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THE
PRÁKRITA-LAKSHANAM

OR

CHANDA'S GRAMMAR

OF THE

ANCIENT (ĀRSHA) PRÁKRIT

EDITED BY

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SOCIETY OF BENGAL, ETC.

Part I.

TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND INDEXES.

JPr4
cha/ho

CALCUTTA :

PRINTED BY J. W. THOMAS, BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,
PUBLISHED BY THE ASIATIC SOCIETY,
57, PARK STREET.

1880.



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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.

received from Mrs. Harriette M. M. Co. Home School at 103 St. 1/2
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P R E F A C E.

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.

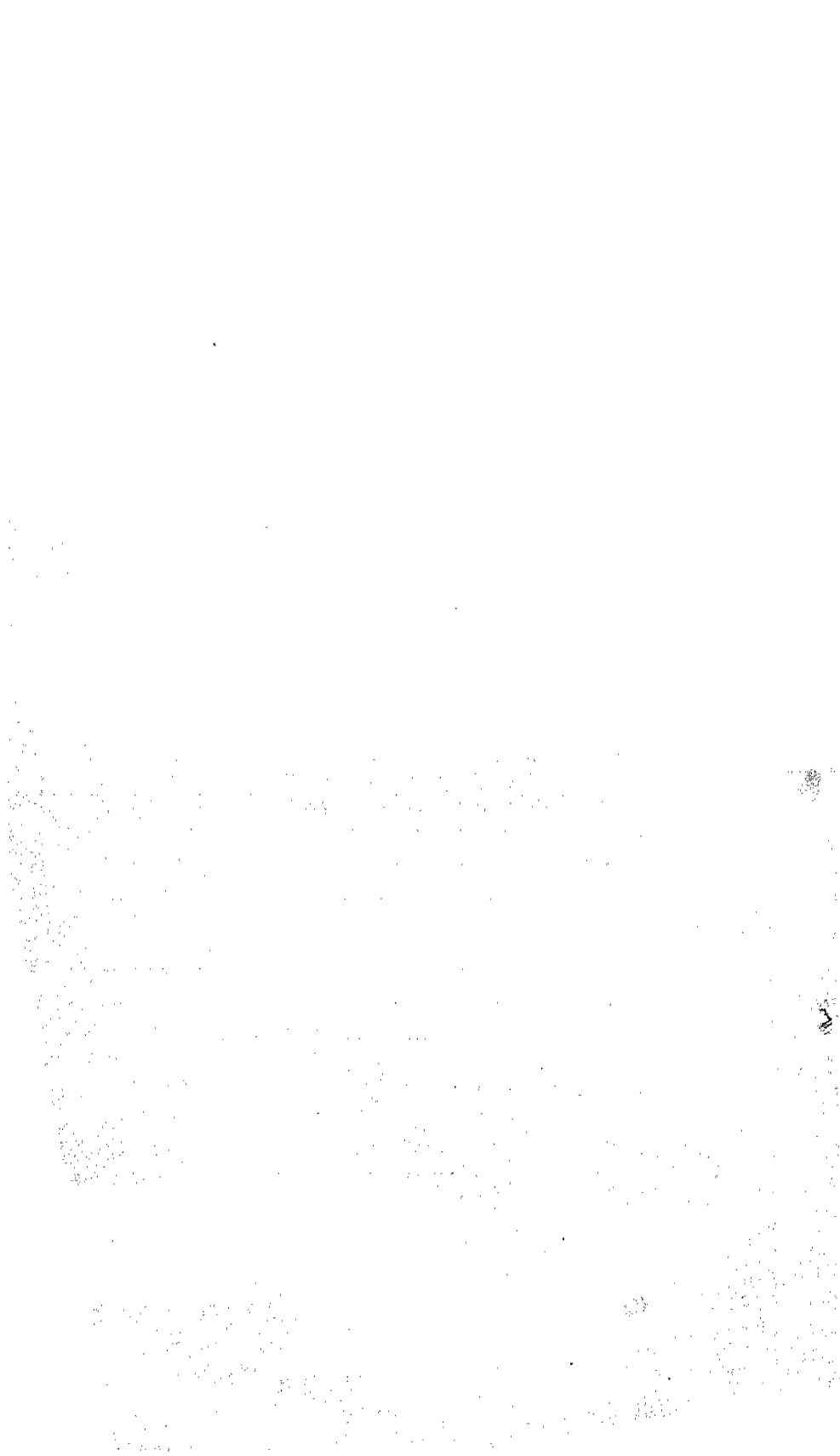
The two indexes of sūtras and Prākṛit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

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 Lāla Mitra Rai Bahādur and Paṇḍit Rāma Miṣra Śāstrī 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 Vira or Mahávira, 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-Lakṣhaṇa. 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 prákṛitalakṣhaṇam api vakti samskrítád anyat, "árggháksharam cha kutrachid ekám 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 sūtra 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 Súr্যaprajñápti,

* 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 sūtra 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 sūtre napumsakatvanirdeśaḥ prākṛita-
tvāt ; prākṛite hi lingam vyabhichāri, yad āha pāṇiniḥ svaprākṛitalakṣhaṇe,
“ lingam vyabhichāry api ” iti ; i. e.,* “ as to the form ‘ *chattári* ’ occurring in
the sūtra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prākṛit ; for in
Prākṛit the gender is changeable, as Pāṇini has said in his (work called) Prākṛi-
tālakṣhaṇa : ‘ the gender is changeable also. ’ ” Compare with this Chanḍa’s
rule in sūtra I, 4. If our Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa is the work referred to by those
two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations. The passage of
Kedāra 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 Prākṛit
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 : *apabhraṃṣe lingam atan-
tram vyabhichāri prāyo bhavati*. It seems very probable, that Malayagiri
misquotes Hemachandra’s rule and somehow or other confuses the Prākṛita-
Lakṣhaṇa with Hemachandra’s work. It may be observed, that to quote the
exact rule of the Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa, *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 Chanḍa’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 Chanḍa’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 Apabhraṃṣa, Malayagiri
understands his rule to apply to Prākṛit generally. Now Chanḍa’s rule *does*
apply to Prākṛit generally. The fact, that both Kedāra Bhaṭṭa and Malaya-
giri ascribe the Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa to Pāṇini, is, of course, of no weight. It
merely shows that they had only a traditional acquaintance with the work.
Still its traditional ascription to Pāṇini is in so far important, as it shows that
the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative. This character
well agrees with Chanḍa’s Prākṛitalakṣhaṇa. There is another curious cir-
cumstance 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 : *bāhuvāchanam prākṛi-
tatvād, uktaṃ cha “ bahuvāyaṇe (°yāyaṇa ?) dvivāyaṇam ” iti ; i. e.,* “ (the use of)
the plural is (accountable) by Prākṛit usage, for it is said that ‘ the dual
(is to be expressed) by the plural. ’ ” Compare with this Chanḍa’s rule in sūtra
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 (*dvivāchanasya bahuvāchanam*) 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 sūtra of Chaṇḍa is always quoted in nearly the same Prākṛit transliteration as in Malayagiri, though all other sūtras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, *e. g.*, the footnote to *sakkisāṇā* 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 sūtra by his Prākṛit quotation; and if so, the same Prākṛit quotation in Malayagiri must refer to the same sūtra (of Chaṇḍa). Perhaps the fact shows that Chaṇḍa's Grammar was originally written in Prākṛit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jaina Prākṛit works; but that a few of his sūtras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prākṛit 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 Prākṛit Lakṣhaṇa.

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. Rājendralāla 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 various 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 Nāgarī 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 Rāma Miśra Śāstrī, 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 Koḍāyā 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 sūtra of the IIInd 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 Prākṛit 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 Rāma 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 Rāma 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 Prākṛit.‡ MS. C is written in the Jaina

* The very curious error, noted on p. 13 (निष्ठति) 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 sūtra 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 sūtra OD I, 6a is drawn.

† Thus गुरुणं for गुरुणं, गिरिणं for गिरौणं, 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 Prithirāja Rasau. Most Jaina writings are from Western India. On Jaina Prākṛit orthography, see Weber *Bhagavati*, pp. 383-392, E. Müller, *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jaina Prākṛit*, pp. 11, 29, 30, Jacobi, *Kalpa Sūtra*, pp. 17-21, Klatt, *Dhanapāla's Rishabha*



| | | | | | | | |
|---|----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| 1 | 2 | 3. | 4 | 5. | 6. | 7. | 8. |
| उ | कु | ण | तु | डु | सु | हु | जु |
| o | ku | nu. | tu. | du. | su. | hu. | ju. |

| | | | | | | |
|-----|----|------|------|------|------|------|
| 9 | 10 | 11. | 12. | 13. | 14. | 15 |
| क | रु | रक | रु | रुव | रुव | रुज |
| .j. | d. | kkh. | kkh. | kkh. | kkh. | ruj. |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|
| 16. | 17. | 18. | 19 | 20. | 21. | 22 | 23. |
| गु | चु | तु | सु | जु | जु | षु | शु |
| gu | chokh. | uh. | sth | ju | ju | juh. | juh |

| | | | | | | |
|------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| 24. | 25 | 26 | 27. | 28 | 29. | 30 |
| षु | शु | शु | जु | जु | म्व | म्व |
| .juh | .juh | .juh. | .juh | .juh. | .juh. | .juh. |

| | | | | |
|------|------|------|-------|------|
| 31 | 32 | 33 | 34. | 35. |
| म्व | म्व | म्व | म्व | म्व |
| .juh | .juh | .juh | .juh. | .juh |

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|------|-------------|------------|
| 36 | 37. | 38. | 39. | 40 | 41. |
| म्व | म्व | म्व | म्व | म्व | म्व |
| .juh. | mbh | bbh | bbh. | bbh or mbh. | bbh or mbh |

Prākṛit style; MS. D also, but not so uniformly. MSS. A and B are written in the ordinary Nāgarī of Eastern Hindústān, but they show unmistakable 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 *u*. MS. D in a few cases confuses them.* But in A and B they are not only perpetually confused, but sometimes even *u* (ú) or *ur* (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 Nāgarī symbol *ḍ*, however, is also occasionally used in D; in C it is the usual one.

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

5. The use of the symbols *ṣ* *b* and *v* is very uncertain. Thus C has in juxtaposition *besum* and *vesu* (I, 3), *behim* and *vehi* (I, 1), *bahú* (I, 3) and *vahúe* (I, 9). MS. D has *ribú* and *rivum* (I, 3), *gávi* and *gábí* (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 *vuddhi* and *buddhiu* (I, 10), *gábíe* and *gávihim* (II, 16); B has *behinto* (I, 13), and *vehim* (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 *ṣ* *s* and *ṣ* *ṣ*; though more so in A and B, than C and D. In C the confusion occurs rarely; e. g., *sílām* (I, 30), and commonly Sanskrit *súra*. In D it is much more frequent; e. g., *ṣaṣi* for *ṣasi* (I, 22); *ṣmasānaṃ* for *ṣmaśānaṃ*, *sírshaḥ* for *sírshaḥ*, &c. In A and B it is very common; thus in A and B, *ṣeṣe*, *haṃṣe pasuta* for *ṣeṣe*, *haṃṣe*, *paṣutta*, (IV, 39); in A *tīsaṃhaṃ* for *tīsaṃhaṃ* (I, 6). The substitution of *s* for *ṣ* is much more common than the reverse.

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

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

* Once D writes *o* for *o*.

† Curiously enough, when B has *b*, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words; e. g., *ḥayam* 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 Nāgarī symbol च्च, which also occurs twice in A. In a few cases A B D write simply च; C never.

8. The symbol च्च 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 Nāgarī 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 ग्ग *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 *ethhu* (I, 11) and *pattham* for *pachchham* (III, 26). D uses the ordinary Nāgarī symbol च्च for both *chchh* and *tth*; thus *pachchham* = Skr. *pathyam* and *pachchho* for *pattho* = Skr. *pārthah* in III, 26. A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary Nāgarī च्च *chchh* and त्थ *tth*; though the commonly write merely च्च *chh* in the place of च्च *chchh*. On the other hand C and D commonly write No. 17 and 18 respectively in the place of च्च *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 ज्ज for *jjh* is commonly used by A, B, D; rarely ज् or ज्. C has always ज्. Similarly the symbols ज्ज or ज्ज for *jjh* 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 Prithirāj Rasau. Thus the symbol No. 37 is strictly *pbh*, while Nos. 38 or 39 are *b̄bh*. Similarly Nos. 13 and 14 (in the Prithirāj च्च) are strictly *chchh*, while Nos. 11 and 12 are *hchh*.

13. The symbols च्च, च्च, च्च, च्च, 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 *Bhagavati*, Plate I, lines 6 and 8 (*ārelekhānam*). The latter were in MS. W of the *Prākṛita Prakāśa*, as noted by Cowell, p. 20, (sutra 20).

originals. It may be observed that, as a rule, च *dh* is a mistake for च *chch* and च *gh* for च *vv*; thus the former occurs in A सधिय (II, 17) for सच्चिय, B सच्च (III, 9) for सच्च; the latter in B पधतः (III, 9) for पधतः. The occasional use of च or च्च for च्च is peculiar to D; e. g., कच for कच्च (III, 2), पुच्चो for पुच्चो (C D III, 15a).

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

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

16. The symbol च्च or च्चु is very commonly written in A and B, in the place of an anusvāra, 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 anusvāra, in conjuncts; e. g., *lingāñcha* (I, 2), *hiñcha* (I, 17), *tumandevō* (I, 19), *kinte* (I, 23), *jalanti* (I, 12), *vambhaṇá* (II, 12), &c.

