७) A B C om. (८) A अम्हाहिन्तेा, B अह्मा° ॥ (९) A शूरेा ॥ (१०) B om. sútra and comment, but gives the examples. (११) A मझ, C D मज्झेा ॥ (१२) A शीलं; C D add मज्झ सीलं । मह गुणा ॥ (१३) B सील ॥ (१४) D अह्मम् ॥ (१५) B C D °दः ॥ (१६) D अह्मं ॥ (१७) B दोषाः; C D add the Skr. translation अस्माकम् एव ते दोषाः ॥ (१८) MS. सिलं ॥

॥ II ॥ अथ स्वरविधानम् आह ॥ २ ॥

॥ 1ª ॥ D ॥ १ª ॥

॥ I ॥ 1 ॥ स्वराणां स्वरे(१) परे प्रकृतिर् लोपस् संधयश् च भवंति ॥ १ ॥

स्वराणां स्वरे परे(१) (२)प्रकृतिर् लोपस् संधयश् च भवंति। *दूह(४) अच्छति(५)। †दूहच्छति(६)। ‡दूहागतो(७) ॥ §मह(८) इव हितो। ‖देविंदवंदितो(९)। ¶सक्कीसाणा(१०) ॥ **स ईसरो(११)। ††तियसीसो(१२)। ‡‡गहेसो(१३) ॥ §§चंदुज्जला(१४)। ‖‖तपोपरोहो ॥ (१५)सा ऊढा। ¶¶नीसासूसासा(१६)। ***मोरो(१७) ॥ †††गामओ(१८) गामो ॥

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* C दूह अच्छइ। प्रकृति। अच तिष्ठति। अस्य साधनिका। स्वरो० (ii, 4) इत्य् अनेन अकारस्य इ भवति (इच)। रेफः० (iii, 9 इत)। प्रथम० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्य थकारः (इथ)। पुनः प्रथम० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन थकारस्य धकारः (इध)। हो० (iii, 13 इह)। इह इति सिद्धं ॥ तिष्ठति(१९)। कगचज० (iii, 34 इष्टति)। स्वरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन इकारस्य अकारः (अष्टति)। षाट्टः (iii, 8 अषति)। रम्भषा० (iii, 18 असति)। सस्य खछहाः (iii, 14 अक्षति)। लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन० (iii, 26 अच्छति)। पुनः कगचज० (iii, 34 अच्छइ) ॥ † B C अच अकारस्य लोपः ॥ ‡ B इहागतः। C संधि। अच आगतः ॥ § B मह इव स्थितः ॥ ‖ C लोपः। देवेन्द्रवन्दितः ॥ ¶ B शक्रश्च(२०) ईशानश्च। अलोपः ॥ C लोपः। शक्र अग्रे ईशान। द्विवयणे बहुवयणं (see ii, 12)। शक्रश्च ईशानश्च शक्रेशानौ ॥ ** B स ईश्वरः। C संधिः। शच्या ईश्वरः। शचीश्वरः ॥ †† C लोपः। चिदग्र अग्रे ईशः। चिंदग्रेशः। चिदग्रानां ईशः ॥ ‡‡ C संधिः। ग्रहाणां ईशः ॥ §§ C लोपः। चंद्र अग्रे उज्वला। चंद्रवत् उज्वला ॥ ‖‖ B तपसः उपरोधः। C संधिः। तपोपरोधः ॥ ¶¶ B निःश्वासश्च उच्छ्वासश्च। अलोपः। C लोपः। (२१) निःश्वासश्च उच्छ्वासश्च। निःश्वासोच्छ्वासौ ॥ *** C संधिः। मोरो। मयूरः ॥ ††† B ग्रामतः ग्रामः। C गामाउ गामो। प्रकृतिः। गामो गामो। संधिः। ग्रामात् ग्रामः। but see note to translation.

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(१) B om. (२) B C D परतः ॥ (३) So A B; C D प्रकृतिलोपसंधयश्च ॥ (४) A has only the examples marked * and §, om. all others; B places *, §, ‡, †. (५) A अच्छई, B C D अच्छइ ॥ (६) B C D दूहच्छइ ॥ (७) B दूहागअ, C दूहागओ, D दूहागउ ॥ (८) A महई वहिउ, B महइवहिय (see marginal gloss), C D om. this example. (९) B °दिअ, D °दिउ, A C om. (see ii, 2). (१०) B °ग्गाणे, A om. (११) C D सईसरो, B सइसरो, A om. (१२) B तीसो, A om. (१३) B गहसो, A om. (१४) B बंदज्जला, A om. (१५) B सोढो, C सो ऊढो, D भाउढा or डाउढा (?) ॥ (१६) So B; A om., C D णीसा० ॥ (१७) C D add मऊरो ॥ (१८) B गामानामो। गामो गामाअ गामो, C गामाउ गामो, D गामाउ गामो ॥ (१९) So MS. and accordingly the explanation षाट्टः ॥ (२०) MS. शक्रस्य ईशानश्च० ॥ (२१) MS. निःखा०, उखा० ॥

बुद्धी(१) इमा* । †बुद्धिंदे।(२) । बुद्धीसा‡ ॥ बुद्धीओ(३) । नईओ? ॥

॥ 1b ॥ D ॥ १ब ॥

॥ 1c ॥ D ॥ १c ॥

॥ 2 ॥ (४)संयोगे परे लोपः ॥ २ ॥

(४)संयोगे परे स्वरे परतः पूर्व्वस्वरस्य(५) नित्यं लोपो भवति॥ धनाढ्यः(६) धनड्ढो(७)। देव इन्द्रः(८) देविंदो । कृत उद्योगः(९) कतुज्जोओ(१०) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ ह्रस्वत्वं संयोगे ॥ ३ ॥

स्वराणां ह्रस्वत्वं(११) भवति । (१२)संयोगेऽक्षरे(१३) परे ॥ (१४)कव्वं(१५) । कज्जं । §दुच्छितं(१६) । तिक्खंग । **सिग्घो(१७)। ††उड्ढं(१८)। सुज्जो(१९)॥

॥ 4 ॥ स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥ ४ ॥

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* C बुद्धी इमा। प्रकृतिः ॥ † B बुद्धीन्द्रः। C लोपः। बुद्धि इंद्रः ॥ ‡ C बुद्धीसा। संधिः ॥ § C प्रकृतिः। बुद्धयः। नद्यः ॥ ‖ B दूंम्मित। C दुच्छियं। दूंम्मितं ॥ थे वर्गीयं (iii, 4 दूंसितं)। सस्य० (iii, 14 दूंछितं)। लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दूंच्छितं)। ह्रस्वत्वं (ii, 3 दुच्छितं)। कगचज० (iii, 34 दुच्छियं) ॥ ¶ C तीक्ष्णं। वर्णविश्लेषे कृते सति क् ष् ण् व्यं इति स्थिताः भवन्ति। रश्वषा० (iii, 18 तीकसणं)। शाच० (iii, 6 तीकसं)। थे० (iii, 4 तीसं)। सस्य० (iii, 14 तीखं)। लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 तीक्खं)। ह्रस्वत्वं (ii, 3 तिक्खं) ॥ ** B स्निग्धं ॥ †† B ऊर्द्धं ॥

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(१) B D बु० here and afterwards. (२) B D बुद्धीदो (but see marginal gloss). (३) B prefixes एवं बुद्धी ॥ (४) C D संयोगपरे ॥ (५) A पूर्वस्वरूपस्य ॥ (६) A °ढ्ः, B °ढ्यः ॥ (७) A धनाड्ढो, B धनड्ढो, C D धणड्ढो ॥ (८) B देवेन्द्रः ॥ (९) A उद्यो, C D उद्योतः ॥ (१०) A कतुज्जो, B C कउज्जोओ, D कउज्जोउ ॥ (११) C prefixes पूर्वस्य ॥ (१२) C D place this clause before ह्रस्वत्वं ॥ (१३) C D संयोगाच्चरे ॥ (१४) C prefixes धणड्ढो (see ii, 2); C D prefix the Skr. translations काव्यं। कार्यं। दूंम्मितं। तीक्ष्णं। शीघ्रः। ऊर्द्धं। सूर्यः; see also B in the marginal gloss. (१५) B कच्चं ॥ (१६) A B C D दुच्छियं ॥ (१७) A om. this and the remaining examples; C सिग्घा ॥ (१८) B उड्ढं (see iii, 5. 9), C D उड्ढं ॥ (१९) B सुज्जा ॥

स्वरो ऽन्यो ऽन्यस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ *कातव्वं(१) । †सुदूणं(२) । दूंगाला(३) । B C D । ‡बुद्धीए(४) । धेनूए(५) । नेपुरं(६) । B C D । कुचापि गच्छति(७) कत्थ(८) पि गच्छति(९) ॥

॥ 5 ॥ स्वरा(१०) रि च ऋवर्णस्य(११) ॥ ५ ॥

ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने स्वरा(१२) भवंति । रि च भवति(१३) ॥ घृतं घतं(१४) । कृत्वा कात्तूण(१५) । दृश्यते दीसते(१६) । ऋषिः(१७) इसि(१८) । पृथ्वी पुथवी(१९) । वृद्धः(२०) वुड्ढो(२१) । वृंतं(२२) वेंटं(२३) । उत्कृष्टं उक्कोसं(२४) । ऋणं रिणं । (C D) ॥

॥ 6 ॥ (२५)एर ऐतः ॥ ६ ॥

ऐतः(२६) स्थाने ए भवति ॥ §वेतड्ढो(२७) । तेल्लं(२८) । सेंधवं । ॥वेरं(२९) ॥

॥ 7 ॥ अद्द च ॥ ७ ॥

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* B कर्त्तव्यं ॥ † B सूचीनां (२०) ॥ ‡ C बुद्धा ॥ § B वेताल: ॥ ॥ C मम वैरं केनापि सह न ॥

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(१) A कायच्चं, B कायच्च, C कायव्वं, D कायब्बं (see iii, 29 and Lassen Inst. Prac. pp. 141. 365); C D add the following Skr. translations कर्त्तव्यं । खजनं । अंगाराः ; see also B in the marginal gloss. (२) A असुदणं, D खदणं ॥ (३) A दुगाल, B दंगालो ॥ (४) A B D बु० ; D prefixes बुद्धे ॥ (५) A C D धेणूए ॥ (६) A नेउरं, B नेऊरं, C णेवरं, D णेउरं ॥ (७) A om. (८) A om., B कत्थं वि, D कच्च वि ॥ (९) A B C D गच्छइ ॥ (१०) B स्वरो ॥ (११) B om. (१२) B reads ऋन्यस्वरो भवति ॥ (१३) A om. (१४) A B C D घयं ॥ (१५) A काउण, B काडुण, C D काऊण ; D adds तूण प्रत्यय ॥ (१६) A B C दीसइ, D दीसए ॥ (१७) So C ; A B D ऋषि ॥ (१८) So A B C D ; C D add व्यास ऋषिः वास इसी ॥ (१९) A B C D पुहवी ॥ (२०) A B C D वड्ढो ॥ (२१) A B वुड्ढो, C D वुड्ढो ॥ (२२) A B D वत्तं ॥ (२३) A विटं, B वितं, C D विंटं ॥ (२४) A उक्कोसं, B उक्कोसो, C उक्क । सं, D उक्कसं (see iii, 8). (२५) A ऐरेतः ॥ (२६) A एत ॥ (२७) A वेयड्ढो, B वेयड्ढो, C D वेयड्ढो ; C D prefix the Skr. translations वैताढ्यः । तैलं । सैंधवं । वैरं ; see also B in marg. gloss. (२८) A तेलं ॥ (२९) C D add मज्झ ण केण वि (see marg. gloss). (३०) MS. सुचीनां ॥

ऐतः(१) स्थाने अइ(२) च(३) भवति। ऐश्वर्य्यं(४) अइसरियं(५)। वैरं(६) वइरं(७) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ ओत्(८) औतः ॥ ८ ॥

औतः(९) स्थाने ओ(१०) भवति ॥ (११)ओसहं(१२)। (१३)सोवच्चलं(१४) ॥

॥ 9 ॥ अउ(१५) च ॥ ९ ॥

औतः(९) स्थाने अउ च(१६) भवति ॥ (१७)सउरो(१८)। कउरवा। कउला। (C D) ॥

॥ 10 ॥ एदोद्दलोपा(१९) विसर्ज्जनीयस्य(२०) ॥ १० ॥

एत्ओत्र लोपा(२१) विसर्ज्जनीयस्य स्थाने भवंति ॥ कतरे(२२) गच्छति(२३)। *दित्तरूपे(२४)। देवो। †वंभणो। ‡पुणरवि(२५)। स(२६)। एस(२७)। (२८)वति(२९)। बुद्धि(३०)। §वहू(३१)।

॥ 11 ॥ (३२)अदागमोऽनुस्वारलोपौ च व्यंजनस्य(३३) ॥ ११ ॥

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* C दीप्तरूपः ॥ † C ब्राह्मणः ॥ ‡ C पुणर वि। (पुनः अपि)। र प्रत्ययः (ii, 10 पुनर् अपि)। अप्यस्योर् अलोपः (ii, 18 पुणरपि)। प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12 पणरवि) ॥ § C वधूः ॥

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(१) A B एत ॥ (२) B अई ॥ (३) C om. B इत्ययमादेशो ॥ (४) C ऐश्वर्यं ॥ (५) B C D ०रिअं ॥ (६) D बैरं ॥ (७) B om.; C D add the example वै वइ, whereto C has the marg. gloss वै स्फुटनिश्चययोः ॥ (८) A ऊर्, D उर् ॥ (९) B ओत ॥ (१०) A ऊर्, B ऊ, D उ ॥ (११) C pref. Skr. औषधं D ऊषधं ॥ (१२) A ऊसहं, D उसहं ॥ (१३) C pref. Skr. सौचलं, D सौवर्वलं ॥ (१४) A सोऊव्वलं, C सोअलं, D सोअचलं: C D add the example सौधं सोहं ॥ (१५) B अओ ॥ (१६) B C om. (१७) C D pref. Skr. सौरः। कौरवाः। कौलाः ॥ (१८) B सउरि ॥ (१९) A ०प, D ०पाः, B (corrupt) एदोद्दले ॥ याः ॥ (२०) B ०नीयस्थाने ॥ (२१) B (corrupt) एदो द्दलोया ॥ (२२) A कपोरे, B कयादि; C D read कयरे and pref. Skr. कतरः गच्छति ॥ (२३) A गच्छद्, B C D गच्छद; C D add the example अंतःपुरं। अंतेउरं ॥ (२४) A दित्तरूवे, B तित्तरूवे, D दितरूवे; C adds वीलजिणे (in marg. gloss वीरजिनः), D वालजिणे ॥ (२५) D पुणरपि; C D pref. Skr. पुनः अपि; A om. this example; B adds एतं दिट्ठं (MS. एयं दिट्ठं) ॥ (२६) A om. (२७) B C D वइ; C adds Skr. पतिः, D पति ॥ (२८) A B बुद्धी, D बुद्धी; C had originally बद्धी, now it has been changed to वधूः; B C D place बहू। बुद्धी ॥ (२९) A बहू, B बहु ॥ (३०) C D अदागमानुस्वारलोपा, om. च ॥ (३१) A विअनस्य ॥