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prākṛit 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 Prākṛit 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 sūtra I, 5.*

2. The so-called *ya-gruti*, i. e., the insertion of an euphonic च्च *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 sūtras 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 sūtras divided into three chapters, the latter extend to 126 and 128 sūtras 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 Sūtras 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 sūtra 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, sūtra I, 19 तुमं सौ सविमक्तौ is followed by I, 20 अमि तु ए 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 sūtras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accusative, change the order of the sūtras, placing them thus: I, 19. तुमं सौ सविमक्तौ, I, 21 तुम्हे जसि, I, 20 अमि तु ए च. But when the sūtras are thus placed, the term च would imply that तुम्हे of the preceding sūtra is also to be understood in the last sūtra. As this result would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists actually *insert* into the last sūtra the forms, which ought to be indicated by च as *understood*, and, therefore, alter the sūtra to अमि तु ए तुमं तं च (see App. C D, p. 41), so that here च does not refer to a preceding sūtra but to a part of the sūtra 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 sūtra 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 स in the sūtras of that chapter. According to the plan of A and B in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sūtras (III, 1—9); the remaining sūtras (III, 11—39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants; the intermediate sūtra (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, Chanḍa next proceeds in the second part (III, 11—39) to enumerate the manifold changes

* No other division of the consonants, so far as these sūtras 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 Chanda rules that every *single* श ऽ or ष श् changes to स s in Prākṛit (III, 18); so that as regards *single* consonants, स s represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chanda has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of स s. Thus we have sūtra III, 14 चकारस्य खङ्गाः, illustrated by दश = दक्ष; again sūtra III, 39 नागधिकायां रस्योर् लशौ, illustrated by शेषः = श्रेषे. Here श ऽ and ष श् are indicated by स s, because by sūtra III, 18 they are no more श ऽ and ष श्, but have been already changed to स s; that is, दश = दस = दक्ष, and शेषः = शेषे = श्रेषे.* 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 sūtra 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. Chanda elected the latter course, and the sign he selected appears to have been the sibilant श ऽ; most probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (श, ष, स). Thus in sūtra III, 2 श्वलोभ्यो ब्रजनं, श represents स in शर्गं = सर्गं, and श in शौतयं = शौतयं. That is, व v and र r are respectively elided after स s and श ऽ; next स s and श ऽ, having now become single consonants, pass into the second part, where श ऽ 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 Chanda follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sūtra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts; and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making sūtra III, 18 applicable to the whole third chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of श ऽ and स s. Consequently they use स s throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants श ऽ and ष श् practically do not exist, having at once changed to स s.

* It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दस and शेषे are here introduced by a silent reference to sūtra III, 18. Such "silent references" occur in all Prākṛit Grammarians. As an instance from Hemachandra, I may mention his sūtra 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 sūtra I, 231, becomes m. That the p, not the v, of *svapna* is referred to in I, 259, may be seen by comparing the sūtras I, 46 and II, 108.

† The whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sūtra III, 23, but though that sūtra 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 श ऽ.

Thus C D read *सवस्त्रेभ्यो व्यञ्जनं* in sūtra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example *श्रोतव्यं* = *श्रोतव्यं*; that is, they make *च s* to indicate *श् s*, because, according to them, *श्रोतव्यं* changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into *श्रोतव्यं*; 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 sūtras 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 sūtra 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, *श्रोतव्यं*, so here *षाट्* becomes by the same rule *साट्*; next *च s* would be elided. So that, consistently, *च s* should here have been written to represent *ष sh*. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sūtra *षाट् टः* is correct; it could not have been spelled *साट् टः*, because the sibilant *ष sh* is the only (*conjunct*) sibilant to which the rule applies. Briefly, the matter as between Chāṇḍa and his Revisionists stands thus: Chāṇḍa 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 *च 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 *च 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 Chāṇḍa's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than *च*) as an indicatory in any sūtra; for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but *च 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 *लसौ* for *लसौ* in sūtra III, 39. I must reserve the discussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored *श् s* in all sūtras, in which the original plan of Chāṇḍa requires it; i. e., in III, 2. 4. 6. 23.*

* The only two Prākṛit Grammarians, who, to my knowledge, use a *sanjñā* or sign for the sibilant class are Trivikrama and Śubhachandra. The former uses *श् su* (T. V.

Next, as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS., the wording of sūtra III, 34 in MSS. A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prākṛit language, than the wording of the same sūtra in MSS. C and D; and this circumstance is confirmed by sūtras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sūtra 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) Śaurasenī dialect, that is, by the omission of sūtra III, 39a which refers to one of the most incisive differences between that dialect and the (so-called) Māhārāshṭrī; 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 sūtra 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 ञ *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 sūtras, as they stand in A B, with the same sūtras, 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 ढ *ḍh*), whether surd or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether surd or sonant (exc. palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to ञ *h*. I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, 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 Chanḍa presents a very old phase of the Prākṛit 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 मि (S. C. I, 1. 7). Chanḍa's *sanjñā* ऋ ञ is perhaps somewhat anomalous; for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add *u* or *varga* to a consonant, in order to form a *sanjñā* (e. g., कु or कवगे for the guttural class). This may have been one of the reasons for the alteration of the Revisionists. But it is possible that Chanḍa's sign may really have been ऋ or मि; in sūtra III, 4, MS. B reads सो, which may be an error for सो (सौ); and सो would be the locative of ऋ or मि; see the footnote to translation of sūtra 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 Prākṛit 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 च *th* changes to च *dh*; by way of illustration the Revisionists make नाथः *nāthaḥ* to change into नाथेः *nāho*. Again according to the rule III, 34 च *ch*, त *t*, प *p* are not elided; by way of illustration we have सुई *suī* for सुचिः *ṣuohih*, वाथो *vāo* for वानः *vātaḥ*, नेउरं *neuram* for नूपुरं *nūpuram*, 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 sūtra II, 10, according to which the nominative singular of *i*-bases should end with a short *i*; but one of the examples given is *buddhi* for *buddhiḥ*. Similarly according to sūtras I, 3 and I, 7 the instrumental plural in Prākṛit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the exception of Sansk. *bhis* becoming Prāk. *hi*; the examples, however, are *aggīhi*, *mahīhi* for *aggīhi*, *mahīhi* = Skr. *agnībhīḥ*, *madrubhīḥ*. 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 sūtra (p. 4), "it has been considered as a proof of the priority of Buddhism that Pāli is a more archaic language than the Prākṛit of the Jains. The fact is true, but it proves nothing. For the form of the Jaina sūtras was fixed only one thousand years after Mahāvīra's death. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the language of the sūtras 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 sūtras III, 11 and 34, which, admitting only the elision of *h* 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 Chanḍa'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 न ङ. Thus in II, 26 A B read भे क्तं । लया क्तं ॥ Originally, I think, the example must have stood भे क्तं । लया क्तं ॥ The copyist, not recognising क्तं as a Prākṛit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into क्तं. The Revisionists of C and D, on the other hand, recognising the old Prākṛit form क्तं, but objecting to it on the score of obsolescence, changed it into the correct later Prākṛit 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 क्तं. 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.*, क्तं into कयं, than कदं; for though क्तं could not possibly have been later Prākṛit, कदं might have been so. If they had found कदं or अक्खदि (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prākṛit is not altogether unknown; but if they found क्तं or अक्खति, they could not do otherwise but change it into कयं and अक्खद्, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day.

Fifth.—Chanḍa'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 न to ण न; but as a matter of fact, an initial न न never changes to ण न, and even a medial न न 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 sūtras 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 *t* to ड *d* 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 sūtra 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 च *th* to च *h*, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word *jahá* for particular notice. But if च *th* at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to च *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 sūtra. Not so Hemachandra; he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sūtra into his grammar (see H. C. II, 182), omitted *jahá*.†

There is, in sūtra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chaṇḍa the surd unaspirates were not usually subject to elision. In that sūtra it is ruled that the Sanskrit *iti* “thus” changes in Prākṛit 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 sūtra 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 *t*; accordingly, seeing that Chaṇḍa's sūtra 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 sūtra 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 sūtras,* 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 (त्) 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 (त्); 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 sūtras I, 16, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS. agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sūtras, my restored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS.; thus, of B in sūtra 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, कर्द in the special sūtra III, 11 and हवदि in the Māgadhī sūtra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the sūtra. The retention is in पलातं in sūtra I, 23. A retains त् 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 (रूप I, 17); these are probably mere oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains ख (III, 3), and A B once retain ट (I, 3 पौढं). [N. B.—पुणरवि in the Text, p. 16, is a misprint for पुणरपि.]

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that sūtra (compare the terms of sūtra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sūtra in the Text); and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (प) notwithstanding the revised terms of sūtra III, 34, they further altered the terms of sūtra III, 22 (from चवयोर् अत्यासः to चवयोर् अ०) and inserted an altogether new sūtra (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sūtras. 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 sūtra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sūtra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sūtra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *ḥ* in sūtra III, 13 and subsuming it under sūtra 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 sūtra III, 11, they change both च *th* and ख *ḥ* to च *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *ḥ* in sūtra 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 sūtra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sūtra 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 sūtra 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 sūtra. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbhe* and B reads *tumbhe*; but in sūtra I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbhe* and B *tumbhe*. Chaṇḍa cannot possibly have written the same word in both sūtras; that would be contrary to the whole genius of sūtra-writing; if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but *one* sūtra: *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 *mḥ*, *bḥ* and *jḥ* are perpetually confused; the two symbols च् or च* being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells सिच्चा for

* Once or twice also च् and च्; these are clearly only due to careless writing.

सिद्धा III, 2, जिम्बा for जित्वा III, 1, वम्बो for वज्जो III, 20; सम्भावं for सम्भाव III, 8, मन्म for मन्म I, 30. There is a simple explanation for this confusion. In the Jaina Prākṛit 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 sūtras 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 Nāgarī symbol. Since however the two sūtras 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 sūtra 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 sūtra I, 22 (and also in 23 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 sūtra 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 Hindī, e. g., *thāmhai* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thāmbhai*. 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 Prākṛit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Pāli. 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 Prākṛit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Pāli. It agrees

* The close resemblance of the symbol for *mbh* to those for *bbh* and *jjh* is strikingly shown in sūtra III, 2, where C appears to read *sijjhā* and D *sibbhā* for *simbhā*.

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 Prákrít 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 Prákrít agrees with Sanskrit in preserving the long vowel (see I, 3), while Páli as well as the later Prákrít shorten it; e. g., Skr. and Ch. *gañgám*, but Pá. and Pr. *gañgam*; Skr. *nádím*, Ch. *naím*, but Pá. *nadim*, Pr. *naím*; Skr. *mám* "me", Ch. *mám*, but Pá. *mam*, Pr. *mám*. Both Vararuchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prákrít (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 Prákrít of Chaṇḍa may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the *Arsham* of Hemachandra (H. C. I, 2. IV, 287). By "ársha" Hemachandra understands the language, spoken (as he says) by the *Ráshis*†, or (as he says in IV, 287) the *old* language. With regard to this Arsha Prákrít 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 Prákrít rule, that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *e*, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old (*poránam*) 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 sūtra 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 Prákrít *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*, *tvá + am*).

† *Ráshánám idam ársham*.

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

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

Prākṛit, in common with the Arddhamāgadhī Prākṛit which it follows, agrees with the Māgadhī 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 Arddhamāgadhī, the phrase *kayare āgachchhāi* "which of the two has come." The *porāna* or *ārsha* form of it would be, *katare āgachchhati*.* Now this is the very example, which is given in Chanḍa'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 *ārsha* he understands that ancient (*porāna*) form of the Prākṛit language which included what in his day was called the Arddhamāgadhī, and which, while agreeing with the Māgadhī 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 *ṣ* (H. C. 4, 288) and some other minor points peculiar to Māgadhī, was in all other respects identical with the so-called Māhārāshṭrī. Or to put it in another way: Arddhamāgadhī is the same as Māhārāshṭrī in all respects, except the nom. sing. in *e*, which peculiarity it shares with the Māgadhī; on the other hand Māgadhī is identical with Arddhamāgadhī in all respects, except the important changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ* (omitting minor points) which are peculiar to the former. If we now substitute the short name *Arsha* in the place of Arddhamāgadhī plus Māhārāshṭrī (of which jointly the *Arsha* is simply the ancient form), we have an exact statement of the facts as represented in Chanḍa's Grammar. He speaks of four Prākṛits, viz., the Prākṛit, the Māgadhī, the Paiśācī and the Apabhraṃṣa. He omits all mention of the so-called Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī; further his rules on *the* Prākṛit substantially contain everything, commonly ascribed to the Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit, with the addition however of the nom. sing. in *e*; while he makes his Māgadhī to differ from his Prākṛit with regard to the changes of *r* to *l* and *s* to *ṣ*. It thus seems to me very clear, that the Prākṛit of Chanḍa is the *ārsha* or ancient (*porāna*) form of the Arddhamāgadhī, Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī.†

* Hemachandra's words are: *yad api "porānam arddhamāgadhābhāshānīyayam haviṣṭam ity ādinā ārshasya arddhamāgadhābhāshānīyatatvam āmnāyī vṛddhais tad api prāyo 'sya eva vidhānāt, na vakshyamānālakṣhaṇasya; i. e., "what has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Arddhamāgadhī,' 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 Sūtra*, 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 Māgadhī."*

† As a minor evidence of Chanḍa's Prākṛit being the *Arsha*, 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 Arddhamāgadhī, Mahārāshṭrī 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) Prākṛit. By the side of this great or standard Prākṛit, however, there existed two other Prākṛits of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard Prākṛit, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser Prākṛits were the Māgadhī and the Apabhraṃṣa. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of *r* and *s* to *l* and *ṣ* respectively; that of the latter was the retention of *r* as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the Prākṛits 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 Aṣoka 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 Aṣoka 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 Pāli (or Prākṛit) in the time of Aṣoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the Panjābī or north-western dialect, the Ujjenī or middle dialect, and the Māgadhī or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the Panjābī or the dialect of North-Western India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined *r*"; that of the Māgadhī 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 Apabhraṃṣa for General Cunningham's Panjābī, 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 Arsha, 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.

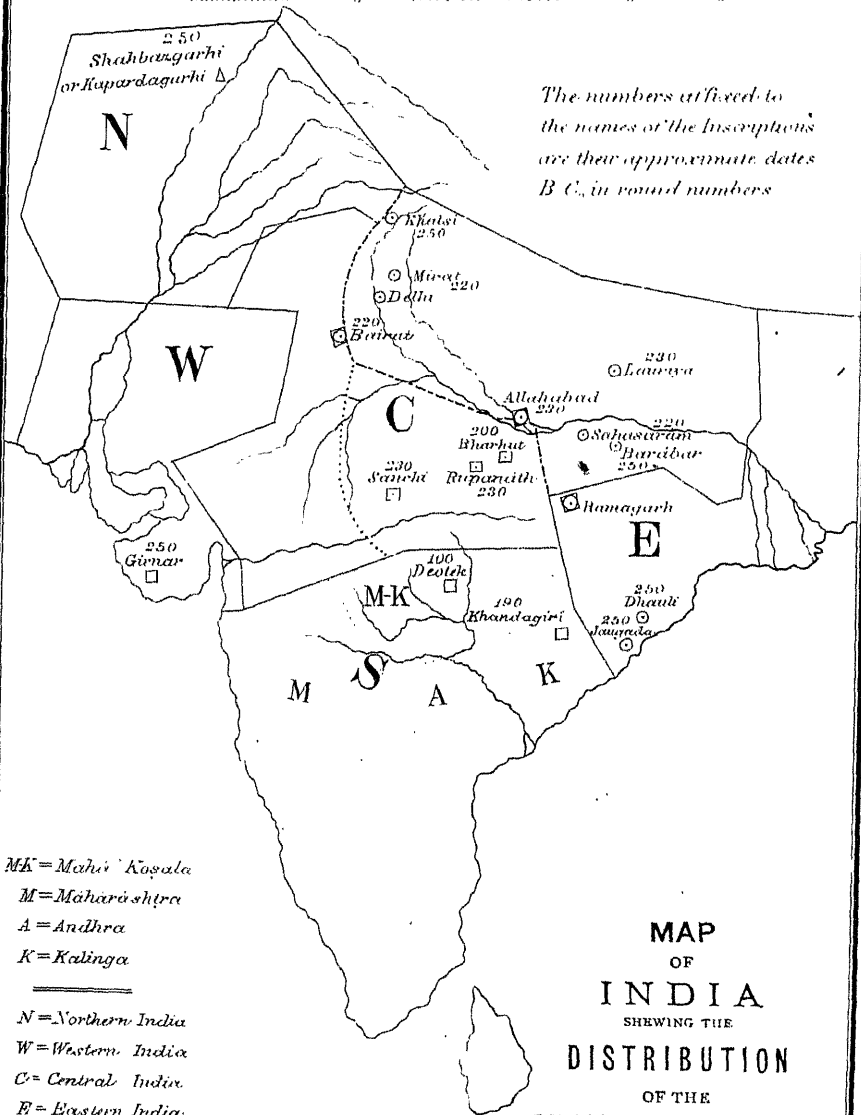


- ◻ Inscriptions with *l* and *r*, and *e*
- " " " *l* " " *e*
- ◻ " " " *r* " " *e*
- ◻ " " " *r* " " *o*
- △ " " " Subjoint *r* " " *o*

----- Boundary of Eastern and Western Prakrit

..... Subdivisions of " " "

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



Mk = Mahā Kosala
M = Maharashtra
A = Andhra
K = Kalinga

N = Northern India
W = Western India
C = Central India
E = Eastern India
S = Southern India

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

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 Paiśācī, 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 Paiśācī, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gaudīan Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prākṛit, 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 Prākṛit languages, named by Chaṇḍa. One of the principal peculiarities of the Māgadhī or Eastern Prākṛit, mentioned by Chaṇḍa, is the substitution of *l* for *r*. † This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Mirat, Lauriya, Sahasarām, Barábar, Rámagaṛh, Dhauri 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 Māgadhī, and the Western or Chaṇḍa's Standard Prākṛit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prākṛit, 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 Mahārāshṭra, Andhra and Kalinga kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhraṃṣa Prākṛit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Sháhbázgaṛhī Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chaṇḍa to that Prākṛit, *viz.* the retention of the subjoined *r*. Further Chaṇḍa mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prākṛit, 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 Sūtra, 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 Prākṛit) 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 sūtra 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 Árdhamágadhí 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 Máháráshtrí and Śaurasení Prákrits. The Paśíchí 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 sūtra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns *idam*, *tad*, *etad* assume the form *se* in the genitive singular and the form *sim* 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 *sim* 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 sūtra I, 17, that "the two pronouns *tad* and *idam* 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 ántápi se ádeṣam kaṣhā́ idá ichchhā́ti*, H. C. III, 81.

† *Tadidamoh se shashthi-rúpā́m*, Ch. I, 17.

Hemachandra (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 6a with H. C. III, 14, 24). Some old Prákrit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13a, 13b) 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 Apabhramṣa dialect (compare, e. g., Ch. II, 27l 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 sūtra I, 16, where the Revisionists have elided the *ḍ*, while Hemachandra in his corresponding sūtra 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 sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding sūtras 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, 1a and I, 1b. But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed. Sūtra II, 1b in MS. D corresponds to H. C. I, 8, while II, 1c 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 sūtra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sūtra-works, supplied from the *preceding* sūtra I, 6. On the other hand in MS. D, the sūtra II, 1b, as it is not preceded by any sūtra 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 sūtras III, 34 and III, 12. What more natural than to accept sūtra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prákrit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sūtra 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, 1a, 1b, 1c 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, 11a 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 Prákrít, 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.

I, VOWELS.

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

In common with the later, the old Prákrít 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*, *lṛí*, *lṛí*, but they seem to be included in the term *rvarnasya* (II, 5).

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

Instead of *ri*, 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 *ai* or *e*, and instead of *au* either *ai* 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 *Arsha* 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 ~~*goguvaco*~~ = Skr. *yogopayoga*, *appusue* = Skr. *alpotsukah*, *paḍuppanna* = Skr. *prati-utpanna*, *sattuttaram* = Skr. *saptottaram*, (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 *ginhati* in Ch. III, 23 for *genhai* 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 sūtra II, 14

* Hemachandra mentions this very word in an *Arsha* sentence, *devindo inam abbavi* see H. C. III, 162.

when compared with its revised terms in C D II, 14, and from the uniform spelling of the Prākṛit examples with *n* in MSS. A and B. Still in exceptional cases the change of *n* to *ṇ* does occur in the older Prākṛit (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 *śh*. The Prākṛit 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 Prākṛit (the so-called Jaina Prākṛit) 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 sūtra III, 34 as compared with the terms of that sūtra in C D III, 34. But *ṭ* was not unfrequently, and *ṭ* and *p* were exceptionally, softened to *ḍ*, *ḍ*, *ḍ* respectively (III, 12). See also introductory remarks on pp. xiii, xiv. In the later Prākṛit 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*, *ḍ*, *v* respectively. The still later Prākṛit 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 *ḍ* now only surviving in the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī 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 Śaurasenī and Māgadhī in retaining the sonant *ḍ* is not noticed by Chaṇḍa; it was simply because in his time no difference in this respect between those two dialects and *the* great Prākṛit had declared itself. The fact seems to be, that *the* great Prākṛit dialect decayed much faster, than the other two Prākṛit 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 *ḍ*; perhaps the only trace of the original tenacity of the Māgadhī in retaining *ḍ* being preserved in the past participial terminations *īl* or *āl* in Bangālī, Oṛiyā, Eastern Hindī and Marāṭhī (the nearest representatives of the old Māgadhī), which in all probability are the same as the Māgadhī

* *Arshe; āvanātam, anilo, analo; iti dāy api*; i. e., in the ūrsha 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 Apabhramṣa (H. C. IV, 396). It refers to an ancient kind of Apabhramṣa, as I shall show in the footnotes to the English Translation.

termination *īḍa* (Sanskrit *īta*); 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 *ḷḷ* which may be reduced to *ṛ*. But *ḷḷ* was not unfrequently, and the rest were exceptionally softened, to *ḍh*, etc. This has been shown in the introductory remarks pp. xiii, xiv. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi, only *ḷḷ* is preserved, but *ḷḷ* is always, and *ḷḷ* generally, softened to *ḍḷ* and *ḷḷ* respectively (Vr. II, 24, 26), while *ḷḷ* and *ḷḷ* are always reduced to *ḷ* (Vr. II, 27). The still later Prākṛit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H. C. III, 187, 199), except that *ḷḷ* may now be either softened to *ḷḷ* or (more usually) reduced to *ḷ* (H. C. I, 236). Here again the softening of *ḷḷ* to *ḍḷ* only survives in the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī 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 sūtra III, 34 with its terms as revised in C D III, 34. In the later Prākṛit 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-sruti*, as it is named by Hemachandra (I, 180). According to him, however, both vowels must be *a*. Vararuchi's Prākṛit knows nothing of this usage. It is not the peculiarity of any age or locality of Prākṛit, but the degree of its use or disuse marks the degree of the vernacular or artificial character of Prākṛit. It is very observable in the less artificialized Jaina Prākṛit.

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

The only consonants of the Sanskrit system which the former does not possess are the guttural *ṣ*, the palatal *ṣ* (II, 14), the palatal *ṣ* and the cerebral *ṣ* (III, 18). Both Vararuchi (IV, 17) and Hemachandra (I, 30) allow the two nasals in conjunction with their own class. To Chanda this practice appears to have been not unknown, as sūtra 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 anusvāra. Nevertheless, though that is the theoretical rule of the grammars (even now), practically the class-nasal is never written, but always the anusvāra.

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 sūtras (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 *gharam*) 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 Paiśáčí (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 Paiśáčí 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 *ruckho*) it is said to become *r* (III, 22).

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

14, *h* remains 'unchanged'; excepting one case (*gharam*) 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 *Chañḍa'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 *Chañḍa* 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 *Apabhraṃṣa* 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 *śk*, *sp*, *śhṇ*, *śn*, *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 *śh*), 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 ॢ *ś* and ॣ *śh*) which do not exist in Prākṛit.

It may be well to illustrate Chaṇḍa's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as *lakṣmī*, *kṛṣṇam*, *spasṭam*, *sthitaḥ*, *vidyā*, *jihvā*, *vāhyah*. Here LAKṢIMĪ first becomes *lakṣhī* (by III, 6), then *lakhī* (III, 4) or *lasi* (III, 18); next *lakhī* (III, 14), finally *lakhhī* (III, 24, 26). KṚṢṆAM becomes first *kṛṣam* (III, 6) or *kaṣam* (II, 5), and then *kaṣham* (III, 23). SPASṬAM becomes first *pasṭam* (III, 3) or *pusṭam* (II, 4), then *phusṭam* (III, 11, 28), finally *phuṭam* (III, 8); or *pusṭam* may become *puṭam* (III, 8), then *puṭham* (III, 11), finally *puṭṭham* (III, 24, 26). STHITAḤ becomes first *thitaḥ* (III, 3), then *ṭhitaḥ* (III, 16, 28), then *ṭhitao* (II, 10), finally *ṭhito* (II, 1). VIDYĀ first becomes *vidā* (III, 5), then *vijā* (III, 16), finally *vijjā* (III, 24, 27). JIHVA' becomes first *jihā* (III, 1), then *jibhā* (III, 21), finally *jibbhā* (III, 24, 26). VA'HYAH becomes first *vāhaḥ* (III, 1), then *vājhaḥ* (III, 20), then *vājḥhaḥ* (III, 24, 26), then *vajḥhaḥ* (II, 3), next *vajḥhao* (II, 10), finally *vajḥho* (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, ANUSVĀRA.

The anusvāra is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prākṛit (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 Prākṛit, 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 *punarapi* (compare H. C. II, 179).

5, NOUNS.