(१)अकारागमोऽनुस्वारलोपौ च व्यंजनस्य भवंति ॥ *अरहंतो(२) । †सरिताणं(३) । (C D) ॥ ‡कम्मं(४) । (C D) । §सीसं(५) ॥ नहं(६) । ¶सिरेणं(७) । (C D) ॥

॥ 12 ॥ **द्विर्बहुलं बहुत्वेन(८) ॥ १२ ॥

(९)द्विवचनं बहुवचनेन(१०) वाच्यं ॥ ††हत्था । पाया । देवा । वंभणा(११) । C D ॥

॥ 13 ॥ षष्ठीवच्(१२) चतुर्थ्यौ ॥ १३ ॥

षष्ठीवच्(१३) चतुर्थ्यौ द्रष्टव्या ॥ ‡‡नमो(१४) जिनस्स(१५) । नमो(१६) गुरूणो(१७) ॥

॥ 13a ॥ C D ॥ १३a ॥

॥ 13b ॥ C D ॥ १३b ॥

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* C अर्हत् । अदागमः ॥ † B सरित् इति अत्र तकारस्य अ आगमः ॥ C सरित् । अदागमः ॥ ‡ B कर्म्मन्निति अत्र रेफलोपो नकारोऽनुस्वारः (sic!) ॥ C कर्म्मन् ॥ § B शीर्षमित्यत्र रेफलोपः (sic!) ॥ C शिरस् ॥ ¶ B शिरसि(१०) सलोपः ॥ C शिरस् ॥ ** C दुवयणे(१८) बहुवयणं चउत्थिविभत्तीए छट्ठी(१९) भणए । जह हत्थ तह पाया । वंदामि देवाहं(२०) देवाणं ॥ †† C हत्थो । पादो । देवो । ब्राह्मणो ॥ ‡‡ B नमो जिनाय इति नमो गुरवे इत्यत्र चतुर्थ्यौ षष्ठी ज्ञेया ॥ C नमः जिनाय । नमः गुरवे ॥

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(१) A adds भवति, C D read अकारागमानुस्वारलोपाश्च ॥ (२) B अरहन्तो ॥ (३) A सरियाणं, B C D सरिआणं ॥ (४) B adds रम्मं (सम्मं?, see App. C D), D prefixes कर्मन्, शीर्षन्, शिरसा to कम्मं, सीसं, सिरेणं respectively. (५) A सीमं ॥ (६) B नेहं; A C D om. (७) A om. (८) C D बहुवचनेन ॥ (९) C D prefix सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च विभक्तीनां ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) A वम्भणा (see ii, 15). (१२) B C D om. (१३) B षष्ठी, D षष्ठीव ॥ (१४) C D णमो ॥ (१५) A जिणस्य, B जिनस्य, C D जिणस्स ॥ (१६) C D add णमो अरहंताणं ॥ (१७) MS. सिरसि ॥ (१८) MS. दुव्व० ॥ (१९) MS. now has चउत्थिविभत्तीए, om. छट्ठी; but in the place of त्थि and त्ति there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (२०) MS. देवाहि (cf. 1, 5).

॥ 14 ॥ न प्लुतङ्ञाः(१) ॥ १४ ॥

(२)प्लुता वर्णाः (३)ङकारञकारौ च(४) न भवंति ॥ C D । D ॥

॥ 15 ॥ अनुस्वारो बञ्जलं ॥ १५ ॥

अनुस्वारस्य क्वचिल् लोपो भवति । क्वचिद् आगमः(५) । क्वचित् प्रकृतिः(६) । । C D ॥ वंभणा(७) । *मंजरो(८) । विंचुओ(९) । †चुंनी(१०) । काणं(११) । काहं(१२) । नहिं(१३) ॥ ‡सक्कतं(१४) । (C D) ॥ संगो(१४ । भंगो(१४) । (C D) । दुद्धुं(१५) । समिद्धुं(१५) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ गोर् गावि(१६) ॥ १६ ॥

गो शब्दस्य गावि(१७) दृति(१८) भवति निपातेन ॥ §गावी(१९) । गावीओ(२०) । गावीं(२१) । गावीए(२२) । गावीहिं(२३) । गावीहिंतो(२१) । गावीणं(२४) । गावीसुं(२५) ॥

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* C मार्ज्जारः ॥ † C चूर्णः (cf. note १०). ‡ C संस्कृतं ॥ § C गौः । गावः or गाः । गां । गवा । गोः । गोः । गवि (see i, 9.) । गोभिः । गोभ्यः । गवां or गोनां । गोषु ॥

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(१) C D insert न (see iii, 16). (२) C प्लुतवर्णाः, D प्लुताः ॥ (३) C D read ङकारनकारञकाराश्च प्राकृते न भवंति ॥ (४) B om. (५) C D ॰मो भवति ॥ (६) C D प्रकृतिर्भवति (see App.). (७) D वंभणो ॥ (८) So A ; B मञ्जरो (see H. C. ii, 132) ; C D read मंज्जारो (see H. C. i, 26) and add वञ्जरो (see H. C. ii, 132) ; D further adds च आगम ॥ (९) A om., B विवुच्चो ; D has विन्दुउ with प्रकृति after it; C reads विंदुउ which is explained in the marginal gloss as विंदुकः । प्रकृतिः ॥ (१०) A चुन्नी, B चुन्नो, C चुणो, D चुणो ॥ (११) So A ; B काजणं (कातूणं ? see ii, 5), C D काऊणं (see H. C. i, 27). (१२) A काडं, B काउं (कातुं ?, see Lassen, p. 365. H. C. iv, 214). (१३) C D णहिं ; D gives it as an example of लोप ; C explains it in the marginal gloss as नही; originally the gloss had नहि, but it has been corrected to नही ॥ (१४) A om., B C D सक्कयं ॥ (१५) C D om., but see App. (१६) A गावि, D गावी ॥ (१७) D गावी ॥ (१८) B इति निपात्यते, C D इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥ (१९) B गावि, C D गाइं ॥ (२०) A गावीऊ, B गाविओ, D गावीउ ; C D add गावीउ । गावी । (२१) A B om. (२२) A D गावीए, B गाविए ॥ (२३) A गावीहि, D गावीहिं ॥ (२४) D गावीणं ॥ (२५) D गावीसुं ; C D add गावीसु ॥

॥ 17 ॥ एत्वार्थे [१]णद्चेयचिया:[२] ॥ १७ ॥

[३]एव शब्दार्थे णद् [२]चेय चिय एते आदेशा भवंति ॥ गत्या एव [४]गति णद् । [५]मति णद् । *तं चेय[६] । †सचिय[७] ॥

॥ 18 ॥ अप्यस्योर् अलोपः ॥ १८ ॥

अपि अपि च[८] एतयोर् अस्य लोपो भवति[९] ॥ [१०]सूरो पि । [११]कतं पि । तं सि दृष्ट ॥

॥ 19 ॥ [१२]क्त्वा त्ता त्वा ट्टु क्त्वा ट्ठ[१३] [१४]प्पि[१५]पूर्वकालार्थे[१६] ॥ १९ ॥

एते[१७] पूर्वकालार्थे[१८] भवंति ॥ वंदित्तु[१९] । ‡वंदित्ता[२०] । §सुच्चा[२१] । ‖कट्टु । ¶भोत्तु[२२] । ¶भोत्तूण[२३] । ‡वंदिअ[२४] । [२५]एवं कप्पि** । C D ॥

॥ 20 ॥ मत्वर्थे [२६]आलद्धो[२७] ॥ २० ॥

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* B तमेव ॥ † B स एव ॥ ‡ B C वंदित्वा ॥ § B भुत्वा । C भुक्त्वा (see note २१ ॥ B C क्षत्वा ॥ ¶ C भुक्त्वा(२८). ** B एव क्षत्वा ॥

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(१) A B नद्° ॥ (२) A °वेप विय, B °च्चियेम् ॥ (३) B एवं ॥ (४) A B C D गद् ॥ (५) A C मद् णद्, B मद्दं णद्दं, D om. whole example, C prefixes Skr. मत्या एव ॥ (६) A तम्वेय, D त चेय ; C pref. Skr. तं एव, D तत् एव ॥ (७) So B ; A °धिय (चिय? see p. 20, note १२), C °चिय, D °चेय, ; C D pref. Skr. स एव ॥ (८) B C D अनयोर् अलोपो भवति ॥ (९) A लोपः स्यात् ॥ (१०) A B C D वि ; C D pref. Skr. transl. शूरः अपि। कृतम् अपि। त्वम् असि अत्र ॥ (११) A कयं पि, B कयं प्पि, C D कयं वि ॥ (१२) A तु ॥ (१३) C D add तुच्चाण ॥ (१४) D उ ; C D add वि ॥ (१५) C D om., but add प्पिणु वेप्पिणु ॥ (१६) So A ; B C D om. (१७) B D om. (१८) B C पूर्वकालेऽर्थे ; C adds त्वा इत्यस्यैते आदेशा भवंति ॥ (१९) A वंदितु, B वद्दित्तु ; C D add सव्वे वि जिणिंदचंदे। वंदित्वा सर्वान् अपि जिनेंद्रचंद्रान् ॥ (२०) B वंदीत्ता ॥ (२१) A सुव्वा, C D भुच्चा ॥ (२२) D भोतुं ॥ (२३) C भोत्तूण, D भोत्तूण or भोतूण ? ; C D add काउच्चाण, see App. (२४) A वंदिवं, D बंदिउ ; C D add वंदेवि ॥ (२५) A एउ क°, B एवं क° ; C D om. this example. (२६) A आल्ल D अल्ल ॥ (२७) A दृल्ल, B दृल्लए ॥ (२८) MS. भोक्का.

मत्वर्थे(१) एतौ प्रत्ययौ(२) भवतः(३) ॥ (४)जडालो(५) जडिल्लो(६) । फडालो(७) फडिल्लो(८) । (C D) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ ता-ताव(९) तावतः ॥ २१ ॥

तावच् छब्दस्य(१०) ता तावौ(११) भवतः ॥ (C D) ॥

ता* विच्छिन्नं(१२) गयणं ताव च्चिय(१३) जलद्धिणो(१४) पि(१५) गंभीरा ।

ता(१६) †गुरुआ(१७) सुरसेला(१८) धारेहि(१९) न(२०) जाव लिज्जंते(२१) ॥१॥

॥ 22 ॥ उपमाने पिव-व्व-विव-विय(२२)-व्व(२३)-व-जहा(२४) वतः ॥ २२ ॥

उपमानार्थे(२५) वतः(२६) शब्दस्य एते आदेशा भवंति ॥ ‡चंदणं(२७) पिव । चमरमिव । §कमलं विव तुज्झ(२८) मुहं । गिम्हो(२९) विय । सायरव्व(३०) ।

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* C तावत् विस्तीर्णं गगनं तावत् एव जलधयः च गंभीराः । यावत् गुरुः सुरशैलः धाराभिः न यावत् गृह्यंते ॥ † C गुरुआ । गुरुः । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 गुरुओ) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 गुरुआ) । प्रथमैकवचनं सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C चंदणं । अनुस्वारो बहुलं (ii, 15). § C तव मुखं कमलवत् (२१) ॥

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(१) B om., C D add आल इल्ल ॥ (२) A om. (३) A स्युः ॥ (४) C D prefix Skr. translations जटामान् । फटावान् ॥ (५) A जडाल्लो ॥ (६) B जडिलो, and places ६, ५. (७) A फडाल्लो; B orig. फडालो, but corrected to फलालो ॥ (८) B फडिलो. placing ८, ७. (९) C D read ता-ताव-जा-जावास्, तावद्यावतोः ॥ (१०) C D add यावच्छब्दस्य तु ॥ (११) C D add जाजावौ ॥ (१२) A वच्छिन्न, C D विच्छिणं ॥ (१३) A च्चिय, C D चिय ॥ (१४) B जपद्दिणो ॥ (१५) A व, B वि, C D य ॥ (१६) C D जा; A om. this line. (१७) D गरुआ ॥ (१८) B सुरलेण ॥ (१९) B धीरेहिं, c. m. (२०) C D ण ॥ (२१) B जा तुलिज्जंति, C D जाव लिज्जंति ॥ (२२) B वियं ॥ (२३) D च्छ (see H. C. ii, 150). (२४) B च्चहा (sic). (२५) A om., C उपमानेऽर्थे, D उपमार्थे; B adds पिव इव व्विव वियं व्व व जहा ॥ (२६) A वच् छ०, C वतु, D वत ॥ (२७) A B बं०; C D prefix the Skr. translations चंदनवत् । चमरवत् (D MS. चमरं वत्) । कमलवत् । ग्रीष्मवत् । सागरवत् (D सावरवत्) । शेषस्य वत् ॥ (२८) A तुज्ज, B तुम्ब ॥ (२९) C गिम्ह, D गिम्हं ॥ (३०) D सायरच्छ, A च्चोपरच्च, B धोरघो ॥ (३१) MS. कमल विव ॥

सेसस्स व(१) *एस(२) फणे तुह(३) भाति(४) जसो जहा संखो(५) ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ओत्वम्(६) अवापयोः ॥ २३ ॥

अव अपयोः स्थाने ओ(७) भवति ॥ अवहसितं(८) ओहसितं(९) । अपसरितं(१०) ओसरितं(११) । अपवरकः(१२) ओवरओ(१३) ॥

॥ 24 ॥ खलोः(१४) खुः ॥ २४ ॥

†खलुशब्दस्य खुर् आदेशो भवति ॥ C D । एवं खु(१५) जंतपीलणे‡ ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तो वर्त्तमानार्थे(१६) ॥ २५ ॥

यो वर्त्तमानकालार्थे(१७) आन प्रत्ययस्(१८) तस्यार्थे तकारो भवति ॥ भिद्यमानं(१९) भिज्जंतं । कथ्यमानं कथिज्जंतं(२०) । साध्यमानं(२१) साहिज्जंतं(२२) । A ॥

॥ 26 ॥ (२३)भे सर्वासु युष्मदः ॥ २६ ॥

(२४)युष्मच् छब्दस्य सर्वासु(२५) विभक्तिषु(२६) भे(२७) भवति ॥ C D । भे निसामेथ(२८) यूयं निशृण्यत(२९) । C D । भे भणामि युष्मान् भणामि । भे कतं(३०) त्वया कृतं । C D ॥

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*C एष (फणः) तव भाति यथः शंखवत्(३१) ॥ †C खलु इति अवधारणं निश्चयार्थं ॥ ‡C यंत्रपीडनं ॥

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(१) A च ॥ (२) C येस ॥ (३) A दृह ॥ (४) A B C D भाइ ॥ (५) D संख; C D place संखो जहा c. m. (६) A B D उत्वम् ॥ (७) B ओर् ॥ (८) B C अवहासितं ॥ (९) A B ओहसिअं, C ओहासिअं, D उहसियं, B adds अपहसितं ओहसिअं ॥ (१०) B om. (११) A B C ओसरिअं, D उसरिअं ॥ (१२) A अववरकः, B अपचरकः ॥ (१३) B ओचरओ, D उवरउ ॥ (१४) A B खल, D खलो ॥ (१५) B खुज्जं । पीलणं ॥ (१६) A ०माने ऽर्थे ॥ (१७) C D om. काल; B ०मानस्य कालार्थं ॥ (१८) B प्रत्ययस्यार्थं, om. स ॥ (१९) A भिद्यमाणं, B भिधमानं, C भेद्य० ॥ (२०) A काहि०, B C D कहि० ॥ (२१) B om. (२२) B साहि० ॥ (२३) C D place this sútra after i, 25 (*i. e.* after i, 25^{b} of their own reckoning; see App. C D). (२४) B युष्मदः ष० ॥ (२५) B C D add अपि ॥ (२६) A adds परतो ॥ (२७) B भेर् ॥ (२८) C D णि० ॥ (२९) So D; A B C शृणुत ॥ (३०) A B छतं, C D कयं ॥ (३१) MS. सं० ॥