The older Prākṛit, 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. <i>o, e</i> (II, 10) or— | { | — (I, 11) or <i>ṇo</i> (I, 12). |
| | | Acc. <i>am</i> (I, 3) | | <i>e</i> or — (I, 11, 15), <i>ṇo</i> (I, 12) |
| | | Intr. <i>ina</i> or <i>ná</i> (I, 3) | | <i>hi</i> (<i>hiṃ</i>) (I, 7). |
| | | Abl. <i>á, to, tu, hinto</i> or <i>ṇo</i> (I, 12, 16) | | <i>hinto</i> (I, 8). |
| | | Gen. <i>ssa</i> or <i>ṇo</i> (I, 13) | | <i>ṇa, ha</i> (<i>ṇam, ham</i>) (I, 5). |
| | | Loc. <i>e, mmi</i> (I, 14) | | <i>su</i> (<i>sum</i>) (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 Chāṇḍa, 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 Prākṛit 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 Chāṇḍa indicates by the term *lingāt 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 sūtra I, 3. Chāṇḍa had very properly omitted it, as sūtra II, 13 shows that Prākṛit 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 = devam* (II, 1), *aggi + am = aggim* (II, 1, 4), *dhenu + am = dhenum* (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p. 3); nom. sing. *deva + o = devo* (II, 1); *deva + e = deve* (II, 1); inst. sg. *deva + ina = deveṇa* (II, 1); *buddhi + e = buddhī* (II, 4); loc. sg. *deva + e = deve* (II, 1); nom. acc. plur. *buddhi + o = buddhī* (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 Chanḍa's nominal declension.

Prākṛit has only three declensions; *viz.* those ending in *a* (or feminine *ā*), *i* and *u* (or feminine in *ī* and *ū*). Nouns ending in *ī* or *ū* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u* (see, e. g., I, 9), but masculines in *ī* and *ū* are nowhere especially mentioned by Chanḍa. 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 *ri* are nowhere noticed by Chanḍa, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5, by which *ri* would change to *u* and, in some cases, to *ara* or *dra*, as in Pāli and the later Prākṛit. 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*; *ā* fem., e. g., *gangā*; *am* neut., e. g., *kulam*.

The acc. sing. ends in *am* masc. and neut., e. g., *devam*, *kulam*; *ām* fem., e. g., *gangām*.

The instr. sing. ends in *ena* masc. and neut., e. g., *deveṇa*, *kuleṇa*; *āe* fem., e. g., *gangāe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *ā* or *āto* or *ātu* or *āhinto* masc. and neut., e. g., *devā* or *devāto* or *devātu* or *devāhinto*, *kulā*, etc.; *āe* fem., e. g., *gangāe*. To these forms may be added the abl. made with the suffix *to* (= Sanskrit *taḥ*). It is not noticed by Chanḍa, 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 Ṛsha is guaranteed by its existence in Pāli, and by its existence in the modified form *tto* in the later Prākṛit (H. C. III, 8); also by the existence in the Ṛsha itself of the pronominal forms *maṭto*, *taṭto* (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 sūtra 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. *de*, e. g., *gangāe*.

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

The nom. plur. ends in *ā* masc., e. g., *devā*; *āo* or *āū* or *ā* fem., e. g., *gangāo*, *gangāū*, *gangā*; neut. *āni* or *āni*, e. g., *kulāni* or *kulāni*.

The acc. plur. ends in *e* masc., e. g. *deve*; *āo* or *āū* or *ā* fem., e. g., *gangāo*, *gangāū*, *gangā*; *āni* or *āni* neut., e. g., *kulāni* or *kulāni*.

The instr. plur. ends in *ehi* or *ehim* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devehi*, or *devehim*, *kulehi* or *kulehim*; *āhi* or *āhim* fem., e. g., *gangāhi* or *gangāhim*.

The gen. plur. ends in *āna* or *āha* or *ānam* or *āham* (II, 15); e. g., *devāna* or *devāha* or *devānam* or *devāham*, *gangāna*, etc., *kulāna*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *esu* or *esum* (II, 15) masc. and neut., e. g., *devesu* or *devesum*, *kulesu* or *kulesum*; *āsu* or *āsum* fem., e. g., *gangāsu* or *gangāsum*.

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Pāli and later Prakṛit or Arddha-Māgadhī forms for purposes of comparison.

Masculines in *a*.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Pāli. | Arsha. | Prākṛit.* |
|------------|-----------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | देवः | देवो | देवो or देवे | देवो or देवे† |
| Voc. | दे देव | दे देव | दे देव or दे देवो | दे देव or दे देवो |
| Acc. | देवं | देवं | देवं | देवं |
| Instr. | देवेन | देवेन | देवेण | देवेण |
| Abl. | देवात् | देवा | देवा | देवा |
| | देवतः | देवतो | देवतो | देवतो |
| | — | देवन्ता or •न्ता | देवाह्न्तो | देवाह्न्तो or देवाहि |
| Gen. | देवस्य | देवस्स | देवस्स | देवस्स |
| Loc. | देवे | देवे | देवे | देवे |
| | — | देवन्धि or •न्धि | देवन्धि | देवन्धि |
| Plur. Nom. | देवाः | देवा | देवा | देवा |
| Voc. | — | — | — | — |

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

† Arddha-Māgadhī; see H. C. IV, 287.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
|--------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Acc. | देवान् | देवे | देवे | देवा or देवे |
| Instr. | देवैः | देवेभि or देवेहि | देवेहि or ०हिं | देवहि or हिं or ०हिं |
| Abl. | देवेभ्यः | देवेभि or हि | देवेहितो | देवेहितो or ०सुतो |
| | — | — | — | देवाहितो or ०सुतो |
| Gen. | देवानां | देवानं | देवाणं or देवाण | देवाणं or देवाण |
| | — | — | देवाहं or ०ह | देवाहं or ०ह |
| Loc. | देवेषु | देवेषु | देवेषु or ०सुं | देवेषु or ०सुं |

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 (or loc. गंगायं) | गंगाय | गंगाय or ०इ or ०श्च* |
| Abl. | गंगायाः | | | |
| Gen. | | | | |
| Loc. | गंगायां | | | |
| Plur. Nom. | गंगाः | गंगा | गंगा | गंगा |
| Voc. | | गंगाया | गंगाश्चो or गंगाञ | गंगाश्चो or गंगाञ |
| Acc. | गंगाभिः | गंगाभि or गंगाहि | गंगाहि or हिं | गंगाहि or ०हिं or ०हिं |
| Instr. | | गंगाभ्यः | गंगाहितो | गंगाहितो or ०सुतो |
| Abl. | गंगानां | गंगानं | गंगाणं or गंगाण | गंगाणं or गंगाण |
| Gen. | | — | गंगाहं or ०ह | गंगाहं or ०ह |
| Loc. | गंगासु | गंगासु | गंगासु or ०सुं | गंगासु or ०सुं |

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

Neuters in *a*.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
|------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | कुलं | कुलं | कुलं | कुलं |
| Acc. | | | | |
| Voc. | कुल | कुल | कुल | कुल |
| Plur. Nom. | कुलानि | कुलानि or कुला | कुलानि or ँणि | कुलाणि or ०लाइं or |
| Voc. | | | | |
| Acc. | | | | |

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 *iná* and *uná* masc. and neut., e. g., *agginá*, *guruná* and *dahiná*, *mahuná*; *ie* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhié*, *dhenúe*.

The abl. sing. ends in *ino* and *uno* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiño*, *guruno* and *dahino*, *mahuno*; *ie* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhié*, *dhenúe*. There is also the quasi-abl. in *ito* and *uto*; e. g., *aggito*, *guruto*, etc.

The gen. sing. ends in *ino* or *issa* and *uno* or *ussa* masc. and neut., e. g., *aggiño* or *aggissa*, *guruno* or *gurussa* and *dahino* or *dahissa*, *mahuno* or *mahussa*; *ie* and *úe* fem., e. g., *buddhié*, *dhenúe*.

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

The nom. and acc. plur. end in *ayo* or *í* or *ino* and *avo* or *ú* or *uno* masc., e. g., *aggayo* or *aggi* or *aggiño*, *guravo* or *gurú* or *guruno*; *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 *ini* and *uni*; e. g., *dahini*, *mahuni*; or possibly like the masculine, *dahí* or *dahino*, *mahú* or *mahuno*. The masculine forms in *ayo* and *avo* are not especially noticed by Chanda, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in *ayah*, *avah*, 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 *ihī* or *ihim*, and *uhi* or *uhim*; e. g., masc. *aggihi* or *aggihim*, *guruhi* or *guruhim*; fem. *buddhihi* or *buddhihim*, *dhenuhi* or *dhenuhim*; neut. *dahīhi* or *dahihim*, *māhuhi* or *māhuhim*.

The abl. plur. ends in *ihinto* and *uhinto*; e. g., masc. *aggihinto*, *guru-
hinto*; fem. *buddhihinto*, *dhenuhinto*; neut. *dahihinto*, *māhuhinto*.

The gen. plur. ends in *īna* or *īha* or *īṇam* or *īham*, and *ūna* or *ūha* or *ūṇam* or *ūham*; e. g., masc. *aggiṇa* or *aggiṇam* or *aggiha* or *aggiham*, *guruṇa* or *guruṇam* or *gurūha* or *gurūham*; fem. *buddhiṇa* or *buddhiha*, etc., *dhenūna* or *dhenūha*, etc.; neut. *dahīna* or *dahīha*, etc., *māhūna* or *māhūha*, etc.

The loc. plur. ends in *isu* or *isum* and *usu* or *usum*; masc. *aggisu* or *aggisum*, *gurusu* or *gurusum*; fem. *buddhisu* or *buddhisum*, *dhenusu* or *dhenusum*; neut. *dahisu* or *dahisum*, *māhusu* or *māhusum*.

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 sūtra I, 3 all MSS. make the termination of the nom. sing. of all nouns in *i* and *u*, of whatever gender, to be *ī* and *ū*. This is almost certainly false; for (a) even in the later Prākṛit 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 sūtra in Chaṇḍa's grammar to account for the long *ī* and *ū* 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 sūtra I, 3 all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*samskr̥itavad vibhaktayah*), excepting so far as they are modified by the general phonetic laws of the Prākṛit. Now by sūtra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination *ih* or *uh* is omitted, but there is no sūtra anywhere in Chaṇḍa to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short *i* or *u*. Hence it is very probable, that in Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit the nominative singular ended in *i*, and similarly in *u*. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sūtra II, 5 there occurs the word *ṛishih*, the Prākṛit form of which in all MSS. is given as *isi* (not *isī*); again in that very sūtra II, 10 one example is *vati*, as all MSS. read, for Skr. *vr̥tīh**; again in sūtra II, 17 we have *māti* and *gāti*, with all MSS. (exc. B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Pāli, which Chaṇḍa's Prākṛit resembles in so many

* Not = Skr. *patih*, as O D have it, but = Skr. *vr̥tīh*.

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 *hi*, *hinto* and *su*. But as Chaṇḍa has no sūtra to enjoin the lengthening of *i* and *u*, it is probable that in his Prākṛit they were not long, as in the later Prākṛit, but short, as (optionally) in Pāli (see Minayef *ibid.*, also Kuhn, pp. 79, 81, 82). The fact that Chaṇḍa places the forms of the instr. and loc. plural under sūtra 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 sūtra I, 3. Suppose, e. g., that *aggíhi*, *aggíhinto* and *aggísu* be correct forms; if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sūtra 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 *bḥ* 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 Prākṛit, 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 sūtra 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 *gangám*, *naím*, *vahúm*. The MSS., on the whole, are decisive on this point. For though C and D read *gangam* in I, 3, B reads *gangám* (A omits it); on the other hand C and D read *naím* in I, 3 (A B omit it). This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prākṛit, but even Pāli (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 Prākṛit; 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 Chanda gives the declension of the noun *gáví* "cow", the two MSS. C D again read *gávím* 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 Chanda's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms.

Masculines in *i*.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
|------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | अग्निः | अग्नि | अग्नि | अग्नी |
| Voc. | अग्ने | अग्नि | अग्नि | अग्नी or अग्नि |
| Acc. | अग्निं | अग्निं | अग्निं | अग्निं |
| Instr. | अग्निना | अग्निना | अग्निणा | अग्निणा |
| Abl. | अग्नेः | अग्निना | अग्निषो | अग्निषो |
| | अग्नितः | अग्निस्मा or ंन्दा | — | अग्नीच्छितो |
| Gen. | अग्नेः | अग्नितो | अग्नितो | अग्नितो |
| | अग्नी | — | — | अग्नीञ्चो or अग्नीञ् |
| Loc. | अग्ने | अग्निने or ंस्त | अग्निषो or ंस्त | अग्निषो or अग्निस्त |
| Plur. Nom. | अग्नेभ्यः | अग्निभ्यो | अग्निभ्यो | अग्नीञ्चो or अग्नीञ् |
| | — | अग्नी | अग्नी | अग्नी |
| | — | — | अग्निषो | अग्निषो |
| Voc. | अग्नेभ्यः | — | — | — |
| Acc. | अग्नीन् | like nom. | like nom. | like nom. |
| Instr. | अग्निभिः | अग्निभि or ंहि | अग्निहि or ंहि | — |
| | — | अग्नीभि or ंहि | — | अग्नीहि or ंहि |

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
|-------|-----------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Abl. | अग्निभ्यः | अग्निभि or ०हि | अग्निहिंतो | — |
| | | अग्नीभि or ०हि | — | अग्नीहंतो or ०सुंतो |
| Gen. | अग्नीनां | अग्नीनं | अग्नीणं or ०ण | अग्नीणं or ०ण |
| | | | अग्नीहं or ०ह | (<i>deest</i>)* |
| Loc. | अग्निषु | अग्निषु | अग्निषु or ०सुं | — |
| | | अग्नीसु | — | अग्नीसु 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, बुद्ध्यां, बुद्धिं, बुद्धो) | बुद्धीए | बुद्धीए or बुद्धीइ बुद्धीआ or बुद्धीअ |
| Abl. } Gen. } | बुद्ध्याः or बुद्धेः | | | |
| Loc. { | बुद्ध्यां or बुद्धी | | | |
| Plur. Nom. | बुद्धयः | बुद्धी | बुद्धी | बुद्धी |
| Voc. | | बुद्धियो | बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ | बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ |
| Acc. | बुद्धीः | like nom. | like nom. | like nom. |
| Instr. | बुद्धिभिः | बुद्धिभि or ०हि | बुद्धिहि or ०हिं | — |
| | | बुद्धीभि or ०हि | — | बुद्धीहि or ०हिं |
| Abl. | बुद्धिभ्यः | बुद्धिभि or ०हि | बुद्धिहिंतो | — |
| | | बुद्धीभि or ०हि | — | बुद्धीहिंतो or ०सुंतो |
| Gen. | बुद्धीनां | बुद्धीनं | बुद्धीणं or ०ण | बुद्धीणं or ०ण |
| | | | बुद्धीहं or ०ह | (<i>deest</i>)* |

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrít. |
|-----------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| Loc. | बुद्धिषु | बुद्धिसु बुद्धीसु | बुद्धिसु or सुं — | — बुद्धीसु or सुं |
| Neuters in <i>i</i> . | | | | |
| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrít. |
| Sing. Nom. | दधि | दधि | दधि (acc. दधिं) | दधि or दधिं or दधिँ (voc. only दधि) |
| Plur. do. | दधीनि | दधी or दधीनि | दधीनि or ंणि | दधीणि or दधीइं or दधीईं |

The remainder, like masculines in *i*.

Masculines in *u*.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrít. |
|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | गुरुः | गुरु | गुरु | गुरु |
| Voc. | गुरो | गुरु | गुरु | गुरु or गुरु |
| Acc. | गुरुं | गुरुं | गुरुं | गुरुं |
| Instr. | गुरुणा | गुरुणा | गुरुणा | गुरुणा |
| Abl. | गुरोः | गुरुणा गुरुस्मा or ंन्हा | गुरुणो — | गुरुणो गुरुहंतो |
| | गुरुतः | गुरुतो — | गुरुतो — | गुरुतो गुरुओ or गुरुउ |
| Gen. | गुरोः | गुरुणो गुरुस्स | गुरुणो गुरुस्स | गुरुणो गुरुस्स |
| | गुरौ | गुरुस्मिं or ंस्मि | गुरुस्मि | गुरुस्मि |
| Plur. Nom. | गुरुवः | गुरुवो | गुरुवो | गुरुवो or गुरुओ or ंउ |
| Voc. | | गुरु गुरुणो* | गुरु गुरुणो | गुरु गुरुणो |

* Like अंतुनो, see Minayef, p. 69.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
|--------|-----------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Instr. | गुरुभिः | { गुरुभि or ०हि * गुरुभि or ०हि | { गुरुहि or ०हिं — | { — गुरुहि or ०हिं |
| Abl. | गुरुभ्यः | { गुरुभि or ०हि गुरुभि or ०हि | { गुरुहिंते — | { — गुरुहिंते or ०सुंते |
| Gen. | गुरुणां | गुरुणां | { गुरुणां or गुरुण गुरुहं or गुरुह | { गुरुणां or गुरुण deest† |
| Loc. | गुरुषु | { गुरुषु गुरुषु | { गुरुसु or ०सुं — | { — गुरुसु or ०सुं |

Feminines in *u*.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | 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 धेणूद धेणूआ or धेणूअ |
| Abl. } Gen. } | धेन्वाः or धेनोः | | | |
| Loc. | धेन्वां or धेनौ | | | |
| Plur. Nom. | { धेनवः | { धेनू | { धेनू | { धेणू |
| Voc. | | { धेनुयो | { धेणूओ or धेणूउ | { धेणूओ or धेणूउ |
| Acc. | धेनूः | like nom. | like nom. | like nom. |
| Instr. | धेनुभिः | { धेनुभि or ०हि धेनूभि or ०हि | { धेनुहि or ०हिं — | { — धेणूहि or ०हिं |
| Abl. | धेनुभ्यः | { धेनुभि or ०हि धेनूभि or ०हि | { धेनुहिंते — | { — धेणूहिंते or ०सुंते |
| Gen. | धेनूनां | { धेनूनां | { धेनूणां or धेनूण धेनूहं or धेनूह | { धेणूणां or धेणूण deest† |

* Like जंतुहि, see Kuhn, p. 82.

† See H. C. IV, 300.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
|-------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Loc. | घेनुषु | घेनुसु घेनुसु | घेनुसु or ०सु — | — घेणूसु or ०सु |

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 | महूनि or ०णि | महूणि or मऊइं or मऊइँ. |

The remainder, like masculines in *u*.

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

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

Feminines in *i*.

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
|--------------|-----------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Sing. Nom. | नदी | नदी | नई | नई |
| Voc. | नदि | नदि | नइ | नइ |
| Acc. | नदीं | नदिं or नदियं | नईं | नईं |
| Plur. Instr. | नदीभिः | नदीभि or ०धि | नईधि or ०धिं | नईधि or ०धिं |
| Abl. | नदीभ्यः | नदीभि or ०धि | नईधितो | नईधितो or ०सुतो |
| Loc. | नदीषु | नदीसु | नईसु or ०सुं | 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 | वहूं |

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

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|
| Plur. Instr. | वधूमिः | वधूमि or ०दि | वह्मदि or ०दिं | वह्मदि or ०दिं |
| Abl. | वधूम्यः | वधूमि or ०दि | वह्मदिंतो | वह्मदिंतो or ०सुंतो |
| Loc. | वधूषु | वधूसु | वह्मसु or ०सुं | वह्मसु or ०सुं |

The remainder, as in feminines in *u*.

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

The declension of this noun is given in sūtra 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 *gávī* fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of *navi* "river".

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrit. |
|------------|-----------|---------|----------------|------------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | (गौः) | गावौ* | गावौ | गावौ or गार्दं |
| Acc. | (गां) | गाविं | गावौं | गार्दं |
| Plur. Nom. | (गावः) | गाविषो* | गावौञ्चो or ०ञ | गावौञ्चो† or गार्दञ्चो |
| Acc. | | | | or गार्दञ्च |
| | | गावौ* | गावौ | गार्दं |

The remainder, like feminines in *i*.

6, PRONOUNS.

a, Personal Pronouns.

The original forms of the base of this pronoun are *म* and *मन्* (= Sanskrit *मन्*), 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

* *Gávī* nom. sing. in Kuhn, p. 85, and *gáviyo* nom. plur. in Childers, p. 145, and *gávī* in Kaohch. II, 1, 23 (Senart, p. 44).

† *Gávī* in H. C. II, 174 and *gávī* in H. C. I, 158 and *gávī* in H. C. II, 174.

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

The *Ārsha*, also, has an indeclinable form *bḥe*, 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 *mḥe*, curtailed from *amḥe*.

Declension.

| Cases. | Sanskrit. | Pāli. | Ārsha. | Prākṛit. |
|------------|-----------|-----------|--------|-----------------------------|
| Sing. Nom. | { अहं | अहं | अहं | अहं or अहयं |
| | { — | — | — | अन्हि or अन्मि |
| Acc. | { मां | मं | मां | मं |
| | { — | ममं | — | ममं or मिसं, 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 मइदो, etc. |
| | | { — | — | मज्जत्तो or मज्जादो, [etc.] |
| Gen. | { मे | मे | मे | मे, etc. |
| | { मम | मम or ममं | मम | मम |
| | { — | — | मह | मह or महं |
| | { — | महं | मज्झं | मज्झं or मज्झं |
| Loc. | { अहं | अहं | — | अहं or अहं |
| | { मयि | मयि | मयि | मइ, etc. |
| | { — | — | — | ममन्मि |
| | { — | — | — | मइन्मि |
| | { — | — | — | मज्झन्मि |
| | | | | अहन्मि |

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ārsha. | Prákrit. |
|------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|--|
| Plur. Nom. | { वयं | मयं | वयं | वयं |
| | { — | अन्हे | अन्हे | अन्हे or अन्हो or अन्ह |
| Acc. | { अस्मान् | अन्हे (or अन्हाकं) | अन्हे | अन्हे or अन्हो or अन्ह |
| | { नः | नो | नो | णे |
| Instr. | अस्माभिः | अन्हेभि or ०हि | अन्हेहि or ०हिं | { अन्हेहि or ०हिं अन्हाहि or ०हिं, etc. |
| | | { अन्हेभि or ०हि | अन्हेचिंतो or | (अन्हेचिंतो?) or ०हुंतो |
| Abl. | अस्मत् | — | अन्ह चिंतो | अन्हाचिंतो or ०हुंतो |
| | | — | — | (मसेचिंतो?) or ०हुंतो |
| | | — | — | ममाचिंतो or ०हुंतो |
| | | — | — | णो or णे |
| Gen. | { नः | नो | नो | णो or णे |
| | { अस्माकं | अस्माकं or अन्हाकं | अन्हाणं or ०ण | अन्हाणं or ण |
| | { — | — | अन्हाहं or ०ह | अन्हाहं |
| | { — | — | — | ममाणं or ०ण |
| | { — | — | — | महाणं or ०ण |
| | { — | — | — | मज्जाणं or ०ण |
| | { — | अन्हं | अन्हं | अन्हं or अन्ह |
| Loc. | { अन्हासु | अन्हेसु | अन्हेसु or ०सुं | अन्हेसु or अन्हसु |
| | { — | — | — | मनेसु or मससु |
| | { — | — | — | महेसु or मससु |
| | { — | — | — | मज्जेसु or मज्जसु ; |
| | { — | — | — | also अन्हासु or ०सुं, [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 *Arsha* 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 *Arsha* possesses also an indeclinable form *ðhe* 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 *Chañḍa'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 त्वा । मां । तं ॥

B त्वा । मां । तं । सं ॥

C त्वा । मां । तं । सं ॥

D त्वा । तं । मां । सं ॥

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 सं ; so they quietly added सं 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 *Chañḍa'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*. *Chañḍa'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, nám mam*.

we find that *tvám, máṃ* is the tatsama pair; the tadbhava pair should be *tám, máṃ*, but *mám* is not a tadbhava; hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is *tvám, máṃ, tám*. That *tám* must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument; if *tám* were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form *mám* would be unaccountable; while if *tám* was the original reading, its change into *tám* 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 *tám*. 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 *tám* were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chaṇḍa under sūtra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit *tvám* to be fairly called a *samskrítavad vibhakti*. It would, no doubt, have had a special sūtra 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 *tám*. 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 sūtra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sūtras (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. | Arsha. | 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 |
| | { — | — | तुर | तुर or तुमे |
| Instr. | { त्वया | त्वया or तथा | तए or तइ | तए or तइ |
| | { — | — | ते or तुमे | ते or तुमे |
| | { — | — | — | तुमए or तुमइ |

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ārsha. | Prákrit. | |
|------------|-----------|--------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Abl. | त्वत् | त्वया or तया | तद्दत्तो | तद्दत्तो | |
| | | — | तुमातो | तुमत्तो or तुमात्तो | |
| | | — | तुमाच्चिंतो or ंचिं | तुमाच्चिंतो or ंचिं | |
| | | — | — | — | तुवत्तो or तुवात्तो, etc. |
| | | — | — | — | तुहत्तो or तुहात्तो, etc. |
| | | — | — | — | तुन्मत्तो or तुन्मात्तो, etc. |
| | | — | — | — | तुन्मत्तो or तुन्मात्तो [etc.] |
| Gen. | ते | ते | ते | ते or दे or दि or ए or इ | |
| | | तव | तव | तुव or तुम, etc. | |
| | | — | — | तुह or तुहं | |
| | | — | — | तुम्मा or उउम्मा | |
| | | — | तुम्हं | तुम्ह or उउम्ह or तुम्हं | |
| | | — | तुम्हं | उउम्ह | |
| Loc. | त्वयि | त्वयि or तयि | त्वयि or तयि | तद् or तुम्मि, etc. | |
| | | — | — | तुम्मे or तुमम्मि or तुवम्मि | |
| | | — | — | तुहम्मि | |
| | | — | — | तुम्माम्मि | |
| | | — | — | तुम्हम्मि | |
| | | — | — | तुन्मम्मि | |
| Plur. Nom. | तूयं | तूयं | तूयं or तुम्भे | तूयं or तुम्ह | |
| | | — | — | तूरुयं or उउयं | |
| | | — | — | तुउम्भे | |
| | | — | — | तुम्भे or तुन्म | |

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
|----------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Acc. | वः यस्यान् | वो | वो | वो |
| | | तुम्हे (or तुम्हाकं) | तुम्हे | तुम्हे |
| | | — | तुम्भे | तुम्भे or तुम्भ |
| | | — | — | तुम्हे or उम्हे |
| Instr. | युष्माभिः | तुम्हेभि or ०हि | तुम्हेहि or ०हिं | तुम्हेहिं or उम्हेहिं |
| | | — | (तुम्भेहि or ०हिं?) | तुम्भेहिं or उम्भेहिं |
| | | — | — | तुम्हे हिं or उम्हे हिं |
| | | — | — | तुम्भेहिं |
| Abl. | युष्मत् | तुम्हेभि or ०हि | तुम्हेहितो | तुम्हेहितो or ०सुंतो* |
| | | — | — | तुम्हाहितो or ०सुंतो |
| | | — | — | तुम्भे० or तुम्भा०, etc. |
| | | — | — | तुम्हे० or तुम्हा०*, etc. |
| Gen. | वः यस्याकं | वो | वो | वो |
| | | तुम्हाकं | { तुम्हाणं or ०ण तुम्हाहं or ०ह } | तुम्हाणं or ०ण |
| | | | | तुम्हाहं |
| | | तुम्हं | — | तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाणं or ०ण |
| तुम्भाणं or ०ण | | | | |
| | | | | तुम्भाणं or ०ण |
| | | | | तुम्ह or तुम्हं |
| | | | | तुम्भ or तुम्भ |
| | | | | तुम्भा or तुम्भां |

* Also उम्हेहितो or ०सुंतो, उम्हाहितो or ०सुंतो, उम्हेहितो or ०सुंतो, उम्हाहितो or ०सुंतो।

| Case. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Ársha. | Prákrít. |
|-------|-----------|----------|------------------|----------------------|
| Loc. | तुभ्यस्तु | तुभ्येसु | तुभ्येसु or ०सुं | तुभ्येसु or तुभ्यसु* |
| | | — | — | तुभेसु or तुमसु |
| | | — | — | तुवेसु or तुवसु |
| | | — | — | तुहेसु or तुहसु |
| | | — | — | तुन्भेसु or तुन्भसु |
| | | — | — | तुज्भेसु or तुज्भसु |
| | | — | — | तुसु |

b, Demonstrative Pronouns.