॥ 27 ॥ [1]अस्मदो ऽपि[2] ॥ २७ ॥

अस्मच् छब्दस्यापि सर्वासु विभक्तिषु मे भवति[3] ॥ C D । C । नेच्छेन[4] भणामो मे तुब्भे[5] वयं युष्मान् स्नेहेन[6] भणामः । C । इत्य् अर्थः । D ॥

॥ 27ª—27ˡ ॥ C D ॥ २७ª—२७ˡ ॥

॥ 28 ॥ इतेर् इयः ॥ २८ ॥

॥ इति शब्दस्य इय आदेशो भवति ॥ इय[7] एवं ॥

॥ 29 ॥ आदे त्तणः[8] ॥ २९ ॥

भावार्थे[9] त्तणः[10] प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ [11]गामत्तणं । नयरत्तणं[12] ॥

॥ 29ª ॥ C D ॥ २९ª ॥

॥ II ॥ इति [13]श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे[14] [15]स्वरविधानं[16] द्वितीयं समाप्तं[17] ॥ २ ॥

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(१) C D place this sútra after i, 31 (*i. e.* after i, 31ª of their own reckoning, see App. C D). (२) C D add मे सर्व्वासु ॥ (३) A om. the whole commentary, instead of which it has स्पष्टं ॥ (४) C D णेच्छेण ॥ (५) B भ नुभे ॥ (६) B om. (७) A इव ॥ (८) A B त्तण ॥ (९) A भावेऽर्थे ॥ (१०) A त्तण, B तन ॥ (११) C D pref. the Skr. translations ग्रामस्य भावः । नगरस्य भावः ॥ (१२) B C D णय°, C D add तीर्थंकरस्य भावः तित्थयरत्तणं ॥ (१३) A om. from श्री to लक्षणे ॥ (१४) B °लक्षण ॥ (१५) B om. स्वर ॥ (१६) A °धानमाह ॥ (१७) A om.

॥ III ॥ अथ व्यंजनविधानम् आह ॥ ३ ॥

॥ 1 ॥ हाद्(१) थवौ(२) लोप्यौ(३) ॥ १ ॥

(४)हात् हकारात्(५) यकारवकारौ परत्र(६) अवस्थितौ लोप्यौ भवतः ॥ मुह्यते मुज्झते(७)। दह्यते(८) दज्झते(९)। (१०)विह्वलः विब्भलो(११)। जिह्वा(१२) जिब्भा(१३) ॥

॥ 2 ॥ (१४)शवलेभ्यो व्यंजनं(१५) ॥ २ ॥

शवलेभ्यः(१६) परं(१७) व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ (१८)स्वयं सयं। स्वर्गं(१९) सग्गं। श्रोतव्यं सोतव्वं(२०)। काव्यं कव्वं(२१)। शल्यं(२२) सल्लं। विल्वं(२३) विल्लं। शय्या(२४) सय्या। श्रुतं सुतं(२५)। श्लेष्मा सिब्भा(२६) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ वर्गे(२७) ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गे(२८) च परे तल् लोप्यं(२९) भवति(३०) ॥ शक्तः(३१)। सक्तो(३२) ॥ रक्तं रत्तं(३३)। C D। दुग्धं दुद्धं। वच्मि(३४) वेम्मि। (१०)षट्कं छक्कं(३५)।

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(१) A हा ॥ (२) A वौ॥ (३) D लोप्यौ ॥ (४) A om. comment हात् to भवतः ॥ (५) D om., C हाद्धकारात् ॥ (६) B परभावे स्थितौ ॥ (७) B om., C D मुज्झए, A मुज्झउ ॥ (८) A B om. (९) A om., B दब्भए, C डज्झए, D दज्झए ॥ (१०) A om. this example. (११) B विकलो ॥ (१२) A om. (१३) B जिभ्वा ॥ (१४) C D स० ॥ (१५) B adds लोप्यं ॥ (१६) A एतेभ्यो; B om. शव० to भवति ॥ (१८) The examples are rearranged; their order in A is २०, २१, २३, २५, om. all the others; B has २०, २१, १८, १९, २२, २३, २४, २५, २६; C D have १८, १९, २४, २०, २१, २२, २३, २६, om. २५ (see iii, 9). (२०) A C सोच्चव्व, B सोसधं (corrupt for सोच्चव्वं), D सोच्चच्चं ॥ (२१) A काव्वं, D कच्चं ॥ (२४) C D सय्यं ॥ (२५) A सोच्चं, B सुच्चं; C D om. this example. (२६) C सिज्भा ॥ (२७) B om. (२८) B वगज ॥ (२९) B लुप्यं ॥ (३०) B C D read वर्गे परे यत् पूर्वं व्यंजनं तल् लो० भ० ॥ (३१) A सक्तो, B भक्तो ॥ (३२) B भक्तो, D सक्तो ॥ (३३) B adds भुक्तं भुत्तं; C D add भुक्तं भुत्तं ॥ (३४) B ब० ॥ (३५) B षक्कं ॥

षट्पदः छप्पओ(१) । (२)खड्गं खग्गं । षण्मुखः(३) छम्मुहो(४) । आत्मा(५) अप्पा । उत्पलं उप्पलं । सद्भावं सब्भावं । *मन्मथः वम्मथो(६) । प्राप्तं पत्तं । *प्रद्युम्नः पज्जुन्नो(७) । †अर्कः अक्को । उल्का उक्का । भास्करः भक्खरो । B C D । ब्रह्मा वम्हा(८) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ शे(९) वर्गाद्यं ॥ ४ ॥

वर्गाद्यं(१०) शे(९) परे लोप्यं भवति ॥ वृक्षः(११) वच्छो(१२) । (१३)क्षमा खमा । संवत्सरः संवच्छरो । मत्सरः मच्छरो । अप्सराः(१४) अच्छरा । ईप्सितं इच्छितं(१५) ॥

॥ 5 ॥ वर्गाद् अवर्गं ॥ ५ ॥

वर्गात् परं अवर्गं व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं(१६) । (१७)शक्रः सक्को । (१८)क्लीवः कीवो । (१९)विध्वं सितं विद्धं सितं(१९) । B C ॥

॥ 6 ॥ (२०)शषृ च पंचमो वा ॥ ६ ॥

वर्गपरः शषश् च वर्गपंचमो वा लोप्यो भवति ॥ ज्ञानं नाणं(२१) । (२२)यत्नं जत्तं(२३) । लक्ष्मणः(२४) लक्खणो । (२५)लक्ष्मी लच्छी । C D । B C D । (२६)कृष्णं कण्हं ॥

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* C कामः ॥ † C सूर्य्यः ॥

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(१) B D छपउ; A om. this and the following examples, except Nos. २, ५ and ८ ॥ (२) B षट्नौ षन्नौ ॥ (३) A षट्मुखो ॥ (४) A छमुखो, B छमुच्हो; B C D place २, ४, २ ॥ (५) B आत्मोः ॥ (६) B मन्मच्हो, C D वम्मच्हो ॥ (७) C D पज्जुणो, and add वर्गः वग्गो ॥ (८) A ब्रंह्मा वंह्मा, B C D वंभा ॥ (९) A C D से, B सो ॥ (१०) B C D add व्यंजनं ॥ (११) A ट्टचो ॥ (१२) B वक्खो ॥ (१३) A om. the remainder. (१४) B अप्सरः, D अप्सरा ॥ (१५) C दच्छियं, B D दक्खियं ॥ (१६) A सक्खं, B D सुखं ॥ (१७) B क्षीवा कीवा ॥ (१८) D reads विध्वं विद्धं सितं सिद्धं (acc. sing. of विधुः सितः). (१९) B C D सिद्धं ॥ (२०) A C D सा, B स ष ॥ (२१) A B C D णाणं (see iii, 19). (२२) A om. this example. (२३) B यत्नं ॥ (२४) A ०णो, B लक्ष्मणयः ॥ (२५) B om. this example. (२६) A क्रण्णं कन्हं, B प्रण्णं पन्हं, C D प्रश्नं पण्हं ॥

॥ 7 ॥ दो वे[1] ॥ ७ ॥

दकारो [2]वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति॥ द्वारं वारं। वेति किं। दारं[3] ॥

॥ 8 ॥ षाट् टः ॥ ८ ॥

षकारात् परष् टकारो वा[4] लोप्यो भवति॥ उत्कृष्टं उक्कोसं[5]। [6]स्पष्टं फुटं[7] ॥ [8]पुट्ठं। [9]उक्किट्ठं ॥

॥ 9 ॥ [10]रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥ ९ ॥

[11]सर्व्वस्माद् व्यंजनात् परः पूर्व्वस्थश्[12] च रेफो लोप्यो भवति॥ तक्रं तक्कं। अर्कः[13] अक्को। मूर्खः मुक्खो[14]। [15]न्यग्रोधः निग्गोहो[16]। स्वर्गं सग्गं। शीघ्रः सिग्घो[17]। अर्घः अग्घो[18]। अर्च्चनं[19] अच्चणं। वज्रं वज्जं[20]। दुर्जनः दुज्जणो। उष्ट्रः उट्टो[21]। सुवर्णं सुवण्णं। भ्रुः भत्तू[22]। कर्त्तव्यं कातव्वं[23]। कर्द्दमं कद्दमं। ऊर्द्ध्वं[24] उड्ढं[25]। प्रवरः[26] पवरो[27]। C D। सर्पः सप्पो। विभ्रमः विब्भमो। दर्भः दब्भो। आम्रं अंबं[28]। धर्मः धम्मो। सूर्यः सुज्जो। व्रतं वतं[29]। पर्वतः पव्वतो[30]। श्रुतं सुतं[31]। ह्रस्वः हस्सो। C D॥

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(१) C D add च॥ (२) D वकारपरे॥ (३) B द्वारं; C D add देरं दुवारं॥ (४) B C om. (५) C D उक्कसं (see iii, 29 and App. C D in iii, 3), B उक्कोसं॥ (६) B स्पष्टं; C D om. the remainder. (७) B कुडं (? फुडं) (८) A om., B places ८, ७. (९) A om.; B उक्किदं, repeating उत्कृष्टं before it. (१०) B om. the sutra; A रेफः, C D रेफ॥ (११) B om. commentary, up to भवति॥ (१२) D पूर्व्वस्य अधश्च॥ (१३) A om. this example; D places it before तक्र॥ (१४) A मूखो, B मूक्खो॥ (१५) A om. the remainder. (१६) C D णि०॥ (१७) B शीग्घो॥ (१८) D adds अर्घः अर्घो॥ (१९) B om., up to सुवण्णं incl. (२०) D repeats वज्जं॥ (२१) C उड्ढो, and C D add दंष्ट्रा डाढा॥ (२२) B भ्र०॥ (२३) B C D कायव्वं, and place this example before the preceding one. (२४) B ओर्द्धं, C D उर्द्धं; but C has a marginal correction in pencil ऊर्द्धं॥ (२५) B ओड्ढं, C उड्ढं, D उड्ढं॥ (२६) C प्रवरो, with marginal correction in pencil प्रवरः॥ (२७) B प्रवरो, D पचरो॥ (२८) B अंवं, C अंव्वं, D अंमं, (see H. C. ii, 56). (२९) B वयं, C D वयं॥ (३०) B C D पव्वआ॥ (३१) So B; C D सुअं॥

॥ 10 ॥ (१)असंयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥

अत ऊर्द्धं ये व्यंजनादेशास् ते असंयोगस्य भवंति ॥ गृहं घरं । स्तम्भः(२) खंभो ॥

॥ 11 ॥ प्रथमद्वितीययोस् तृतीयचतुर्थौ ॥ ११ ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं द्वितीयचतुर्थौ आदेशौ(३) भवतः ॥ भास्करः भक्खरो । निश्चयः निच्छयो(४) । (५)दुष्टं दुट्ठं(६) । (५)स्तम्भः थंभो(७) । परुषं(८) फरुसं(९) । विद्वयते(१०) विज्झते(११) । (५)दंष्ट्रा दाढा(१२)। मथुरा मधुरा(१३) । नाथः नाधो(१४) ॥

॥ 11* ॥ C D ॥ ११* ॥

॥ 12 ॥ प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥ १२ ॥

(१५)प्रथमस्य स्थाने तृतीयो भवति ॥ एकं एगं । तीर्थंकरः(१६) तित्थगरो(१७) । पिशाची पिसाजी । जटा जडा । शतं कदं(१८) । प्रतिषिद्धं पडिसिद्धं(१९) । C D । (२०)प्रच्छे वुच्छे ॥

॥ 13 ॥ केन (२१)खघथधभानां ॥ १३ ॥

(२२)खकार घकार धकार भकाराणां(२३) स्थाने हकारो भवति(२४) ॥

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(१) C D om. this sútra and its commentary. (२) A सम्मं, B सम्भो ॥ (३) B C D om. (४) A निठुउ, B निक्रुज, C णिक्खो, D णिक्रुड ॥ (५) A om. this example. (६) C D ०ट्ठो ॥ (७) D adds खंभो (see iii, 10, 19). (८) A B C पुरुषं, D पुरुषः ॥ (९) A फुरुसं, B पुरुसं, C पुरिसं, D परिसो; B C D add मुखं मुहं (see iii, 13). (१०) A विद्वये, B विजयते, C D खिय्यते ॥ (११) A B विज्जए, C D हिज्जए; cf. H. C. II, 28; and as to ज्ज for ज्झ, see p. 20 footnote 28; p. 10, n. 7; p. 27, n. 13; p. 30, n. 7. (१२) B दंठा, C दाढा, D दढा ॥ (१३) A B C D मज्झरा ॥ (१४) A णाहा, B नाहो; C D read आदिनाहः आइणाहो ॥ (१५) A has only the following comment, सर्वं । पिशाची पिसाजी; om. all the rest. (१६) B तौर्थंकरः ॥ (१७) B तित्थंकरो, D तिक्खगरो ॥ (१८) B करं ॥ (१९) B प्रतिसिद्धं ॥ (२०) Conjectural; B वच्चे, C D om. this example. (२१) C D om. ख (see note ९ in iii, 11.). (२२) C D om. खघारं ॥ (२३) B ०भकार इत्येतेषां ॥ (२४) A om. comm., up to भवति ॥

(१)मुखं मुहं । (२)मेघः मेहो । (२)मधवः महवो । वृषभः(३) वसहो ॥

॥ 14 ॥ थस्य(४) खछहाः(५) ॥ १४ ॥

(६)सकारस्य स्थाने खछहा(७) भवंति ॥ भिक्षा भिक्खा । षण्मुखः छम्मुहो(८) । पाषाणः पाहाणो । दश दह ॥

॥ 15 ॥ धस्य दः ॥ १५ ॥

(९)यकारस्य स्थाने जकारो भवति ॥ यौवनं जुव्वणं । सूर्य्यः सुज्जो । याचा जत्ता ॥

॥ 15ª ॥ C D ॥ १५ª ॥

॥ 16 ॥ तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥ १६ ॥

तवर्गस्य स्थाने चटवर्गौ भवतः(१०) । यथासंख्यं ॥ नित्यं निच्चं(११) । (२)पथ्यं पच्चं(१२) । विद्या विज्जा । (२)बंधा वंझा(१३) । नृत्यं नट्टं(१४) । स्थितः ठितो(१५) । (१६)दंडः डंडो(१७) । दग्धः(१८) दड्ढो(१९) । C D । धान्यं धण्णं(२०) । C D ॥

॥ 17 ॥ युष्मदो यस्य (२१)तः ॥ १७ ॥

युष्मत्संबंधिनो यकारस्य (२१)तकारो भवति(२२) ॥ तुम्हेहि(२३) ॥

॥ 17ª ॥ C D ॥ १७ª ॥

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(१) C D om. this example (see p. 26, note ९ in iii, 11). (२) A om. this example. (३) A B दषभो ॥ (४) B स ख्यछहा ॥ (५) A ०च्छ० ॥ (६) A has only सष्टं । पाखाणो पाहाणो । दश दह, om. the rest. (७) B षछहा ॥ (८) B D छमुहो ॥ (९) A only सष्टं, om. the whole commentary. (१०) A only सष्टं, om. up to भवतः ॥ (११) C D णिच्चं ॥ (१२) B पंछा with Skr. पंथा ॥ (१३) B D वंजभा; C originally वंज्जा, with marginal correction ०जभा ॥ (१४) C D णट्टं ॥ (१५) A ठिअः, B C D ठिओ ॥ (१६) A om. the remainder. (१७) B दंढो, D दडो । (१८) B C दग्घो ॥ (१९) B ०ड्ढो, C ०ड्ढो, D ०ड्ढो ॥ (२०) B धन्यं, D धाणं ॥ (२१) B म० ॥ (२२) A om. up to भवति ॥ (२३) A तुभ्भेच्हि, B तुभ्भेच्हि; C D add कयं । युष्माभिः कृतं ॥

॥ 18 ॥ रश्चर्याणां[1] र्यः ॥ १८ ॥

[2]रेफशकारषकाराणां[2] स्थाने [4]सकारो भवति ॥ शिरं[5] सीसं । [6]शशी ससी[7] । आमिषं आमिसं[7] ॥

॥ 19 ॥ हजयानां रनखाः[8] ॥ १९ ॥

[2]हजयानां स्थाने रनखा[8] भवंति । यथासंख्यं[9] ॥ गृहं घरं । [3]ज्ञानं नानं[10] । C D । [3]स्तंभः[11] खंभो ॥

॥ 20 ॥ गरहाणां घणह्माः[12] ॥ २० ॥

[12]गरहाणां स्थाने घणह्मा[14] भवंति । यथासंख्यं ॥ [3]गृहं घरं । करवीरः[15] कणवीरो[15] । C D । [3]वाह्यः वज्झो[16] । C D ॥

॥ 21 ॥ मडहानां[17] वलभाः[18] ॥ २१ ॥

[19]मडहानां स्थाने[20] यथाक्रमं वलभा भवंति[21] ॥ मन्मथः[22] वम्मथो[22] । षोडश[24] सोलस[25] । [3]जिह्वा जिब्भा । C D ॥

॥ 22 ॥ [26]यवयोर् व्यत्ययः ॥ २२ ॥

[27]यकारवकारयोर् व्यत्यासो[28] भवति[29] ॥ पर्य्यंकः पल्लंको[30] ।

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(१) B °नां ॥ (२) A only एषां ॥ (३) B °सकारष° ॥ (४) A सस् स्यात् ॥ (५) B शिरः ॥ (६) B शसी ॥ (७) A om. this example. (८) C D रण° ॥ (९) B C D om. this clause. (१०) B जानं, C D णाणं ॥ (११) D स्थंभः (Prákrit थंभो, see iii, 11). (१२) A घनसाः, B °सा, D घण° ॥ (१३) A only यथासंख्यं भवंति स्पष्टं ॥ (१४) B घणसा, D घणह्मा ॥ (१५) A °वीरं ॥ (१६) B बज्झो ॥ (१७) A B C D °णां ; but C with marginal correction °नां ॥ (१८) B ब° ॥ (१९) D °हाणां ; but B C °हानां ॥ (२०) B D om. (२१) A only स्पष्टं, om. up to भवंति ॥ (२२) A B °यो ॥ (२३) A C वम्महो, B मम्महो, D वंमहो ॥ (२४) B D °ष्ः, A B ड़ for ड ॥ (२५) B सोलहः ॥ (२६) So A ; B om. sútra ; C D read पवयोर् ॥ (२७) So A ; B यवयोर् ; but C D पवयोर्, see below note २९. (२८) A व्यत्ययं ॥ (२९) A स्यात् ; in C D, here follows the example पापं पावं (see iii, 12 in App. C D), after which comes a new sútra रलयोर् व्यत्यासः, to which are assigned पर्य्यंकः etc. as examples (see App. C D). (३०) A B °कः ; C D add पर्य्याणं पल्लाणं ॥

(१)वैदूर्यः(२) वेदुलियो(३)। चयोदश तेरह। (४)वृक्षः रुक्खो(५)। C D ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ग्रहयोर्(६) लोपे नणमानाम् अधो (७)हो ऽपदादौ(८) स्थितानां ॥ २३ ॥

नणमानां संबंधिनौ यौ ग्रहौ(९) तयोर् लोपे हकारागमो भवति। (१०)अधो(१०)ऽपदादाववस्थितानां ॥ प्रश्नः पन्हो(११)। तृष्णा तण्हा(१२)। यस्मात् जम्हा(१३)। B C D। C D। (१४)गृह्णाति गिण्हति(१५)। वह्निः वन्ही(१६)। जिह्मः जिम्हो(१७)। B। (१८)अपदादाव् इति किं। श्मशानं(१९) मसानं ॥

॥ 24 ॥ लोपे द्विलं ॥ २४ ॥

संयोगाक्षरस्य लोपेऽवशेषस्य(२०) द्विलं भवति(२१)॥ (२२)दुर्गा दुग्गा। B C D। व्याघ्रः वग्घो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ (२३)क्वचिद् अलोपे ऽपि ॥ २५ ॥

(२४)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि द्विलं भवति॥ न ज्ञायते न(२५) नज्जते(२६)। (१)वाध्यते वाहिज्जते(२७) ॥

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(१) A om. this example. (२) C D वैडूर्यः ॥ (३) B वेदुलिथो, C वेरुलिथो, D वेरुलिउ ॥ (४) D बक्खो ॥ (५) So B; A C D सं० ॥ (६) A om. हो ॥ (७) Conjectural; the MSS reading is corrupt; B throws sútra and commentary into one and reads ग्र० लो० नण० अधो पदावस्थानां हो भवति; A has ऽपादावस्थानानां; C originally पदावस्थानानां, corrected in margin to ऽपदादावस्थानानां; D पदादावस्थानानां ॥ (८) A C D सकारहकारौ ॥ (९) B om. this clause. (१०) Conjectural; A D read ऽपदादावस्थानानां, C अपदावस्थानानां ॥ (११) C D पण्हो ॥ (१२) B तिण्हा; A adds ह्रस्वः कण्हो (see App. B C D). (१३) A D जह्मा ॥ (१४) A om. the remainder, up to अपदादाव् ॥ (१५) B गट्हणति, C D गिण्हद् ॥ (१६) C D वण्ही; B places this example after निन्हविया (see App. B). (१७) C D place the examples thus: ११, १६, १५, १२, १३, १७. (१८) So C; A अपादाविति, B अपादाति०, D अपदादविति ॥ (१९) B C D श्मसानं ॥ (२०) D विशेषस्य; B adds च after it. (२१) A स्यात् ॥ (२२) C D दुर्गः दुग्गो ॥ (२३) A om. the sútra. (२४) B क्वचिद्दुलोपे ? ॥ (२५) C D ण ॥ (२६) A B नज्जइ, C D ण्णज्जए; C D add तैल तेल्लं ॥ (२७) B ०ज्जइ, C D ०ज्जए ॥

॥ 26 ॥ तस्मिन् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः[1] प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्मिन् द्विले वर्त्तमानयोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने[2] प्रथमतृतीयौ भवतः ॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं[3] । [4]अर्घः अग्घो । पथ्यं पक्कं[5] । साध्यः[6] सज्झो[7] । षष्ठः छट्ठो[8] । वृद्धः वुड्ढो[9] । पार्श्वः पत्थो[10] । वर्धमानः वड्ढमानो[11] । पुष्पं पुप्फं । जिह्वा जिब्भा[12] ॥

॥ 27 ॥ स एवान्येषां ॥ २७ ॥

अन्येषां [13]मुक्तामुक्तविशेषाणां द्विले स एव भवति ॥ [14]अर्कः अक्को । सत्यं सच्चं[15] । B C D ॥

॥ 28 ॥ न पदादौ[16] ॥ २८ ॥

पदादौ[17] द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ क्रोधः कोहो[17] । [18]क्षुद्रः खुद्दो[19] । [20]पदादाव् इति किं । [21]भद्रः भद्दो[22] ॥

॥ 29 ॥ क्वचिद् अन्यत्रापि ॥ २९ ॥

क्वचित् पदमध्येऽवसाने[23] च लोपे कृते द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ काश्यपः[24] कासवो । [25]वैश्रवणः वेसवणो[25] । स्पष्टं[26] फुटं[27] । [28]कर्त्तव्यं

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(१) A ०चतुर्थायोः, B ०चतुर्थौ ॥ (२) So B; B संयोगात्; C D संयोगाद्यो ॥ (३) A सौक्खं (for सोक्खं? but see iii, 5). (४) A om. the remainder. (५) B पत्थं; so also C now; but originally C seems to have had पक्कं ॥ (६) D साध्या ॥ (७) D सज्जा, B सग्घो ॥ (८) B छट्ठो, D सट्टो ॥ (९) B ०ड्ढो, C ०ड्ढो, D ०ड्ढो ॥ (१०) D पच्छो ॥ (११) B वड्ढमाणो, C वद्धमाणो, D वड्ढमाणो (for वड्ढ०); but comp. App. A, ii, 25 (as to ०नो for ०णो), and App. C D, iii, 16. (१२) B जिह्वा ॥ (१३) So A; B originally मुक्ताविशेषाणां, but corrected by later hand into उक्तविशेषाणां; the latter is also the reading of C D (see App. B C D). (१४) B अर्का अक्का ॥ (१५) B सत्तं ॥ (१६) C पादादौ ॥ (१७) B adds क्रुद्धः कुद्धो ॥ (१८) A om. this example. (१९) B खुट्टो, D खुद्दो ॥ (२०) B C पादादाव् ॥ (२१) A भद्रा, D भद्रं ॥ (२२) A भद्दा, B भट्टो ॥ (२३) So C; A ऽवशाने, B D अवशाने ॥ (२४) A काश्यपः ॥ (२५) B वैश्रवणो ॥ (२६) D स्पृष्टं ॥ (२७) A फडं, D पडं ॥

कातव्वं(१) । शीर्ष(२) सीसो(३) । दीर्घः दीहो । (४)उत्कृष्टं उक्कोसं(५) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ संयोगस्येष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥ ३० ॥

द्वयोर् (६)व्यंजनयोर् मध्ये दृष्टस्वरागमो भवति ॥ अग्निः अगणी(७) । विश्लेषः विसलेसो(८) । (९)श्लक्ष्णः पलक्खो । (९)रत्नं रतणं(१०) । वर्षं वरिसं(११) । C D । सूर्यः सूरियो(१२) । (१३)सर्षपः सरिसवो(१४) । (१३)वैदूर्यः(१५) वेदुलियो(१६) । (१३)श्लक्ष्णा खिमा(१७) । (४)सूक्ष्मं सुहुमं(१८) । (४)पद्मं पदुमं(१९) । C D ॥

॥ 31 ॥ यवयोर्(२०) द्रुतौ ॥ ३१ ॥

यवयोः(२१) स्थाने (२२)दकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ त्रयोदश तेरह(२३) । C D । भवति होति(२४) ॥

॥ 32 ॥ (२५)संख्यायास् (२६)तिशयोर् लोपः ॥ ३२ ॥

(२७)संख्यायाः (२८)संबंधितिशयोर् लोपो भवति(२९) ॥ (३०)विंशतिः वीसा । पंचाशत् पन्ना(३१) ॥

॥ 33 ॥ तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥

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(१) B C D कायव्वं; C adds काहवं ॥ (२) A शीर्षो, B शीर्षं, C D शीर्षः ॥ (३) A सीसो, B सीसं ॥ (४) A om. this example. (५) B उक्कोसं, C D उक्कसं (see iii. 8). (६) B repeats द्वयोर् after व्यं० ॥ (७) B अग्गि ॥ (८) A विश्लेष ॥ (९) A om. this example; B C D place it after सूरियो ॥ (१०) B C D रयणं ॥ (११) A वरिषं ॥ (१२) A D सूरिउ, B C सूरियो ॥ (१३) B om. this example; probably by oversight; as it is the only instance of B omitting what occurs in A C D together. (१४) A B C D सरिसवो; C D add वज्जं वइरं ॥ (१५) C D वैडूर्यः ॥ (१६) A वैदुलिउ, B वेदुलियो, C वेरुलियो, D वेरुलिउ; C D add लक्खणं कसिणं ॥ (१७) So A; C D खमा ॥ (१८) So C D; B सुहमं ॥ (१९) B पड़मं, C D पउमं ॥ (२०) A यवयोर् ॥ (२१) B C D यकारवकारयोः ॥ (२२) B C D द्रुतौ ॥ (२३) A तेरद; B om. by mistake, as it gives only चयो, omitting दश and तेरह ॥ (२४) A B C होद; D होयाद (sic); A B place the examples २४, २३, but C D २३, २४ ॥ (२५) D repeats संख्या ॥ (२६) B त्रि० ॥ (२७) D om. (२८) C संबंधिनोः ति० ॥ (२९) A स्यात् ॥ (३०) A om. all examples, probably by mistake. (३१) C D पण्णा ॥

(१)संख्यासंबंधिनस् तकारस्य(२) च(३) लोपो(४) भवति ॥ पंचपंचाशत्(५) (६)पणपण्णस ॥

॥ 34 ॥ (७)कतृतीययोः स्वरे ॥ ३४ ॥

ककारस्य वर्गतृतीयस्य च स्वरे(८) परे लोपो भवति ॥ (९)कोकिलः(१०) कोइलो(११) । (१२)भौगिकः भोइओ । (१३)राजी राई । (९)प्रतिकूलः पइकूलो(१२) । नदी नई(१४) । B | C D ॥

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्णे(१५) ॥ ३५ ॥

(१६)ककारवर्गतृतीययोर् अवर्णे परे यत्वं भवति॥ C D । काकाः काया। नागाः नाया(१७) । B C D ॥

॥ 36 ॥ शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥ ३६ ॥

व्यवस्था वर्णावस्थानं(१८) शिष्टप्रयोगात् ज्ञातव्या(१९) ॥ अर्कः अक्को । (२०)सूर्यः सूरियो(२१) । भिक्षा भिक्खा । लक्ष्मी लच्छी(२२) । C D ॥