These are *tad*, *etađ* 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. *tás* (I, 9); gen. plur. com. gen. *tánam* or *táham* (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed; nom. sing. masc. *sa* (II, 17, Skr. *sá*), 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. *tesam* (Skr. *tesám*) or *tesim* (I, 3); loc. sing. masc. or neut. *tasmim* (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 *tesim* (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 Sanskrit 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 तुभ्यस्तु, नमास्तु, तुवास्तु, तुहास्तु, तुज्भ्यस्तु, तुन्भ्यस्तु; also every form with final ०सुं.

and the irregular Sanskrit nom. singular neuter *kim* (I, 23) and the regular gen. plural *kānam* or *kāham* (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun.

d, Pronominal Adjectives.

The pronouns of quantity are *tāva* "so much", *jāva* "as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit *tāvāt*, *yāvāt*, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant *t*. Besides *tāva* there also occurs the anomalously shortened form *tā* (but not *jā*, for *jāva*). The Pāli has only *tāva*, *jāva*, but not *tā* (see Childers, pp. 500, 599). The later Prākṛit has both pairs complete, *tāva* and *jāva*, *tā* and *jā* (H. C. I, 271). Pāli has also a form *jāvam* (apparently really a nom. sing., like *māham*, *bhavam*); the Kṛṣha probably had both *tāvam* and *jāvam*; at least they occur in the Jaina Prākṛit of the Bhagavatī (see Weber's *Fragment*, p. 257).

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

7, NUMERALS.

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chanḍa, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in *ṅham* (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", *pañcha* "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 *chatur* "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*, Pāli *dve*, *duve*, Prākṛit *do*, *duve*, *ve*, *donni*, *venni*) "two"; *chattāro* (acc. also *chaturō*), *chatasso*, *chattāri* (so also in Pāli; Skr. *chatvārah*, *chaturah*, *chaturah*, *chatvāri*; Prāk. *chattāro*, *chaurō*, *chattāri*) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally :

6. *chha* (III, 14), Skr. *ṣaṭ*, Pā. *chha*, Prāk. *chha*.
10. *daha* (III, 14), Skr. *daśa*, Pā. *dasa*, Pr. *dasa* or *daha*.
13. *teraha* (III, 22, 31) Skr. *trayodaśa*, Pā. *teraha* or *telaha*, Pr. *teraha*.
16. *solasa* (III, 21), Skr. *śoḍaśa*, Pā. *solasa*, Pr. *solaha* (?)
20. *visā* (III, 32), Skr. *viṃṣati*, Pā. *visati* or *visam*, Pr. *visā*.
30. *tisā* (I, 6), Skr. *triṃsat*, Pā. *tiṃsati* or *tisam*, Pr. *tisā*.
50. *pannā* (III, 32), Skr. *pañcāśat*, Pā. *paññāsam*, Pr. *paññāsā*.
55. *pañapañnasa* (III, 33), Skr. *pañcapañcāśat*, Pā. *pañchapaññāsā*, Pr. *pañavanñā*.

The following numerals are also mentioned, viz. :—

6th *chhattho* (III, 26), Skr. *shashṭhaḥ*, Pá. *chhattho* or *satttho* (Kachch. p. 200), Pr. *chhattho*.

“6 fold” *chhakkaṃ* (III, 3), Skr. *ṣaṭkaṃ*, Pá. *chhakkaṃ*, Pr. *chhakkaṃ*.

8, THE VERB.

Chañḍa'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. gacchhati* “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., *vijjate* in III, 11); sometimes only one or the other (e. g., *disate* 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 Chañḍa 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 *Arsha*; it certainly *did* occur in the *Arsha* 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), *acchhati* (II, 1), *gacchhati* (II, 4, 10), *bhāti* (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 1st class; *eti*, *bhāti*, *vemmi*

(Skr. *vaohmi*) of the IInd class; *lijjante* (Skr. *liyante*) is of the IVth class; *nisámetha* (Skr. *niśamayata*) 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. *disate* for Skr. *drīṣyate* "it is seen" (II, 5), *dajjhate* for Skr. *dahyate* "it is burnt" (III, 1); again *najjate* for Skr. *jñāyate* "it is known" (III, 25), *vāhijjate* for Skr. *vādhyate* "he is troubled" (III, 25).*

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

As to the participles, see the following section.

Conjugation of *bhan* "speak".

Present tense.

| Person. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
|-----------|-----------|--------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| Sing. 1st | भणामि | भणामि | भणामि | भणामि or भणमि |
| 2nd | भणसि | भणसि | भणसि | भणसि |
| 3rd | भणति | भणति | भणति | भणइ |
| Plur. 1st | भणामः | भणाम | भणामी | { भणामी or भणमी भणाम or भणम, etc. |
| 2nd | भणथ | भणथ | भणथ | भणह or भणित्थ |
| 3rd | भणन्ति | भणन्ति | भणन्ति | भणन्ति. |

Imperative.

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

Passive.

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------|-------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Sing. 3rd | भण्यते | { भञ्जते भण्यते — | { भण्यते भण्यन्ते | { भण्ये or भणइ भण्ये or ०च्यइ भण्यन्ते or ०ञ्जइ |
|-----------|--------|-------------------------|----------------------|---|

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

Causal.

| Person. | Sanskrit. | Páli. | Arsha. | Prákrit. |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Sing. 3rd | भाषयति | भाषेति भाषयति | भाषेति (भाषयति?) | भाषेइ भाषवेइ |

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 *kar* "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, *gihati* "he takes" (III, 23), *karati* "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 *arahañto* (II, 11) for Skr. *arhan*; pass. *bhijjantam* (II, 25) for Skr. *bhidyamánam*.

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

c, *ta* forms the participle past of the passive; e. g., *katam* (Skr. *krtam*, I, 23), *sutam* (Skr. *śrutam*, III, 2), *palátam* (Skr. *paláyitam*, I, 23), etc. After consonants it inserts *i* or is assimilated: thus *osaritam* (Skr. *apasaritam*, II, 23), *diṭṭham* (Skr. *drishṭam*, I, 27).

d, *tavva* (Skr. *tavya*) forms the participle future passive. Thus *sotavvam* (Skr. *śrotavyam*, III, 2), *kátavvam* (Skr. *kartavyam*, II, 4. III, 9, 29).

e, *ttá* or *ttu* (Skr. *tvá*) form the conjunctive participle. Thus *bhottum* (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 *ṭtu* by assimilation; e. g., *suchchá* (Skr. *śrutvá*, II, 19); *kaṭṭu* (Skr. *krtvá*, II, 19); or even *ppi*, as in *kappi* (Skr. *krtvá*, II, 19, cf. *gappi* of *gam* in the Apabhrañsa, 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 *iya* in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is *iya*. Hence the correct reading in II, 19 may be *vandíya*, and accordingly the suffix *iya* (not *o*).

g, *tána* or *ttána* (Skr. *tvána*) forms the conjunctive participle ; e. g., *bhottána* (Skr. *bhuktvá*, II, 19), *kátána* (Skr. *kṛtvá*, II, 5).

b, Nominal.

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

10, INDECLINABLES.

a, *ṇāi*, *cheya* or *chīya* (Skr. *eva*) express emphasis (II, 17). After short vowels *ch* is doubled ; thus *taṃ cheya*, but *sa chchīya*.

b, *piva*, *viva*, *viya*, *vva*, *va* (Skr. *iva*) express likeness (II, 22) ; thus *gimho viya*, *kamalaṃ viva* ; but *piva* apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvára, e. g., *chaṇḍanaṃ 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 sanhho*.

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

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

f, *tá* or *táva* (Skr. *távat*) and *jáva* (Skr. *yávat*) express measure (II, 21) ; e. g., *tá vichchinnam*, *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 evam*.

h, *o* (Skr. *ava* or *apa*) is a prefix (II, 23) ; e. g., *ohasitam* (Skr. *avahasi-tam*), *osaritam* (Skr. *apasaritam*).

ANALYSIS OF CHAṆḌA'S SÚTRAS

ON NOMINAL DECLENSION, I, 3. 5-10.*

The plan on which these sūtras 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 Prákrít. These forms are enumerated in sūtra I, 3.

Secondly, all those forms which are peculiar to Prákrít and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskrit forms are enumerated in the sūtras I, 5-16.

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

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

| | masc. <i>a</i> bases. | | masc. <i>i, u</i> bases. | | fem. <i>a, i, u</i> bases. | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | Sansk. | Prák. | Sansk. | Prák. | Sansk. | Prák. |
| Sing. | Nom. | — | Nom. | — | Nom. | — |
| | Acc. | — | Acc. | — | Acc. | — |
| | Instr. | — | Instr. | — | — | <i>Instr.</i> |
| | — | ABL. | — | Abl. | — | <i>Abl.</i> |
| | — | GEN. | — | GEN. | — | <i>Gen.</i> |
| | — | Loc. | — | Loc. | — | <i>Loc.</i> |
| | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Plur. | Nom. | — | — | Nom. | — | <i>Nom.</i> |
| | — | ACC. | — | Acc. | — | <i>Acc.</i> |
| | — | <i>INSTR.</i> | Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$ | <i>INSTR.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ | Instr. $\frac{1}{2}$ | <i>INSTR.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | — | <i>ABL.</i> | — | <i>ABL.</i> | — | <i>ABL.</i> |
| | Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$ | <i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ | Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$ | <i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ | Gen. $\frac{1}{2}$ | <i>GEN.</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| | 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 *no* 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 sūtras I, 5—16 are arranged. We have first (by No. 1) sūtras on the instr., abl. and gen. plural of all genders (*lingāt parasya*, I, 5—8); secondly (by No. 2) sūtras on the instr., abl., gen. and loc. sing., and the nom. and acc. plural of the feminine (*striyām*, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No. 3) sūtras on the abl. sing. and nom. acc. plural of the masculine (*pumsī*, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No. 4) sūtras on the gen. and the loc. singular of masculines (*pumsī*, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No. 5) sūtras on the abl. sing. and acc. plur. of the masculine (*pumlinge*, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sūtras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatical usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chāṇḍa commences with the sūtra 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 sūtra I, 3, and the Prākritic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sūtra 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 sūtra on the abl. plural

* The treatment of this case requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chāṇḍa was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prākritic instr. plur. suffix *hi* is really the same as the Skr. *bhis* (or *bhih*), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prākṛit (*i. e.*, by the rules III, 13, II, 10, 11). Accordingly there would have been no need of any special sūtra (I, 7), teaching the formation of the Prāk. 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 Chāṇḍa to formulate a special sūtra to meet the exceptional case of these masc. *a*-bases. Here came the dilemma. If he had made a special sūtra (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 sūtra for all bases, this would seem to imply that the suffix *hi* is altogether Prākritic (like the abl. plur. suffix *hinto* I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (*sanskṛitavad vibhakti*) and ought to be set down under sūtra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chāṇḍa did, was this: in order to indicate the Sanskritic character of the suffix *hi*, he mentioned it under sūtra I, 3, but excluded

which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision Chaṇḍa commences with the sūtra on the nom. and acc. plural, instead of that on the abl. singular, simply because the sūtra (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 sūtras I, 15 and I, 16 on the *a*-bases are parallel to the sūtras I, 11 and I, 12 on the *i*- and *u*-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sūtras. That the sūtras 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 sūtras 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 sūtra 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 sūtra I, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sūtra 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 sūtra I, 11 being thus limited to the *i*- and *u*-bases, the sūtra 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 sūtras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term *ataḥ* “after *a*-bases” in sūtra I, 15. At the same time, the two sūtras 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 sūtra (I, 7) in *general* terms (*hi dhisaḥ*), 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 sūtra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sūtra, 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 sūtra I, 12 is also indicated by the existence of sūtra I, 16. In fact, there are two sets of sūtras, *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 sūtras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in *i* and *u* only ; next two sūtras I, 13, 14 referring, partially, to both *a*-bases and *i*- and *u*-bases ; lastly two sūtras I, 15, 16 referring to *a*-bases only.

this again to be known? The reply is the same as before; by the examples. In sūtra 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 sūtra 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 sūtra I, 16, of course, the term *ataḥ* is again "implied" from the preceding sūtra; though its limitation to the *a*-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix *āt* (instead of *āsi*) used in the sūtra.