॥ 37 ॥ न लोपो ऽपभ्रंशे(२३) ऽधो(२४) रेफस्य ॥ ३७ ॥

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(१) A om. (२) B C D तस्य ॥ (३) B C D om. (४) A लोपः, om. भवति ॥ (५) B पंचाशत्, and prefixes विंशति वीसा, repeating the latter by mistake from the previous sútra. (६) A पणपण्ण, B D पणपण्णा, C पणवण्णा ॥ (७) C D have an altogether different sútra and commentary, see App. C D. (८) Inserted; A B om. (९) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). (१०) A कोकिला ॥ (११) A कोइला ॥ (१२) A om. this example. (१३) B वनराजी वणराई ॥ (१४) A adds नूपुरं नेउरं। कूपः कूओ (MS. कूप कूअ); B adds many more examples, see App. B. (१५) C अवर्णः, D वर्णः; A adds ककारवृतीययोः ॥ (१६) So B; A corrupt अवर्णपरयोरेफयोःपरयोर्य्यत्वं स्यात् (अवर्णे परे एतयोर् यत्वं स्यात्?); but C D read differently, see App. C D. (१७) C D णाया ॥ (१८) A B ०स्थानां ॥ (१९) So A; B C D ०व्यं ॥ (२०) A om. the remainder. (२१) B C D सूरियो. (२२) Here C D terminate this chapter, see App. C D. (२३) D ०भंसे ॥ (२४) B om. ऽधो रेफस्य ॥

(१)अपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य लोपो न भवति ॥ *वरत्रु(२) । ग्रामो(३) । (४)वाघ्रो घसि(५) जादि ॥

॥ 38 ॥ पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर्(६) लनौ(७) ॥ ३८ ॥

पैशाचिक्यां रेफस्य लकारो भवति । णकारस्य नकारः ॥ †अले(८) अले (९)दुट्ठलक्खसा पनमत(१०) (११)पनयिट्ठितासा ॥

॥ 39 ॥ मागधिकायां रशयोर् लशौ(१२) ॥ ३९ ॥

मागधिकायां रेफसकारयोर् लशौ(१३) अवतः ॥ (१४)चंदकलनिकलं हवति । शेशे(१५) । हंशे(१६) । पशुत्ते(१७) ॥ C D ॥

॥ 39ª ॥ C D ३९ª ॥

॥ (१८)३१ ॥ २९ ॥ ३९ ॥ सूचाण् अच ९९ ॥

॥ III ॥ इति (१९)श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे (२०)व्यंजनविधानं (२१)तृतीयं (२२)समाप्तं ॥ ३ ॥

॥ (२३)इति प्राकृतलक्षणं संपूर्णं(२४) ॥

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* Ed. वरत्रं । ग्रामः । व्याघ्रः ग्रसित्वा याति ॥ A and C om. the interpunctuation between व० and ग्रा०, B has it; A B C have the interpunctuation between वा० and ग्रसि०; D om. it throughout. † Ed. अरे अरे दुष्टराक्षसाः प्रणमत प्रणयिस्थितास्याः ॥

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(१) B om. (२) B वरउ, D वरत्तु ॥ (३) A गाउ, B ग्राउ, C D ग्रघो ॥ (४) A om. this example, B व्याघ्रः, D व्याघ्रो; C D prefix the Skr. व्याघ्रः ॥ (५) C D ग्रसि ॥ (६) B om. (७) B लोनौ ॥ (८) D अरे ॥ (९) A दुष्टलक्खसा, B दुष्टक्खं । लस्मा, C दुठलक्खसा, D दुष्टलक्खसा ॥ (१०) So C; A पनमत्, B पमनमतः, D पननत्ते ॥ (११) A दृष्टियासा om. पन, B पुनदृष्टियासा, C पनदृं । ठियासा, D पनदृं ष्टियासा; B explains it in the margin as Skr. पुणेर्ष्टिकायाः (*sic*), but the word is not distinctly legible. (१२) B लसौ ॥ (१३) B लक्षौ ॥ (१४) A वन्दकलति कलवति; B वन्द नी कलति ॥ कलसवति; B in the margin explains कलति by the Skr. करोति; C D चं० हवदि ॥ (१५) A शेसे, B लोसे; C D prefix the Skr. शेषः ॥ (१६) A B हंसे, D om.; C D prefix the Skr. हंसः ॥ (१७) A पसुत्, B पसुते, C D om. (१८) B C D om. this remark. (१९) A कृते, B om. कृत ॥ (२०) C D read भाषांतरविधानं चतुर्थं, making this the termination of the fourth chapter; their third chapter terminates with sútra 36; see App. C D. (२१) C चतुर्थं, D तुर्यः ॥ (२२) A om. (२३) A B D om. this remark. (२४) Here follow various dates in the MSS.; A माघ कृष्ण १; B माघ कृष्ण ८ अष्टमी संवत् १९२१; D संवत् १९२१ का; C gives no date.

APPENDIX A.

EXPLANATION.

The MSS. C and D contain a large number of Sútras and Explanatory Remarks, in addition to the text given in the preceding pages. To a very slight extent this is also the case with the MSS. A and B. Some of this additional matter is found only in one MS., some other in more than one. This is indicated by the heading letters of the Appendices; thus Appendix C D gives what is common to the MSS. C and D. The places in the text to which these additions belong, are indicated by the insertion of corresponding letters; thus, on p. 21, the letter A in the commentary to Sútra II, 25 refers to an additional remark in MS. A, given in Appendix A on p. 34; again, on p. 5, the letters C D in Sútra I, 6ª refer to an additional Sútra in the MSS. C and D, given in Appendix C D, on p. 40. The words printed in red type in the Appendices refer to the words in the text, *after* which the additional remark is to be inserted.

APPENDIX A.

TO SUTRA II, 25. ON PAGE 21.

वाहि॰ ॥ साहिज्जमानं(१) साहियंतं(२) ॥

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(१) MS. साहिमानं ॥ (२) MS साहिप्पंतं(?); in A the two letters **य** and **प** are often indistinguishable.

APPENDIX B.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 26.

तेवीसो ॥ निक्कवितं निन्हवियं[1] । निक्कविका निन्हविया[2] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

चोत्तीसो ॥ [3]काकी काई[4] । [5]शकुनः सउणो[6] । [7]प्रतिकूलः पडुऊलो[8] । काकेन काएण[9] । काकः काओ । भौगिकः भोइओ । त्यागिनां[10] चाईणं[11] । प्रगुणः पउणो । [12]अवगूढः अवऊढो । त्यागेन चाएण । त्यागः चाओ । सुचिरं सुइरं । शुचिः सुई । [13]प्रचुरेण पउरेण । पिशाचेन पिसाएण । पिशाचः पिसाओ । वनराजिफलं वणराइफलं[14] । [15]वनराजी वणराई । [16]प्रजुष्टं पउट्ठं । [17]गजेन गएण । गजः गओ[18] । [19]पतिना पइणा । गोमती गोमई । [20]जतुना जउणा । [21]वातूलः वाऊलो । वातेन वाएण । वातः वाओ[22] । मदिरः मइरा । [23]नदी नई । पादुका पाउआ । मदेन मएण । मदः मओ । कूपिका कूइआ । कपीनां कईणं । [24]नूपुरं नेउरं । रिपूणां रिऊणं । कूपेन कूएण । कूपः कूओ[25] कूवो[26] । कविना कइणा । कापुरुषं कावुरिसं[27] काउरिसं[28] । रवेण रएण । देवः देओ[29] । मयि मइ[30] । प्रयुक्तं पउत्तं । मयूरः मऊरो । विप्रयोगः विप्पओओ[31] ॥

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(१) MS. निल्लवियं ॥ (२) MS. निन्हवयं ॥ (३) The MS. places this example after पउणो ॥ (४) This example also occurs in D (see App. C D). (५) MS. शकुणः सउणो ॥ (६) MS. पदकूलो ॥ (७) MS. काकेण ॥ (८) MS. त्यागिनाः ॥ (९) MS. चाइणो ॥ (१०) MS. अवरूढः अवरूढा ॥ (११) Conjectural; MS. सवलेन सउलेण ॥ (१२) MS. °राजि० ॥ (१३) This example also occurs in A, omitting however वन ॥ (१४) MS. प्रघुष्टं प्रउट्ठं, and places it after गओ ॥ (१५) MS. गायनः गायणो ॥ (१६) MS. गज ॥ (१७) MS. prefixes the example सितं सिअं, which is repugnant to the following sútra (iii, 35). (१८) MS. जंतुना जंउणा ॥ (१९) MS. वातुलः वाउलो ॥ (२०) MS. वाऊ ॥ (२१) This example also occurs in A. (२२) MS. कूवो कूवू ॥ (२४) MS. places २४, २२. (२५) MS. इक ॥ (२६) MS. मई ॥ (२७) MS. विप्रयोगः ॥

APPENDIX C.

APPENDIX C.

SUTRA I, 11ª. ON PAGE 6.

॥ [illegible] ॥ क्लीवे जस्शसोर् दं(१) ॥ ११ª ॥

क्लीवे वर्त्तमानान् नाम्नः परयोः जस्शसोः दं इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥

*कमलदं(२) मल्लवि अलिउलदं करिगंडादं महंति ।

†असुलहम् एत्थ ण जाहं ‡भलि ते णवि दूर(३) गणंति ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 17. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ C D ॥ भे भणामो वयं भणामः । भे भण मां भण । भे भण अस्मान् भण ॥

भणामः ॥ भे कयं मया कृतं । भे कयं अस्माभिः कृतं । भे णिक्किट्ठो मत् निःकृष्टः । भे तं णिक्किट्ठो अस्मत् त्वं(४) निःकृष्टः । भे देसो मम देशः । भे देसो अस्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं मयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं अस्मासु निहितं ॥

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* C कमलानि मुक्ता अलिकुलानि करिगंडानि कांक्षंति । असुलभम् अत्र न येषां भक्ते ते नापि दूरं गणयंति ॥ † C असुलहं । असुलभं दुर्लभं वा । कदा ग्रहो भवति ॥ ‡ C भलि । हठात्कारेण ॥

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(१) See H. C. IV, 353. T. V. III, 4. 25. (२) The MS. has the mark of interpunctuation (।) after each word of the first line; thus कमलदं । म॰ ॥ (३) The MS. has विदू रगणंति ॥ (४) MS. om.

APPENDIX D.

SUTRA II, 1a. ON PAGE 13.

॥ 1ª ॥ संस्कृतवत् संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥ २ª ॥

प्राकृते पदयोर् यत् संधिकार्यं तत् संस्कृतोक्तवद् भवति ॥

SUTRAS II, 1b. 1c. ON PAGE 14.

॥ 1ᵇ ॥ स्वरस्योद्भूते(१) ॥ २ª ॥

व्यंजनसंपृक्तः स्वरो यो(२) व्यंजने लुप्ते ऽवशिष्यते स उद्भूत इत्युच्यते । स्वरस्योद्भूते स्वरे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ गगनं गअणं । गंधकुटी गंधउडी ।

॥ 1ª ॥ न युवर्णस्यास्वे ॥ २ª ॥

इवर्णस्य उवर्णस्य चास्वे वर्णे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ न वैरिवर्गे(३) अपि अवकाशः । ण (४)वेरिवग्गे वि अवयासो ॥

TO SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

क्वचित्(५) ॥ ऐदौतौ च केषांचिन् मते भवत एव ॥ कैतवं कैअवं । सौन्दर्यं सौअरिअं । कौरवाः कौलवा कौरवा ॥ ङञौ(६) अपि स्ववर्ग्यसंयुक्तौ(६) भवत एव ॥ अहंकारः हङ्कारो(७) । अंजितं(८) अञ्जिअं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

सर्वः ॥ एवं सर्वासु विभक्तिषु ॥

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(१) D ०तेः ॥ (२) D om. (३) D वैरवर्गे ॥ (४) D ०वग्गे ॥ (५) See App. C D. (६) D ङञो and ०ञो ॥ (७) D डङ्कारो ॥ (८) D कंजिअं अजितं ॥

APPENDIX B C.

TO SUTRA III, 5. ON PAGE 24.

ऊर्द्धं उड्ढं । प्राप्तं पत्तं ॥

APPENDIX C D.

TO SUTRA I, 1. ON PAGE 2.

देशी° प्राकृतम् अनेकधा भवति । तद् यथा* ।

* C adds the following declension of जण = यज्ञ, मत्ता = मात्र and णिच्च = नित्य ; जणो । जणा ॥ हे जणो । हे जणा ॥ जणं । जणा or जणे ॥ जणेण or जणेणं । जणेहि or जणेहिं or जणेहिँ ॥ जणस्स । जणाणं or जणाहं ॥ जणाओ or जणाउ or जणाहि or जणाहिंतो or जणा । जणेहिंतो ॥ जणस्स । जणाणं or जणाहं ॥ जणे or जणम्मि । जणेसु or जणेसुं ॥ एवं देवादयः ॥

मत्ता । मत्ताओ or मत्ताउ or मत्ता ॥ हे मत्ता । हे मत्ताओ or हे मत्ताउ or हे मत्ता ॥ मत्तं । मत्ताओ or मत्ताउ or मत्ता ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताहि or मत्ताहिं or मत्ताहिँ ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताणं or मत्ताहं ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताहिंतो ॥ मत्ताए । मत्ताणं or मत्ताहं ॥ मत्ताए । मत्तासु or मत्तासुं ॥

णिच्चं । णिच्चाणि ॥ णिच्चं । णिच्चाणि ॥ शेषं यज्ञवत् ॥

*झल्लरिपउरे(१) गामे दक्षपुलिंदाण सुम्मए सद्दो ।
तह सज्जिज्जइ चिची सुहेण जह बोल्लए †तुंगी ॥ १ ॥
‡सत्तवीसं(२) (३)जोयणयरपसरो? जाव अज्जवि ण होइ ।
(४)पडिहत्थबिंबगहवइवयणे॥ ता वज्ज भत्तारं ॥ २ ॥

महाराष्ट्रदेशे । भातु । भेटु ॥ आंध्रदेशे । वंटकमु । कूडु ॥ कर्णाटदेशे । कूलु ॥ द्राविडदेशे । चोरु ॥ इत्यादि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGES 3, 4.

कुक्षानि ॥ चत्वारि चत्तारि । चत्वारः चत्तारो । चतुरः चउरो(५) । तिष्ठंति(६) चिट्ठंति पश्य(७) पेच्छ वा(७) । यूयं तुम्हे(८) । वयं अम्हे(८) ॥

भ्यस् ॥ ग्रामेभ्यः(९) गामाहिंतो । गुरुभ्यः(९) गुरूहिंतो(१०) । धेणूहिंतो । णईहिंतो । दोहिंतो वेहिंतो(११) । (१२)तोहिंतो¶ ॥

सुप्सु ॥ **दोसुं दोसु । ††वेसुं(१३) वेसु । तीसुं तीसु‡‡ ॥

TO SUTRA I, 5. ON PAGE 4.