To return to the Sanskrit columns; they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prākṛit columns, and which are "*samskṛitavad*," that is, the same as in Sanskrit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prākṛit 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. *grāmaḥ*, Ar. *gāmao* (II, 10) = *gāmo* (II, 1; cf. Kachch. II, 1, 32. p. 48); or Skr. *piṭham*, Ar. *piṭha + am* = *piṭham* (II, 1; cf. Pāṇini VII, 1. 24. in Laghu Kaumudī, p. 83) or Skr. *agniḥ*, Ar. *aggi* (II, 10); or Skr. *dadhi*, Ar. *dahi* (II, 10; cf. Pāṇini VII, 1. 23. in L. K. p. 85); or Skr. *nadī*, Ar. *nai*; or Skr. *vadhūḥ*, Ar. *vahū* (II, 10). Acc. sing. Skr. *grāmam*, Ar. *gāma-am* = *gāmam* (II, 1; cf. Pāṇini VI, 1, 107 in L. K. p. 47); or Skr. *agnim*, Ar. *aggi + am* = *aggim* (cf. Pāṇini *ibid.*); or Skr. *gangām*, Ar. *gangām*; or Skr. *nadīm*, Ar. *naīm*, etc.

(2.) The nom. plural of masculine and neuter bases in *a*; thus Skr. *devāḥ*, Ar. *devā* (II, 10); or Skr. *kulāni*, Ar. *kulāni* or *kulāni* (III, 16).

* There can be no doubt that the forms *aggie*, *gurue* (or *aggie*, *gurūe* sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtless Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sūtra. For the forms have no support either from Pāli or from Prākṛit; 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 Prākṛit forms for the Sanskrit locatives *agnike*, *gurūke*, containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*. Nor can it be doubtful that the example *devassa soḥā* 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 *chakāragrahaṇḍt*, 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 Chāṇḍa'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 *chā*.

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

(4.) The instr. plural of all bases in *i* and *u* and of all three genders ; thus Skr. *agnibhiḥ*, Ar. *aggīhi* (II, 10. III, 13), or Skr. *nadibhiḥ*, Ar. *naḍhi*, etc. The Skr. suffix *bhiḥ* drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes *bh* to *h* by III, 13. The Arsha 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. *grāmānām*, Ar. *gāma + nam = gāmānām* (I, 5. II 1 ; cf. Pāṇini VI, 4. 3. and VII, 1. 54 in L. K. p. 51. ; *i. e.*, Skr. *nām* becomes *nam* by I, 5 ; but *nam* consists of the augment *n* and the real suffix *am*, and the final vowel of the base *gāma* becomes long *ā* 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*, Ar. *deva-su = devesu* (cf. Pāṇini VII, 3, 103 in L. K. p. 50), or Skr. *agnishu*, Ar. *aggisu* (III, 18), or Skr. *nadishu*, Ar. *naḍsu*, etc.

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

In MS. B a few additional forms are given in sūtra 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 sūtra, as some of the pronominal forms are very old tatsamas (*tasmim*, *tvayī*, etc.). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But *gāgā*, *tumhe* and *amhe* in the acc. plur. and *gāme*, *kule* in the loc. sing. are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sūtra, as the former forms come under sūtra I, 10, 15, the latter under sūtra 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 Arsha 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 *ṇā* 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 *ṇām*) of the gen. plur. (I, 5). Again the derivative suffixes *ṇīṇa* (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and

ttana (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle *ṇāi* (II, 17, but never the negative *ṇa*). 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 Ārsha 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. *nānam* (III, 6), but *nānam* (III, 19); *dhannam* (B C D, III, 27), but *dhannam* (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. *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4); gen. plur. *devānam* in I, 3 (but *buddhīnam*, *nāinam*, etc.) and *no* in the sūtra of I, 5 (but *ṇa* in all examples); *ttana* in II, 29 (in the comment, but *ttana* in the sūtra and in all examples); *ṇāi* in II, 17 (in the sūtra, but *ṇāi* 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 *ṇā* (I, 3), the abl. gen. sing. and nom. acc. plur. suffix *ṇo* (I, 11, 12), and in the derivative suffix *tūṇa* (II, 19). In the MS. A there are only two instances of want of uniformity; viz., the nom. plur. *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4), and *ṇāi* in II, 17 (only in the sūtra). 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 Ārsha 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 *ṇā*, 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 Prākṛit (at least in the Western Prākṛit), 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 Prākṛit 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* Prākṛit, 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 Máháráshtrí 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-sruti*, 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 $a+a$, 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-sruti* as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandra, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prákrit, allows the *ya-sruti* only in the more difficult

case of the hiatus between two *a* (H. C. I, 100). The non-Jain cultivators of Prākṛit (*e. g.*, Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the *ya-ṣṛuti* altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prākṛit 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 Prākṛit, both the Jaina and the Māhārāshṭrī. Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prākṛit, for it is still observed in the present day (*e. g.*, in Hīndī *joginda*, *narinda*, as well as *jogenda* and *narenda*). The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prākṛit was probably this. In the later Prākṛit 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 Prākṛit of Chaṇḍa. The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (*devinda* and *devenda*; *katujjoo* and *kaojjoo*); of these forms those with *e* and *o* (*devenda* and *kaojjoo*) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (*devendra*, *kṛitodyoga*) 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 Prākṛit 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-ṣṛuti*), 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 स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिरा[†] अक्षरैः ।

लक्षणं प्राकृतं[‡] वक्ष्ये किञ्चिद् वृद्धमताद् अहं ॥ १ ॥

कचिल् लोपः कचित् सन्धिः कचिद् वर्षविपर्ययः ।

(२) आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं ॥ २ ॥

॥ (४) अथ क्रमेण नवनवतिः सूत्राणि ॥

॥ १ ॥ सिद्धं^(१) प्राकृतं त्रेधा ॥ १ ॥

सिद्धं^(१) प्रसिद्धं प्राकृतं त्रेधा^(२) त्रिप्रकारं^(३) भवति^(४) ॥ (१०) संस्कृतयोनिः ।

तच्च चेदं ॥ यज्ञः^(११) जन्मो^(१२) । मात्रा मन्त्रा । **नित्यं निचं । इत्यादि^(१३) ॥

* C अचं वृद्धमतात् किञ्चित् प्राकृतं लक्षणं वक्ष्ये अक्षरैः स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिः शिरसा वीरं प्रणम्य ॥ † C व्यापिभिर व्यापनशैलैः ॥ ‡ C प्राकृतं । प्रकृतिः संस्कृतं । तत्रभवे ततः आगतं वा प्राकृतं । संस्कृतं स्वर्गिणा भाषा शब्दशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता । प्राकृतं तज्जं तत्तुल्यं देशादिकम् अनेकधा ॥ § C संस्कृतयोनि । संस्कृताद् योनिर् यस्य तत् संस्कृतयोनि ॥ || C यज्ञः यजनं । पुलिगे । यस्य जः (iii, 15 जज्ञः) । वर्षविशेषं कृत्वा प्राच पञ्चमो वा (iii, 6 जजः) । हजथानां रनखाः (iii, 19 जनः) । लोपे द्विलं (iii, 24 जन्नः) । एदोद्रलोपा विसर्जनीयस्य (ii, 10 जन्नयो) । खराणां खरे परे (ii, 1) जन्मो ॥ ¶ C मात्रा काल-विशेषः स्याद् वा अचिस्यन्दनप्रमाणकालः । स्त्रीलिङ्गे ॥ ** C नित्यं । नपुंसके ॥

(१) C prefixes ८० = 80 ; the same number occurs in the same place in a MS. of the Jain work *tatvārthādīgamaṃ mokṣhaśāstram*, in my possession ; D pref. ६० = 60. (२) C ओं नमः सिद्धेभ्यः ; D ओं नमः सिद्धं ॥ (३) So A ; C D read आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात् स सुभाषितात् ; B om. the second verse altogether. (४) So A ; B C D om. this clause. (५) B om. this sūtra, giving only the commentary. (६) B om. (७) B त्रिधा ॥ (८) A D om. (९) A B om. (१०) So D ; A B C योनिः ॥ (११) A यज्ञः, B यज्ञाः ॥ (१२) A जन्म, B जन्माः, C D जन्मो ॥ (१३) A B om.

(१) संस्कृतसमं* । तच् चेदं । सूर्यो । सोमो । जालं^(२) । कंदलं^(३) ।
कोमलं^(४) । इत्यादि ॥ देशीप्रसिद्धं^(५) (C D^(६)) । तच् चेदं ॥ हर्षि-
तं^(७) ल्हसिञ्च । ^(७)स्यष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्वलितं ^(८)पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्जलीय ।
इत्यादि ॥

॥ २ ॥ लिंगं च^(९) ॥ २ ॥

प्राकृते लिंगम् अपि त्रेधा^(१०) चिप्रकारं^(११) भवति ॥ देवो^(१२) ।
गंगा^(१३) । कुलं ॥

॥ ३ ॥ तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात् लिंगात् पराः संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयो^(१४) भवन्ति ॥ सि^(१५) ॥ देवोः[†] ।
अग्निः[‡] । रिपु^(१६) । बुद्धि^(१७) । धेनु^(१८) । नदी^(१९) । वृह^(२०) । पीठं^(२१) ।

* C संस्कृतसमं संस्कृतेन समं ॥ † C सूर्यो रविः । सोमो चन्द्रः । जालं पाशः । कंदलं
कलहः । कोमलं सुकुमारं ॥ ‡ C देवः । एदोद्रं (ii, 10 देवश्चो) । खराणां खरे प्रकृति-
लोपसंघयः (ii, 1) देवो । § C अग्नी अग्निः । ग्राचं (iii, 6 अग्निः) । लोपं (iii, 24
अग्निः) । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4 अग्नीः) । एदोद्रं (ii, 10) अग्नी ॥ ॥ C वृह । चो
खघघभानां (iii, 13) ॥

(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 स् or सु for a final anusvāra 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 पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्जली । (९)
B चम् ॥ (१०) A B त्रेधा ॥ (११) A D om., B चिःप्रकारं ॥ (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 *si* and *u*, where the text has *i* and *u*, and C D add the
Skr. translations देवः । अग्निः । रिपुः । बुद्धिः । धेनुः । नदी । वृह । पीठः । हर्षि-
सप्त । लं । अहं । देवाः । कुलानि । etc. (१६) C D add गुरुः । गुरु ॥ (१७) A B
बुद्धीः; C D om. this example. (१८) B धेनुः; C D धेनू ॥ (१९) A C D नदी ॥
(२०) A C वृह ॥ (२१) C पीठः । पीठो ॥

दहि । मज्ज । त्वं^(१) । अहं^(२) ॥ जस् ॥ देवा^(३) । कुलानि^(४) । वयं^(५)
 तुह्ये अह्ये । (C D) ॥ अस्म^(६) ॥ देवं । अग्निं । गुरुं^(७) । (८) गंगां* ।
 बुद्धिं^(९) । घेनुं । नदीं^(१०) । पीठं^(११) । दधिं । मज्जं । (१२) त्वां मां
 तां रक्त्वत्^(१३) ॥ अस्त्^(१४) (B C D) ॥ दा ॥ देवेण^(१५) । गुरुणा^(१६) ।
 दहिणा^(१७) ॥ भिसू ॥ अग्निहिं^(१८) । रिपुहिं^(१९) । बुद्धिहिं^(२०) । नदीहिं^(२१) ।
 दहिहिं । मज्जहिं^(२२) । † तुह्येहिं^(२३) । अह्येहिं^(२४) ॥ ङास्म^(२५) (B C D) ॥
 भ्यस्^(२६) (C D) ॥ ङस्^(२७) (B C D) ॥ आम् ॥ देवाणां^(२८) ।
 बुद्धीणां^(२९) । घेनुणां^(३०) । नदीणां^(३१) । तेषां^(३२) † तेसिं^(३३) ॥ ङि^(३४)

* C गंगां गंगां । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन गंगं ॥ † C घेनुं । (घेनु-अस्म) ।
 खराणां (ii, 1 घेनु-अस् or घेनुस्) । खरो (ii, 4 घेनुस्) । अदागमो (ii, 11 घेनुं) ॥
 † C युष्माभिः । युष्मादे यस् तः (iii, 17 तुष्माभिः) । रश्माणां सः (iii, 18 तुष्माभिः) ।
 वर्गे (iii, 3 तुष्माभिः) । श्चयोर् (iii, 23 तुष्माभिः) । खरो (ii, 4 तुष्मभिः) । अदागमो
 (ii, 11 तुष्मभिः) । ङि भिसः (i, 7) तुह्येहिं ॥ † C तेषां । तेषां । रश्माणां सः (iii, 18
 तेषां) । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन षाम् इति सिं भवति । तेषिं ॥