भिस्ताभ्यः ॥ णईणं णईहं । गुरूणं गुरूहं । बुद्धीणं (१४)बुद्धीहं । मच्छूणं(१५) मच्छूहं ।

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* C दक्षपुलिंदाण व्याघ्राणां सद्दो शब्दः झल्लरिपउरे बजाप्रचुरे गामे ग्रामे सुम्मए श्रूयते । तह तथा चिची अग्निः सज्जिज्जइ सज्ज्यते जह यथा तुंगी रात्रिः सुहेण सुखेन बोल्लए व्यतिक्रामति ॥ † C तुंगी इति । श्यामा तुंगी तमा तमी इति नामनिघानकोषाक्षरे ॥ ‡ C सत्तवीसं जोयणयरपसरो सप्तविंशतियोजनकरप्रसरः जाव यावत् अज्जवि अद्यापि ण न होइ भवति । पडिहत्थबिंबगहवइवयणे हे प्रतिहस्तबिंबग्रहपतिवदने ता तावत् वज्ज व्रज भत्तारं भर्त्तारं ॥ § C सत्तवीसंजोअण शब्दने चन्द्रः । तस्य कराणां प्रसरः चंद्रकरप्रसरः ॥ ‖ C प्रतिहस्तं तिरस्कृतं बिंबं मंडलं यस्य स प्रतिहस्तबिंबः । प्रतिहस्तबिंबो ग्रहपतिश् चंद्रः इति बोधनं ॥ ¶ C ग्रामेभ्यः । गुरुभ्यः । धेनुभ्यः । नदीभ्यः । द्वाभ्यां । त्रिभ्यः ॥ ** C दोसुं । द्वि अग्रे सुप् (see ii, 12) । वर्गाद् अवर्गे (iii, 5 दि-सुप्) । स्वरोऽन्यो० (ii, 4 दोसुप्) । अदागमो० (ii, 11 दोसु) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 दोसुं) ॥ †† C वेसुं । द्वि-अग्रे सुप् (see ii, 12) । वर्गे (iii, 3 विसुप्; sic!) । स्वरो० (ii, 4 वेसुप्) । अदागमो० (ii, 11 वेसु) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 वेसुं) ॥ ‡‡ C द्वयोः ॥ त्रिषु ॥

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(१) D झल्लरिउपरे ॥ (२) D सत्तवीस c. m. (३) D जोअण० ॥ (४) D ०हच्छ०, D विंव० ॥ (५) D चतुरो ॥ (६) D तिष्ठंति, C om. (७) C om. (८) D तुम्हे and अम्हे ॥ (९) C om. (१०) D गुरुहिंतो ॥ (११) D वे० ॥ (१२) D ताहिंतो ॥ (१३) C वे० ॥ (१४) D वु० ॥ (१५) D मधुणं ॥

APPENDIX C D.

[illegible] ॥ अम्हाणं अम्हाहं*। (१)णमो अरहंताणं†। णमो सिद्धाणं‡। (२)णमो आइरियाणं§। (३)णमो उवज्झायाणं‖। ¶णमो लोए सव्वसाहूणं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 6. ON PAGE 5.

[illegible] ॥ दोण्हं वेण्हं(४)। तिण्हं। चउण्हं ॥

SUTRA I, 6a. ON PAGE 5.

॥ ६ ॥ टा णः ॥ ६ ॥

लिंगात् परष् टा इत्यस्य(५) ण आदेशो भवति ॥ देवेण। गुरूण। मऊण। दहिण। सिरेण। इत्यादि(६) ॥

TO SUTRA I, 7. ON PAGE 5.

गामेहिं ॥ **गुरूहिं(७)। णईहिं। तुम्हेहिं(८)। अम्हेहिं। ††दोहिं(९) वेहिं। तीहिं ॥

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* C नदीनां। गुरूणां। बुद्धीनां। मधूनां। अस्माकं ॥ † C णमो अरहंताणं नमोऽर्हद्भ्यः। नमोऽर्हत् (१०) चतुर्थीबहुवचनम अर्थे भ्यस्। तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 णमः अर्हत्)। एदोद्र० (ii, 10 णमयो अर्हत्)। खराणां० (ii, 1 णमो अर्हत्)। वर्णविश्लेषं कृत्वा र्हं इत्य् अस्य र्ह इति स्थितं। संयोगस्ये० (iii, 30 णमो अरहत्)। अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 णमो अरहंत्)। अदागमो० (ii, 11 णमो अरहंत)। षष्ठीवच्० (ii, 13)। सागमस्या० (ii, 5 णमो अरहंतण)। खरो० (ii, 4 णमो अरहंताण)। अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 णमो अरहंताणं) ॥ ‡ C सिद्धाणं। सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ § C आइरियाणं आचार्येभ्यः। आचार्य। कगचज० (iii, 34 आचार्य)। खरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन आ स्थाने इ भवति (आइर्य)। वर्णविश्लेषं कृत्वा संयोगस्येष्ट० (iii, 30 आइरिय)। खरो० (ii, 4 आइरिया)। आम् अस्य णः (i, 5 आइरियाण)। अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 आइरियाणं)॥ ‖ C उवज्झायाणं उपाध्यायेभ्यः। उपाध्याय। प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12 उवाध्याय)। वर्गाद् (iii, 5 उवाधाय)। तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 उवाझाय)। लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 उवाज्झाय)। ह्रस्वं० (ii, 3 उवज्झाय)। खरो० (ii, 4 उवज्झाया)। आमो णः (i, 5 उवज्झायाण)। अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 उवज्झायाणं)। उवज्झायाणं सिद्धं॥ ¶ C नमो लोके सर्व्वसाधुभ्यः ॥ ** C गुरुभिः। नदीभिः। युष्माभिः। अस्माभिः। द्वाभ्यां। त्रिभिः ॥ †† C दोहिं। द्वि अग्रे भ्या। द्विवयणे बहुवयणं (sic) ज्ञेयं (ii, 12 द्वि-भिस्)। वर्गाद्० (iii, 5 दिभिस्)। खरो० (ii, 4 दोभिस्)। हिं भिसः (i, 7 दोहिं) ॥

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(१) C adds णमो अरिहंताणं। णमो अरुहंताणं ॥ (२) C adds णमो आदरियाणं ॥ (३) C adds णमो उवज्झाआणं ॥ (४) C बे० ॥ (५) D reads only णो for इत्य० ण आद० ॥ (६) D om. (७) D गुरुहिं ॥ (८) D तुह्मेहिं and अह्मेहिं ॥ (९) C adds दोहि दोहिँ। वेहि वेहिं। तीहि तीहिँ ॥ (१०) C चतुर्थ्यैकबहुवचनम् ॥

SUTRA I, 10ª. ON PAGE 6.

॥ 10ª ॥ द्विचिश्चन्द्राभ्यां जसश्शसोर् णिः ॥ १०ञ ॥

दुण्णि विण्णि दुवे* दो वे । तिण्णि(१) । (२)एवं शसोऽपि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 13. ON PAGE 7.

णोद्धा ॥ (३)चकारग्रहणात् किं । अकारात् परस्य ङसः द्वित्वसकार एव भवति न तु णो ॥

TO SUTRA I, 19. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sútra: तं तुं(४) वंतु तुहं तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥

TO SUTRA I, 20. ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sútra: अमि तुए तुमं तं च ॥

TO SUTRA I, 24. ON PAGE 10.

णिक्खंतो ॥ (५)तुम्हेहिंतो अम्हे(६) धिट्ठा(७) । युष्मद् वयं धृष्टाः ॥

SUTRAS I, 25ª, 25ᵇ. ON PAGE 11.

॥ 25ª ॥ तुम्हम् आमि ॥ २५ञ ॥

युष्मदः आमि परे तुम्हम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्हं चिय† ते गुणा । युष्माकम् एव ते गुणाः ॥

॥ 25ᵇ ॥ तद् ङौ ॥ २५ञ ॥

सविभक्तेः ॥ ‡तद्(८) । §तुम्हम्मि ॥ तुम्हेसु(९) ॥

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* C दुवे । द्वौ । वर्णविश्लेषं कृत्वा द्वौ इति स्थितौ । संयोगस्येद० (iii, 30) इत्यनेन उ प्रत्यय आगतः (दुवौ) । स्वरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन वौ इत्यस्य वे भवति (दुवे) ॥ † C चिय । एवार्थे णद्-चिय-चेयाः (ii, 17) ॥ ‡ C तद् त्वयि सिद्धरूपं । वर्गाद् (iii, 5 तयि) । वगचज० (iii, 34 तद्) । तद् सिद्धं ॥ § C युष्मद् । युष्मदो० (iii, 17 तुष्मद्) । रष्षाणां सः (iii, 18 तुस्मद्) । वर्गे (iii, 3 तुमद्) । ग्रहयोर्० (iii, 23 तुन्हद्) । षदागमो० (ii, 11) इत्य् अनेन दकारस्य लोपः (तुन्ह) । एम्मि ङेः (i, 14 तुन्हम्मि) ॥

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(१) D places तिण्णि after एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (२) C repeats दुण्णि, etc., instead of the remark एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (३) D reads अकारात्, om. किं; C om. the whole of this remark in the text, but adds it in the marginal gloss; D gives it as part of the text. (४) C तु ॥ (५) D तुम्हो० ॥ (६) D अम्हे ॥ (७) C धिट्ठा ॥ (८) C om. (९) Here follows sútra ii, 26 (see p. 21) in C D.

SUTRAS I, 26a—26d. ON PAGE 11.

॥ 26a ॥ हउं हं अहं (१)सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ २६ª ॥

अस्मदः सौ परे हउं(२) हं अहं एते(३) आदेशा भवंति । सविभक्तेः(४) ॥ (५)हउं सो णरो(६) । तेण हं विद्धो । अहं कयपणामो* ॥

॥ 26b ॥ अम्हे जसि ॥ २६ᵇ ॥

अस्मदो जसि परे अम्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अम्हे मणुस्सा(७) सूरा । वयं मनुष्याः शूराः(८) ॥

॥ 26c ॥ मम् अमि ॥ २६ᶜ ॥

अस्मदः अमि परे मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः(९) ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां पश्य ॥

॥ 26d ॥ अम्हे शसि(१०) ॥ २६ᵈ ॥

अस्मदः शसि(१०) परे अम्हे भवति । सविभक्तेः(११) ॥ अम्हे पेच्छ । अस्मान् पश्य ॥

SUTRA I, 31a. ON PAGE 12.

॥ 31a ॥ (१२)मह ङौ ॥ ३१ª ॥

(२)सविभक्तेः ॥ †मइ(१३) । अम्हम्मि(१४) ॥ (१४)अम्हेसु(१५) ॥

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* C कयपणामो कृतप्रणामः ॥ † C मइ । मयि । कगचज० (iii, 34) इति मइ सिद्धं ॥

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(१) C places सौ after सवि० ॥ (२) D हंउ ॥ (३) C om. (४) C D place सवि० before सौ ॥ (५) D अउं ॥ (६) D नरो ॥ (७) C माणुस्सा ॥ (८) C सूराः ॥ (९) C D place सवि० before अमि ॥ (१०) D शम्मि ॥ (११) C D place सवि० before शसि ॥ (१२) C om. sútra. (१३) D मइं ॥ (१४) D om. (१५) Here follows sútra ii, 27 (see p. 22) in C D.

TO SUTRA II, 5. ON PAGE 15.

रिणं ॥ चट्ठिः(१) दड्ढी(२) । वृषभः वसहो *उसहो(३) रिसहो ॥ बृहस्पति-शब्दस्याष्टादश रूपाणि भवंति ॥ †भिअस्सई भुअस्सई भयस्सई(४) । विहस्सई वुहस्सई वहस्सई । भिअप्फई भुअप्फई भयप्फई(५) । विहप्फई(६) वुहप्फई वहप्फई । भिअप्पई(७) भुअप्पई भयप्पई(८) । विहप्पई वुहप्पई वहप्पई(९) ॥ सदृक् वर्णः ‡सरिवण्णो । सदृक् रूपः सरिरूवो । सदृशः सरिसो । सदृक्षः सरिच्छो । एतादृशः एआरिसो । भवादृशः भवारिसो । यादृशः जारिसो । तादृशः तारिसो । कीदृशः केरिसो । ईदृशः(१०) एलिसो(११) । अन्यादृशः अण्णारिसो । अस्मादृशः अम्हारिसो । युष्मादृशः तुम्हारिसो । इत्यादि ।

TO SUTRA II, 9. ON PAGE 16.

कउआ ॥ सौधं सउहं । मौनं मउणं । पौरुषं पउरिसं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 11. ON PAGE 17.

धरि० ॥ पडिवयाणं§ । यत् जं । तत् तं ॥

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* C इषभः । खरा० (ii, 5) इत्यनेन ष इत्यस्य ख (खुषभः) । कगचज० (iii, 34) इत्यनेन वकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थितं (उषभः) । रिषा० (iii, 18 उसभः) । हो० (iii, 13 उसहः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 उसहओ) । खराणां० (ii, 1 उसहो) ॥ † C इहस्पतिः । खरा० (ii, 5 विह०) । पवयोर्० (iii, 22 पिह०) । प्रथम० (iii, 11 फिह०) । पुनः प्रथम० (iii, 11 भिह०) । हकारस्य स्वरस्य विश्लेषे सति ह्य इति स्थितं (भिह्य०) । श्वदागमो० (ii, 11) इत्यनेन हलोपः (भिअ०) । श्ववलेभ्यो० (iii, 2 भिअस्सतिः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 भिअस्सतिः) । कगचज० (iii, 34 भिअस्सइः) । खरो० (ii, 4 भिअस्सईः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 भिअस्सई) । भिअस्सई इति सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C सदृक्वर्णः । खरा० (ii, 5 सदिक्०) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 सडिक्०) । मडढा० (iii, 21 सलिक्०) । रलयोर्० (iii, 22ª सरिक्०) । श्वदागमो० (ii, 11 सरि-वर्णः) । रेफ० (iii, 9 सरिवणः) । लोपे० (iii, 24 सरिवसः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10 सरिवसओ) । खराणां० (ii, 1 सरिवसो) ॥ § C प्रतिपत् । श्वदागमः ॥

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(१) C चट्ठि, D चड्ढी ॥ (२) C दड्ढी, D दड्ढी ॥ (३) D om. (४) C places this after बुहस्सई ॥ (५) C places this after वुहप्फई ॥ (६) D places this after वुहप्फई ॥ (७) D has again प्फ in the following forms, instead of प्प ॥ (८) C places this after वुहप्पई ॥ (९) D repeats वहप्पई ॥ (१०) D एदृग्रः ॥ (११) So both C D.

कण्ड ॥ सम्यक्(१) सम्मं(२) । ईषत्(३) ईसं ॥

सिरे० ॥ सिराणं* ॥

TO SUTRA II, 12. ON PAGE 17.

Commentary: सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च द्विवचनं बहु० ॥

वंभ० ॥ †णयणा । सोहंते ॥

SUTRAS II, 13ª, 13ᵇ. ON PAGE 17.

॥ 13ª ॥ प्रथमाया द्वितीया भवति ॥ १३ª ॥

चतुर्विंशतिर् अपि जिनवराः । चउवीसं वि जिणवरा तित्थयरा(४) मे पसीअंतु ॥

॥ 13ᵇ ॥ सप्तम्याः द्वितीया भवति ॥ १३ᵇ ॥

तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं । तस्मिन् काले तस्मिन् समये(५) ॥

SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

॥ 14 ॥ न श्रुतस्वरान्ताः ॥ १४ ॥

श्रुता वर्णाः ङकारनकारञकाराश् च प्राकृते न भवंति ॥ श्लोकः ।

‡ऐ औ स्वरौ ततः पश्चात् ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ चतुःस्वराः ।

ऐश्च ङञनशषाः(६) संति प्राकृते नैव कर्हिचित् ॥ १ ॥ (D) ॥

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* C शिरस् । (शिरसां) ॥ † C नयने । शोभेते ॥ ‡ C ऐऔ स्वरौ० । गाथा(१) ।

तेत्तीस विंजणाइं सत्तवीसा सरा तहा भणिया ।

चत्तारि य जोगवहा चउसट्ठी(७) मूलवण्णा ओ ॥ १ ॥

हयवरल । अणनङम । झढधघभ । जडदगब । कठथखफ(८) । चटतकप । शषस ॥ १२ ॥

अआआः । इईईः । उऊऊः । ऋॠॠः । ऌॡॡः । एएएः ऐऐऐः । ओओओः । औऔऔः ॥ २० ॥

शुक:प्पःअंअः(९) ॥ ४ ॥ ६४(१०) मूलवर्णा भवंति संस्कृते(११) । प्राकृते ५२ भवंति ॥ ओ इति संबोधने(१२) ॥ § C अः इति विसर्जनीयः । (१३)अकार उच्चारणार्थः । कुमारीस्तनयुगलाकृतिर् वर्णो विसर्ज्जनीयसंज्ञो भवति । शृंगवद् वालवत्सस्य बालिकाकुचयुग्मवन्नेचवत् क्षणसर्पस्य (१४) विसर्गोऽयम् इति स्मृतः ॥

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(१) C om. (२) B रम्मं ॥ (३) C om., D ईषत् ॥ (४) D तिच्छयरा ॥ (५) See Bhagavatí (ed. Weber) p. 260, Kalpasútra (ed. Jacobi) p. 33. (६) C अःङःञ० ॥ (७) C ०सटी ॥ (८) खफकटथ ॥ (९) MS. indistinct, व्पः for प्पः ॥ (१०) C ॥ ६६ ॥ (११) C reverses प्राकृते संस्कृते ॥ (१२) See H. C. ii, 203, 199. (१३) C अका, om. र ॥ (१४) C विसर्गा । यमिति० ॥

TO SUTRA II, 15. ON PAGE 18.

प्रकृतिः ॥ क्वचिद् अर्द्धानुस्वारोऽपि भवति ॥

संस्कृतं ॥ सक्कारो*। वीसा । तीसा । लोप ॥

भंगो ॥ देवेहिं । प्रकृति ॥ देवेहि । लोप ॥ देवेहिँ । (अर्द्धानुस्वार(१)) ॥

SUTRA II, 19. ON PAGE 19.

॥ 19 ॥ नु न्ना चा ह्नु न्नु ह्मण न्हाण ओ वि प्पिणु वेप्पिणु पूर्व० ॥ १२ ॥

भोन्हूण ॥ काउआण । वंदेवि ॥ कप्पि ॥ वंदेप्पिणु(२) । पणवेप्पिणु ॥

TO SUTRA II, 20. ON PAGE 20.

फाडिल्लो ॥ श्लोक(३) ।

(४)वतोर् मतोर् (५)ड्डुल्ल उल्ल आल आलू डुरा मणः ।
वन्तो मा मन्त डुन्ताश्च(६) च यथा लक्ष्यं दश(७) स्मृताः ॥ १ ॥

शोभवान् सोहिल्लो । विकारवान् विआरुल्लो । श्रद्धावान् सद्धालो । स्नेहवान् णेहालू । गर्व्ववान् गव्विरो । धनवान् धणमणो धणवन्तो । हनुमान् हणुमा हणुमन्तो । पुण्यवान् पुण्णमन्तो । मानवान् माणडुन्तो(८) । काव्यवान् कव्वडुन्तो(८) ॥ तत्र भवेऽपि डुल्ल उल्लौ ॥ ग्रामे भवः गामिल्लो । पुरे भवः पुरिल्लो ॥ अधो भवः । अधो हेट्ठः(९) । अधः स्थाने हेट्ठादेशो(९) भवति । हेट्ठिल्लो(९) ॥ उपरि भवः उवरिल्लो । आत्मनि भवः अप्पुल्लो ॥

SUTRA II, 21. ON PAGE 20.

॥ 21 ॥ ना तावज्जा जावाम् तावद्यावतोः ॥ २१ ॥

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* C संस्कारः ॥

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(१) C D om. (२) D बं० ॥ (३) C om. (४) C reads वतोः स्थाने डुल्ल०, and makes it to be a new sútra. (५) D reads अल्ल for आल ॥ (६) C D डुत्तश् ॥ (७) D inserts numbers after each suffix, thus डुल्ल१ उल्ल२, etc; C superscribes them, thus $\overset{१}{\text{डुल्ल}}$ $\overset{२}{\text{उल्ल}}$, etc. (८) D ०डुतो ॥ (९) C हेठः, हेठा०, हेठि० ॥

तावच् क्षुब्दस्य यावच् क्षुब्दस्य तु तातावौ जाजावौ भवतः ॥ गाथा । etc.

TO SUTRA II, 24. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ गाथा ।

*गुरुलघुअपयत्थाणं तग्गुणमुल्लं हवेइ सव्वेसिं ।
छुहितण्हिअसिआण भोज्जं जलपाणं तं अमुल्लं खु ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 26. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ भे सुणु । त्वं शृणु ॥

निगद्यते ॥ भे भणामि । त्वां भणामि ॥

क्षुतं ॥ भे कयं युष्माभिः क्षुतं । भे अहं णिक्किट्ठो(१) त्वं अहं निःक्षृष्टः ।
भे अहं सूरो युष्मद् अहं शूरः(२) । भे देसो तव देशः । भे देसो
युष्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं त्वयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं युष्मासु
निहितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ भे भणामि । अहं भणामि ॥

SUTRAS II, 27a—27l. ON PAGE 22.

॥ 27a ॥ द्वयेराः पादपूरणे(३) ॥ २७ᵃ ॥

॥ 27b ॥ जि अव्ययं एवार्थे ॥ २७ᵇ ॥

॥ 27c ॥ णवरि आनंतर्यार्थे(४) ॥ २७ᶜ ॥

॥ 27d ॥ णवरु केवलार्थे(५) ॥ २७ᵈ ॥

॥ 27e ॥ यदेः छुडु(६) ॥ २७ᵉ ॥

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* C गुरुलघुपदार्थानां तद्गुणमौल्यं भवति सर्वेषां । क्षुधिततृषितानां भोज्यं जलपानं (तद्) अमौल्यं (खलु) ॥

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(१) D णिक्किट्ठो ॥ (२) C D शूरः ॥ (३) See H. C. II, 217. (४) See H. C. II, 188. (५) See H. C. II, 187. (६) See H. C. IV; 422, 19.

॥ 27ª ॥ थूथू किंह छुत्साया ॥ २७ª ॥

॥ 27ᵇ ॥ दडबड(१) श्रीघ्रार्थे ॥ २७ᵇ ॥

*दडबड(१) होइ विहाणु ॥

॥ 27ᶜ ॥ अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखस्येतस्ततो गमने डवडव ॥ २७ᶜ ॥

डवडव चरियाए ॥

॥ 27ᵈ ॥ जं णउ णादं णावइ(२) जणि जणु मणु इवार्थे(३) ॥ २७ᵈ ॥

(४)मिव पिव विव व्व व विअ इवार्थे वा भवंति ॥

॥ 27ᵉ ॥ दाणिं एण्हिं(५) एत्तहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥ २७ᵉ ॥

॥ 27ᶠ ॥ यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिमतिमौ ॥ २७ᶠ ॥

दोहा(६) ।

†कालु लहेविणु जोइया (७)जिम जिम मोहु(८) गलेइ ।

(९)तिम तिम दंसणु(१०) लहइ जो(११) णियमें(१२) अप्पु(१३) मुणेइ ॥१॥

SUTRA II, 29ª.

॥ 29ª ॥ ओ छः ॥ २९ª ॥

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* C श्रीघ्रं (भवति) विभातं ॥ (दोहा) ।

ढोला मइँ(१४) तुहुँ(१४) वारिया मा कुरु दीहा माणु ।

णिद्दए(१५) गमिही रत्तडी दडबड(१) होइ विहाणु ॥ १ ॥

मानं प्राप्तं नायकं प्रति काचिन् नायिका प्राह(१६) । ढोला हे नायक मया त्वं वारितः दीर्घा मानं दर्पं मा कुरु । निद्रया रात्रिर् गमिष्यति । दडबड(१) श्रीघ्रं विभातं प्रभातं हे इ(१७) (भवति) ॥ † C कालं (लब्ध्वा जायायाः) यथा यथा मोहः गलति । तथा तथा दर्शनं लभते (यावत् नियमेन) आत्मानं (मन्यते) ॥

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(१) C दडवड ॥ (२) D णावयइ ॥ (३) See H. C. IV, 444. (४) C om. the commentary. (५) D एण्हं ॥ (६) C om., D गाथा ॥ (७) D जिमि जिमि ॥ (८) D मोह ॥ (९) D तिमि तिम ॥ (१०) D दंसण ॥ (११) C जीवो, D जीउ ; both con. metr. (१२) D णियमे ॥ (१३) D अप्पुं c. m. (१४) C मइं तुजं c. m. (१५) C णिद्दए ; here ए is short, metri causa, = णिद्दइ ; see Vr. 5, 22. (१६) C नयका प्राहा ॥ (१७) C हो ॥

स्वरात् परस्य असंयुक्तस्य अनादेर् नस्य प्रायो डो भवति ॥ संहननं । संहडणं संघडणं संहणणं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 23.

रत्नं ॥ स्पष्टं फुडं । स्पष्टं(१) पुट्ठं(२) । उत्कृष्टं उक्किट्ठं(३) । नष्टः णट्ठो(४) । दुष्टः दुट्ठो(४) । सुष्टः सुट्ठो(३) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

कक्षौ ॥ तीक्ष्णं तिक्खं । आत्मा आदा आया अत्ता(५) अप्पा । सर्व्वज्ञः सव्वण्हू(६) ॥ वेति किं । वच्मि वेम्मि ॥

TO SUTRA III, 9. ON PAGE 25.

पवरो ॥ भ्रमरः भवरो भमरो भमलो ॥

स्कन्धौ ॥ प्रथमशब्दस्य चत्वारि रूपाणि । पुढमो पढमो पढमो पुढमो ॥ स्त्री थौ ॥

SUTRA III, 11ª.

॥ 11ª ॥ ढतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥ ११ª ॥

वर्गाणां ढतीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं प्रथमद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं णकरं । मार्गणः मक्कणो । गिरितटं किरितटं । मेघः मेखो । व्याघ्रः वक्खो । घर्म्मः खम्मो । राजा राचा । जर्ज्जरं चच्चरं । जीमूतः चीमूदो(७) । निर्झरः णिच्छरो । झर्झरः छच्छरो । तडागं तडाकं(८) । मंडलं मंटलं । डमरुकः टमरुको । गाढं काठं । षंढः संठो(९) । ढक्का(१०) ठक्का । मदनः मतनो(११) । कंदर्प्पः कंतप्पो । दामोदरः तमोतरो । मधुरं मथुरं । बंधवः पंथवो ॥

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(१) D सृष्टं ॥ (२) C ०ठं, D ०ट्ठं ॥ (३) C ०ठो, D ०ट्ठो ॥ (४) C ०ठो, D ०ट्ठो० ॥ (५) D च्चत ॥ (६) C D सव्वण ॥ (७) So C D, with द ॥ (८) So C D, with ड; but in C corrected to ट ॥ (९) D संट्ठो(?) ॥ (१०) D ड्ढक्का(?) ॥ (११) So C D; but C has a marginal correction in pencil मन ोा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26.

पडि० ॥ जिनप्रतिमा जिणपडिमा। वितस्तिः(१) विहत्थी(२)। वसतिः वसही। भरतः भरहो। कातरः काहलो। मातुलिंगः(३) माउलिंगो। पापं पावं। पुत्रः विट्ठो। पुत्री विट्ठी(४)।

SUTRA III, 15ª. ON PAGE 27.

॥ 15ª ॥ पनयोर् मो वा ॥ १५क ॥

पकारवकारयोः स्थाने मकारो वा भवति ॥ शवरः(५) सवरो समरो। स्वप्नः(५) सिविणो सिमिणो। नीवी(५) णीवी णीमी। पूर्व्वः(६) पुव्वो(७) पुरिमो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 16. ON PAGE 27.

वड्ढो ॥ वर्द्धमानः वड्ढमाणो। वृद्धः वुड्ढो ॥

खण्णं ॥ खिद्यते खिज्जए। रुदितं रुण्णं ॥

SUTRA III, 17ª. ON PAGE 27.

॥ 17ª ॥ जस्य रः ॥ १७क ॥

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारो भवति ॥ व्युत्सृजामि वोसरामि। व्युत्सृजति वोसरइ ॥ यष्टिः लट्ठी(८)। यष्टिका लट्ठिआ(९) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 19. ON PAGE 28.

राजं ॥ राजा राणा। आज्ञा आणा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 20. ON PAGE 28.

कण० ॥ (१०)करीरः कणीरो। करोति कुणइ ॥

वज्जो ॥ भगिणी। वहिनी भइणी ॥

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(१) D वितस्ती ॥ (२) D विहच्छी ॥ (३) D ०लिंगो ॥ (४) D विट्ठी ॥ (५) D om. (६) D पूर्व्वः ॥ (७) D पुच्छो ॥ (८) C लठी, D लट्ठी ॥ (९) C ०ठिआ, D ०ट्ठिआ ॥ (१०) C om. this example.

TO SU'TRA III, 21. ON PAGE 28.

जिह्वा ॥ वडमुखं(१) वलमुहं । गरुडः(२) गरुलो । तडागः तलाओ(३) ।
क्रीडति कीलइ(४) । स्फटिकः फलिहो ।

SU'TRAS III, 22, 22ª. ON PAGE 28.

॥ २२ ॥ पवयोर् व्यत्ययः ॥ २२ ॥

पवयोर् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ पापं पावं ॥

॥ 22ª ॥ रलयोर् व्यत्ययः ॥ २२ª ॥

पर्य्यंकः । etc.

TO SU'TRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जम्हा ॥ कस्मात् कम्हा । तस्मात् तम्हा(५) । तस्मिन् तम्हि(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 30. ON PAGE 31.

सिरिसं ॥ श्री सिरी । ह्रीः(७) हिरी । अर्हत् अरहंतो । आचार्यः आयरिओ(८) । स्त्री इत्थी(९) ॥

मदुमं ॥ तन्वी तणुवी । लघ्वी लहुवी । गुर्वी गुरुवी । पृथ्वी पुहवी । (१०)वक्की (१०)वहुवी । मृद्वी मदुवी । स्यात् सिया(११) । स्याद्वादः सिआवाओ(१२) । भव्यः भविओ(१३) । (१४)श्वः कतं सुवे कयं । स्वे जनाः सुवे जणा । ज्या जीआ ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31. ON PAGE 31.

तेरह ॥ चयस्त्रिंशत्(१५) तेतीसा । चयोविंशतिः(१५) तेवीसा ॥

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(१) D ब० ॥ (२) D गु० ॥ (३) D तलाउ ॥ (४) D कीलई ॥ (५) D तह्म ॥ (६) D तह्मि ॥ (७) D ह्री ॥ (८) D ०रिउ ॥ (९) D इच्छी ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) C सिया ॥ (१२) D ०वाउ ॥ (१३) D भविउ ॥ (१४) D स्वः ॥ (१५) C om.

SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

॥ ३४ ॥ कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुक्(१) ॥ ३४ ॥

स्वरात् परेषां अनादिभूतानां असंयुक्तानां कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुग् भवति ॥ क(२) । काकः काओ(३) ॥ ग । नागः णाओ(४) ॥ च । पिशाचः पिसाओ(५) ॥ ज । गजः गओ ॥ त । शितं सिअं ॥ द । मदः मओ ॥ प । नूपुरं णेउरं ॥ य । निश्चयः णिच्छओ(६) ॥ व । देवः देओ(७) ॥ अनादेर् इति किं ॥ काले । गंधो । चोरो । परउट्ठो(८) ॥ क्वचिद् आदेर् अपि ॥ पुनः उणो(९) । गंधं अंधं । च अ । वृषभः उसहो ॥ असंयुक्तस्येति किं ॥ अर्कः(१०) अक्को । चक्रं(१०) चक्कं । क्वचित् संयुक्तस्यापि ॥ नक्तंचरः णअंचरो । नमस्कारः णमोयारो णवयारो(११) ॥ प्रायो ग्रहणात् क्वचिन् न भवति ॥ शपथः(१२) सवहो । शापः(१३) सावो । सकुसुमं(१४) । प्रयागजलं(१०) पयाग-जलं । प्रयुक्तं पजुत्तं(१५) । विप्रयोगः विप्पओओ ॥

SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

॥ ३५ ॥ थत्व अवर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥

कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुकि सति शेषोऽवर्णोऽवर्णपरो थत्वं आपद्यते ॥

TO SUTRA III, 36. ON PAGE 32.

लच्छी ॥ इति श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणे(१६) व्यंजनविधानं तृतीयं समाप्तं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 39. ON PAGE 33.

पउरुसं ॥ पुरुषः पुलिशे । (१७)एषः एशे । (१७)मेषः(१८) मेशे ॥

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(१) See H. C. I, 177. (२) D adds numbers, thus क १, ग २, etc. (३) D काउ, and adds the following examples कोकिला कोइला । काकी काई । प्रतिकूलः पडिउलो ॥ (४) D णाउ ॥ (५) D पिसाउ ॥ (६) D णिच्छिओ ॥ (७) D देवो ॥ (८) C ०ठो, D ०द्वो ; D adds the Skr. परपुष्टः ॥ (९) D ओणो ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D adds नवकारः ॥ (१२) C D स० ॥ (१३) C आपः (modern Hindí साप्). (१४) C सकुशमं ॥ (१५) C पज्जुत्तं ॥ (१६) D reads ०प्राकृतप्रकाशे ॥ (१७) C om. this example. (१८) D मिष ॥

गाथा(१) ।

(२)लहश्रवश्रनमिलश्रुलश्रिलविश्रलिद्मंदाललाजिदंहिजुगे(३) ।

वीलजिणे पक्खालदु मम (४)श्रयलम् श्रवज्जजंवालं* ॥ १ ॥

SUTRA III, 39ª. ON PAGE 33.

॥ 39ª ॥ (५)शौरसेन्यां तकारस्य दकारो वा भवति ॥ (६)दाव ताव । कदं कयं । (७)गदं गयं । सुदं सुअं । इत्यादि ॥

॥ श्लोकः(८) ॥

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैवाप्रभ्रंशोऽथ पिशाचिकी ।
मागधी (९)शौरसेनी च षड्भाषाश् च प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ १ ॥

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* Ed. रभस-वश्र-नख-सुर-श्रिर-विगलित-मंदार-राजितांघ्रि-युगः ।
वीरजिनः प्रचालयतु मम सकलम् अवद्य-जंबालं ॥ १ ॥

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(१) C om. (२) D हलश्र, C originally हलश्र, but corrected into लहश्र ; also C D नमिश्च, but in H. C. IV, 288 नमिल ; also D विच्चविद् ॥ (३) D भुगे ॥ (४) C D सयलम् ॥ (५) C D give no sútra for this commentary ; but add it as if it were part of sútra 39. (६) D prefixes तापः (sic) ; see H. C. IV, 262. (७) C D read पदं पयं ॥ (८) C om. (९) C D सौ० ॥

APPENDIX B C D.

TO SUTRA I, 3. ON PAGE 3.

शम् ॥ गंगा । (१)तुम्हे रक्खउ(२) । रक्खउ(२) वो वः । (३)अम्हे रक्खउ(२) । रक्खउ(२) नो(४) नः ॥

ङसि ॥ (५)तस्सा तिस्सा(६) ॥

ङस ॥ (७)पुत्तो ते । पुत्तो मे । तव सुहं । मम सुहं(८) ॥

ङि ॥ गामे(९) । कुले(९) । तच्च(१०) तत्थ(११) । तस्सिं(१२) तम्हि । त्वयि तयि । मयि(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA II, 4. ON PAGE 15.

दंगाला ॥ (१४)विंशतिः वीसा । त्रिंशत्(१५) तीसा । वच्चे(१५) *वुच्चं(१६) । (१४)वच्मि वेम्मि(१७) ॥

नेपुरं ॥ (१५)संगट्ठाति संगिण्हद्(१८) । क्ट्वा कट्टु(१९) । †नयनविहूनं(२०) मुहं । निर्व्वार्यते(२१) नीवारिअद्(२२) ॥

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* B ब्रुवे ॥ † C नयनविहीनं मुखं ॥

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(१) C D तुम्हे ॥ (२) B रक्खग्गो ॥ (३) D अच्चे ॥ (४) C D णो ॥ (५) B तस्साः ॥ (६) B ताच्च; D adds यस्याः जस्सा जिस्सा । कस्याः कस्सा किस्सा; and C D add गिरिणो (see I, 12). (७) C D ते पुत्तो । मे पुत्तो ॥ (८) C D add Skr. तव सुखं । मम सुखं ॥ (९) C D add गामम्मि and कुलम्मि ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D तच्छ ॥ (१२) B C D तस्मिन्; the whole reading in B is confused तत्थ । तस्मिन् । तत्र । तम्भि (or तम्मि ?) । तम्हि । तंम्हि (or तम्हिं ?) ॥ (१३) B त्वयि मयि तद् मद्, D त्वयि तद् मयि मद्, C only तद् मद् ॥ (१४) B om. this example (see iii, 32. ii, 15). (१५) B om. Skr. translation, but see the marginal gloss. (१६) D बु० ॥ (१७) D repeats वेम्मि ॥ (१८) B संगिचद् ॥ (१९) B काट्टु, D कट्ट (see ii, 19). (२०) B नद्नं वज्जमुहं ॥ (२१) So B; C D निवार्यते ॥ (२२) B निव्वा०, C D णीवा० ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 24.

भक्खरो ॥ कः करोति को करद्द । कः पचति को पयद्द[१] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

लच्छी ॥ C D ॥ आत्मा अप्पा । तीक्ष्णं तिण्हं[२] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जन्हा ॥ [३]ह्रदः कण्हो[४] । ग्रीष्मः[५] गिम्हो[६] । ऊष्मा[७] उन्हा[६] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 24. ON PAGE 29.

दुग्गा ॥ शक्रः सक्को[८] । तस्करः तक्करो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 27. ON PAGE 30.

अन्येषाम् उक्तविशेषाणां द्वि० स एव भ० ॥ अ० अ०। स्वर्गं सग्गं। स० स०।
दुर्जनः दुज्जणो। नाद्यः[९] नट्टो[१०]। भुक्तं भुत्तं। धान्यं धन्नं[११]।
सर्पः सप्पो। शुल्वं[१२] सुल्लं। काव्यं कव्वं। शस्यं सस्सं[१३] ॥

TO SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

नाया ॥ पिशाचाः पिसाया। [१४]वनराजा वणराया। माता माया[१५]।
यदा जया[१६]। [१४]पापफलं पायहलं ॥ अवर्ण इति किं ॥ देवाः
देआ[१७]। पिता[१८] पिआ[१९]। [२०]लोकस्य लोअस्स। भुवनं
भुअणं। क्वचिद् भवत्य् एव ॥ पिबति[२१] पियद्द ॥

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(१) B पचद् or पचद् ? ॥ (२) B तीण्हं ॥ (३) A also has this example, see note १२, p. 29; A C D place it before ह्रण्हा (see p. 29), but B after जन्हा ॥. (४) A कन्हो (see note १२, p. 29). (५) C D ग्रीष्मो ॥ (६) C D place this example before यस्मात् (see p. 29). (७) B D उष्मा ॥ (८) D शक्को ॥ (९) C D नाटंत्र ॥ (१०) C D णट्ठं ॥ (११) So B; C D धण्णं ॥ (१२) Conjectural; B has शुक्रः सुक्रं; C D शुल्कं सुक्कं ॥ (१३) B शस्सं ॥ (१४) B om. this example. (१५) B adds शारदा सारया ॥ (१६) B adds अपक्वतं अवक्वयं (MS. अपक्वतं) अपच्छितं अवच्छियं (MS. अवच्छितं); then follows पिता, then माता, then शारदा ॥ (१७) B देयाः ॥ (१८) B places this among the regular examples, see footnote १६. (१९) D पिया ॥ (२०) B om. the remainder. (२१) C om.

I. INDEX OF SU'TRAS.

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	Manuscripts. A	B	C	D
I, 1		सिद्धं प्राकृतं चेधा ॥	1	1	1	1
2		लिंगं च ॥	2	2	2	2
3		तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥	3	3	3	3
4		क्वचिद् व्यत्ययः ॥	4	4	4	4
5		सागमस्य अप्य् आमो णो हो वा ॥	5	5	5	5
6		संख्याया एहः ॥	6	6	6	6
	C D 6ᵃ	टा णः ॥	—	—	7	7
7		हि भिसः ॥	7	7	8	8
8		हिंतो भ्यसः ॥	8	8	9	9
9		तृतीयादीनां एवं एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥	9	9	10	10
10		आ उ लोपा जश्शसोः ॥	10	10	11	11
	C D 10ᵃ	द्विचिश्ब्दाभ्यां जश्शसोर् णिः ॥	—	—	12	12
11		पुंसि पूर्व्वलं ॥	11	11	13	13
	C 11ᵃ	क्लीवे जश्शसोर् दं ॥	—	—	14	—
12		णो ङसेश् च ॥	12	12	15	14
13		स्मश् च ङसः ॥	13	13	16	15
14		ए म्मि ङेः ॥	14	14	17	16
15		ए शसेा ऽतः ॥	15	deest	18	17
16		तेा तु हिंतेा लेापास् तस्य आतः ॥	16	16	19	18
17		तद् इदमेाः से षष्ठीरूपाणां ॥	17	17	20	19

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	A	B	C	D
18		युष्मदः ॥	18	18	21	20
19	C D	[तं तुं तुवं तुहं C D] तुमं सौ सवि-भक्तेः ॥	19	19	22	21
20	C D	अमि तुए [तुमं तं C D] च ॥	20	20	24	23
21		तुम्भे जसि ॥	21	21	23	22
22		तुब्भे शसि ॥	22	22	25	24
23		ते तुमे तइ तए टायां ॥	23	23	26	25
24		तुमाहिं तुमाहिंतो तुमातो तइत्तो पंचम्यां ॥	24	24	28	27
25		तुहतुज्झतुम्ह षष्ठ्यां ॥	25	25	29	28
	C D 25[a]	तुम्हम् आमि ॥	—	—	30	29
	C D 25[b]	तइ ङि	—	—	31	30
26		अस्मदः ॥	26	26	33	32
	C D 26[a]	हउं हं अहं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥	—	—	34	33
	C D 26[b]	अम्हे जसि ॥	—	—	35	34
	C D 26[c]	मम् अमि ॥	—	—	36	35
	C D 26[d]	अम्हे शसि ॥	—	—	37	36
27		मे मए टायां ॥	27	27	38	37
28		मइत्तो ङसौ ॥	28	28	39	38
29		अम्हाहिंतो भ्यसि ॥	29	29	40	39
30		मह्मज्झ ङसि ॥	30	30	41	40
31		अम्हम् आमि ॥	31	31	42	41
	C D 31[a]	मइ ङि	—	—	43	42

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
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1		स्वराणां स्वरे प्रकृति लोप संधयः ॥	1	1	1	2
	D 1[b]	स्वरस्य उद्भूते ॥	—	—	—	3
	D 1[c]	न युवर्णस्य अस्वे ॥	—	—	—	4
2		संयोगपरे लोपः ॥	2	2	2	5
3		ह्रस्वं संयोगे ॥	3	3	3	6
4		स्वरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥	4	4	4	7
5		स्वरा रि च ऋवर्णस्य ॥	5	5	5	8
6		एरैतः ॥	6	6	6	9
7		अद् च ॥	7	7	7	10
8		ओरौतः ॥	8	8	8	11
9		अउ च ॥	9	9	9	12
10		एद् ओद् र लोपा विसर्ज्जनीयस्य ॥	10	10	10	13
11		अदागमोऽनुस्वर लोपौ च व्यंजनस्य ॥	11	11	11	14
12		द्विलं बह्वलेन ॥	12	12	12	15
13		षष्ठीवच् चतुर्थी ॥	13	13	13	16
	C D 13[a]	प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	14	17
	C D 13[b]	सप्तम्यास् तृतीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	15	18
14	C D	न प्लुत ङ [न C D] ञाः ॥	14	14	16	19
15		अनुस्वारो बह्वलं ॥	15	15	17	20
16		गोर् गावि ॥	16	16	18	21
17		एवार्थे एद् चेया चियाः ॥	17	17	19	22
18		अप्य अस्योर् अ लोपः ॥	18	18	20	23

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II.	A	B	C	D
19	C D	त्तु त्ता त्वा ट्टु त्तुं ट्ठूण [ट्ठूआण C D] ओ [वि C D] [प्पि A B] [प्पिणु वेप्पिणु C D] पूर्वकालार्थे ॥	19	19	21	24
20		मत्व् अर्थे आल दुल्लौ ॥	20	20	22	25
	C D	तच्चभवेऽपि दुल्ल उल्लौ ॥				
	C D	अधो हेट्ठः ॥				
21	C D	ता ताव [जा जावास् C D] तावद् [यावतेः C D] ॥	21	21	23	26
22		उपमाने पिव दव विव विय व्व व जहा वतः ॥	22	22	24	27
23		ओल्लं अव अपयोः ॥	23	23	25	28
24		खलोः खुः ॥	24	24	26	29
25		तो वर्त्तमानार्थे ॥	25	25	27	30
26		भे सर्वासु युष्मदः ॥	26	26	I,32	I,31
27		अस्मदोऽपि [भे सर्वासु C D] ॥	27	27	I,44	I,43
	C D 27[a]	दूजेराः पादपूरणे ॥	—	—	28	31
	,, 27[b]	जि अव्ययं एवार्थे ॥	—	—	29	32
	,, 27[c]	णवरि आनंतर्य्यार्थे ॥	—	—	30	33
	,, 27[d]	णवरू केवलार्थे ॥	—	—	31	34
	,, 27[e]	यदेः क्कुडु ॥	—	—	32	35
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On page 9 in footnote (२६) insert: B मनुस्सा, and on page 53, in footnote (५) insert: C D prefix देवात् देवा, and in footnote (९) insert: C D prefix देवे देवम्मि ॥

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