(१) So A (see Kacc. ii, 2, 21), B तुमस्, C D तुमं (२) D अहं and, after
 it, adds इत्यादि ॥ (३) A देवाः, B देवः (of. 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 । घेनुं । पीठं । मज्जं । त्वां । मां तं रक्त्वथो, om. the rest of
 the examples of the acc. sing.; C D add the Skr. translations देवं ।
 अग्निं । गुरुं । गंगां । बुद्धिं । घेनुं । नदीं । पीठं । दधिं । मधुं ॥ (७) C D add रिपुं रिपुं
 (D in MS. रिपुं) ॥ (८) So B; C D गंगं ॥ (९) B D बुद्धिं ॥ (१०) C D नदीं, A
 B om. (११) A B पीठं ॥ (१२) A reads त्वा मां तं रं, B C त्वां मां तं रं नं रं, D
 त्वां तं मां तं रं ॥ (१३) A B रक्त्वथो, C D रक्त्वत् ॥ (१४) A om.; see App. B C D.
 (१५) B देवेन; C D add Skr. देवेन । गुरुणा । दधा ॥ (१६) B C D add मज्जणा ॥
 (१७) D adds दहिणा ॥ (१८) A B C D अग्नीहिं ॥ (१९) C रिपुहिं, D रिपुहिं; 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 बुद्धीहिं, C बुं; D बुद्धिहिं and adds गुरुहिं ॥ (२१)
 C D नदीहिं ॥ (२२) B C D दहौहिं, मज्जहिं ॥ (२३) B D read ङ्घो ॥ (२४) A om.;
 see App. B C D. (२५) B देवानां (see i, 5); D adds Skr. देवानां ॥ (२६) D बुं ॥
 (२७) A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen. plur.; C D घेनुणां ॥
 (२८) C D ङास्म ॥ (२९) B D तेषां, C om. (३०) C D add जेसिं । गिरीषं ॥

(BCD) ॥ अथ ॥ देवेषु^(१) । अग्निसु^(२) । बुद्धिसु^(३) । माला-
सु^(४) । नईसु^(५) । कुलेसु^(६) । तुन्देसु^(७) । अन्धेसु^(८) । (CD) ॥
इत्यादि^(९) ॥

॥ ४ ॥ क्वचित् व्यत्ययः* ॥ ७ ॥

एषां लिङ्गानां क्वचिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जम्^(१०) ॥ विष्णुषोः ।
देवाणि^(११) रक्त्वंतु^(१२) ॥

॥ ५ ॥ भागमस्याथ अनागमो हो^(१३) वा ॥ ५ ॥

(१५) सागमस्याथ अनागमस्यापि एकारो भवति हो वा ॥ ताणं ताहं ॥
देवाणं^(१६) देवाहं । कम्भाणं । कम्भाहं । (१७) सरिताणं सरिताहं । (CD) ।
(१८) तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ । (CD) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ संख्याया^(१९) उहः ॥ ६ ॥

* C व्यत्ययः । विपर्ययः ॥ † C विष्णुषोः । विद्युत् । अदागमो (ii, 11 विद्यु) ।
वर्माद् (iii, 5 विद्) । तवर्गस्य (iii, 16 विज्) । लोपे (iii, 24 विज्) । षो
लस्य (i, 12 विष्णुषो) ॥ ‡ C ताणं ताहं । तेषां ॥ § C सर्वेषां शब्दानां अये आम्
करणीयं । एकस्मिन् स्थाने एः द्वितीयस्थाने हो विकल्पेन द्वौ कर्तव्यौ ॥ ॥ C देवानां ।
कर्मणां । सरितां । शुष्माकं ॥

(१) A om., D देवेषु; B prefixes Skr. देवेषु ॥ (२) A B अग्नीसु, CD
अग्नीसुं ॥ (३) A बुद्धीसु, B C बु०, D बुद्धीसुं ॥ (४) A C om., CD add
मालासुं ॥ (५) A om., C एईसु, D एईसुं ॥ (६) CD om. (७) D तुन्देसु,
and adds तुन्देसुं ॥ (८) B अन्धेसु, C अन्धेसुं, D अन्धेसुं ॥ (९) BCD एवमादि
द्रष्टव्यं ॥ (१०) So A; BCD एसो जसो, CD add एसो । कुलो ॥ (११) C
add देवाहं देवाहं; D adds देवाहं ॥ (१२) D रक्त्वंतो ॥ (१३) B नो ॥ (१४) D
om. (१५) B सागमस्याथ अनागम ॥ (१६) B om. (१७) ACD सरियाणं
सरियाहं; B सरियाणां सरियाहं; D prefixes सरितां ॥ (१८) A B तुम्हाणं
तुम्हाहं; D तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ (१९) CD संख्यायाः ॥

संख्यायाः परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप् आसो एहो भवति ॥ (C D) ।

*पंचपहं । †तीसपहं^(१) । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 6^a ॥ (C D) ॥ ६^a ॥

॥ 7 ॥ हि^(२) भिषः ॥ ७ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भिषो हि^(२) भवति ॥ देवेहिं[‡] । गामेहिं^(३) । (C D) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ हितो^(४) भ्यसः ॥ ८ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भ्यसो^(४) हितो भवति ॥ गामेहितो^(६) । सिद्धे-
हितो^(७) । बुद्धिहितो^(८) । धेनुहितो^(९) । नईहितो^(१०) । तुहेहितो^(११) ।
अन्हेहितो^(१२) ॥

॥ 9 ॥ हतीयादीनाम् एलम्^(१३) एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥ ९ ॥

हतीयादीनां टाडसिडम्डि वचनानां स्त्रियां ए भवति ॥ गंगाए[‡] ।
बुद्धीए^(१४) । नईए^(१५) । वह्वए^(१६) । तीए^(१७) । ताए ॥ ॥

॥ 10 ॥ ओउलोपा^(१८) जसशसोः^(१९) ॥ १० ॥

* C पंचपहं । पंचानां ॥ पंचन् । अदागमो (ii, 11 पंच) । संख्याया पदः (i, 6 पंचपह) । अनुखारो (ii, 15 पंचपह) ॥ † C तीसपहं । तिस्रतां ॥ तिस्रत् । रेफः (iii, 9 तिस्रत्) । अनुखारो (ii, 15 तिस्रत्) । खरो (ii, 4 तीस्रत्) । रश्पाषां सः (iii, 18 तीस्रत्) । तस्य च इत्य् अनेन तलोपः (iii, 33 तीस) । संख्याया पदः (i, 6 तीसपह) । अनुखारो (ii, 15 तीसपह) ॥ ‡ C देवेहिं । देवैः ॥ § C गंगाए । गंगया । गंगायाः । गंगायाः । गंगार्यां ॥ ॥ C तीए ताए । तथा तस्याः । तस्याः । तस्यां ॥

(१) A तीसपहं ; C D prefix वीसपहं । (२) B C D हिं ॥ (३) C D om. ; but see App. C D. (४) A हितो ॥ (५) A भिषो ॥ (६) A C om., B D गामेहितो ; D prefixes गामेभ्यः ॥ (७) A सिद्धेहितो, B सिद्धाहितो ; C D read देवेहिंतो and add अगीहिंतो । गुरुहिंतो ॥ (८) B C बुद्धीहिंतो, A D बु० ॥ (९) C D धेनुहिंतो, A B धेनु० ॥ (१०) C D नईहिंतो ॥ (११) B D तुहो० and अहो० ॥ (१२) A om. ; see i, 29. (१३) A एकलम्, B एवम् ॥ (१४) A B D बु० ॥ (१५) C D नईए ॥ (१६) A व० ॥ (१७) C D ताए । तीए ॥ (१८) A ओउ० ; B उओलोपो ॥ (१९) C D जसशसोः, B जसशोः ॥

स्त्रियां वर्त्तमानयोर्^(१) जशसोर्^(२) ओङ्लोपाश्च च भवन्ति^(३) ॥
^(४)मालाओ मालाङ माला । ^(५)बुद्धीओ बुद्धीङ बुद्धी । ^(६)धेनूओ
 धेनूङ धेनू । नर्दओ नर्दङ नर्द* ॥ एवं शसोऽपि ॥

॥ 10^a ॥ (CD) ॥ १०^a ॥

॥ 11 ॥ पुंसि पूर्व्वत्^(७) ॥ ११ ॥

पुंसि^(८) पुंसिगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जशसोः^(२) पूर्व्वस्वरोऽं भवति ॥
 अग्नी^(९) । गुरु ॥

॥ 11^a ॥ C ॥ ११^a ॥

॥ 12 ॥ षो ङसेश्च ॥ १२ ॥

पुंसिगे वर्त्तमानयोर् जशसोर्^(२) षो भवति । पंचम्येकवचनस्य च ॥
 अग्निषो जलन्ति । षुष्णिषो पस्स^(१०) ॥ गिरिषो एति^(११) नर्द^(१२) ॥

॥ 13 ॥ स्सश्च^(१३) च ङसः^(१४) ॥ १३ ॥

पुंसि वर्त्तमानस्य ङसो षो भवति । स्सश्च^(१३) च भवति^(१४) ॥ षुष्णिषो

* 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 ^{१३}मालाओ ॥ † C यादृशः पूर्व्वशब्दस्य खरस्तादृश एव कर्त्तव्यः ॥ ‡ C अग्रयः
 ज्वलन्ति ॥ § C मुनीन् पश्य ॥ ॥ C गिरेः सकाशात् एति नदी । B गिरितः एति व्रतौ ॥
 ¶ B मुनेः रूपं ॥

(१) A reads वर्त्तमाना एते भवन्ति ॥ (२) CD जशसोर् ॥ (३) B reads ङ
 ओ भवन्ति । लोपो भवति ॥ (४) A has final ओँ, and D has final ङ, instead
 of ओ, in all examples; exc. D नर्दओ; B places मालाङ मालाओ and
 so on throughout. (५) B वु० in all three examples. (६) A CD षू for नू
 in all three examples. (७) B पूर्व्वत् ॥ (८) A om. (९) CD prefix देवा ॥
 (१०) B पस्सन्ति ॥ (११) A B C एद्, D एर्द् ॥ (१२) A C D एर्द्, B वर्द् ॥ (१३) B
 सश्च ॥ (१४) A ङसो षः ॥ (१५) A om.

(१) रूपं (२) मुणिसू रूपं । *अग्निषो सिहा अग्निस्स सिहा ॥ (३) देवस्स सोहा । (CD) ॥

॥ 14 ॥ ए स्मि डः ॥ १४ ॥

पुंसि डिवचनस्य ए^(४) भवति । स्मि च भवति ॥ (५) अग्निस्मि ।
(६) गुरुस्मि ॥ (७) गामे गामस्मि ॥

॥ 15 ॥ (८) इ प्रसोऽतः ॥ १५ ॥

अतः^(९) अकाराद् उत्तरस्य शसः^(१०) पुङ्क्तिगे ए भवति ॥ देवे ॥
वंभणे^(११) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ (१२) तोतुहितोलोपात् तस्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

(१२) पंचमी-आतः आदेशतकारस्य^(१४) तोतुहितोलोपा^(१५) एते

* BC अग्नेः शिखा ॥ † C देवस्य शोभा ॥ ‡ C अग्नौ ॥ अग्नी । अग्नी or अग्निषो (i, 11. 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्निं । अग्नी or अग्निषो (i, 11. 12) ॥ २ ॥ अग्निषा (i, 6^a) । अग्नीहिं (i, 7) ॥ ३ ॥ अग्निषो or अग्निस्स । अग्नीणं or अग्नीहं (ii, 13. i, 5) ॥ ४ ॥ अग्निषो (i, 12) । अग्नीहितो (i, 8) ॥ ५ ॥ अग्निषो or अग्निस्स (i, 13) । अग्नीणं or अग्नीहं (i, 5) ॥ ६ ॥ अग्निर^(१६) or अग्निस्मि (i, 14) । अग्नीसु or अग्नीसुं (i, 3. ii, 15) ॥ ७ ॥ हे अग्नी । हे अग्नी or हे अग्निषो ॥ एवं इकारांतानां सर्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ § C गुरो । गुरु । गुरु or गुरुषो ॥ १ ॥ गुरुं । गुरु or गुरुषो ॥ २ ॥ गुरुणा । गुरुहिं ॥ ३ ॥ गुरुषो or गुरुस्स । गुरुणं or गुरुह ॥ ४ ॥ गुरुषो । गुरुहितो ॥ ५ ॥ गुरुषो or गुरुस्स । गुरुणं or गुरुहं ॥ ६ ॥ गुरर^(१६) or गुरुस्मि । गुरुसु or गुरुसुं ॥ ७ ॥ हे गुरु । हे गुरु or हे गुरुषो ॥ एवं उकारांतानां सर्वेषां रूपाणि ॥ ॥ C देवान् । ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(१) A reads पस्स (see i, 12) ; B C D रूपं ॥ (२) C D रूपं ; A B om. मुणिसू रूपं । अग्निषो सिहा ॥ (३) C places देवस्स सोहा before अग्निस्स सिहा ; A B om. (४) C D एस्मि च भवति ॥ (५) A prefixes अग्निर, B C D अग्नौ ॥ (६) D prefixes गुरर, C गुरुह ; but not A B. (७) C D prefix देवे । देवस्मि ॥ (८) B om. this sūtra and its commentary. (९) A अतो अकाराद् ॥ (१०) D शसः ॥ (११) A वंभणे (see ii, 15). (१२) A B C D read ओउ० for तोतु०, and C D insert हिं after उ ; B has the marginal note हिं ऋटि ॥ (१३) A पंचमी आगत आदे०, B पंचमी अत आदे०, C पंचमी अत । आदे०, D पंचत् परस्य आदे० ; C had originally आत, but the long *ā* is changed to *a* by yellow pigment. (१४) B आदेशतकारस्य ॥ (१५) A B C D ओउ० for तोतु० ॥ * (१६) MS. अग्नी and गुरुह ॥

आदेशा भवन्ति^(१) ॥ (२) गयणातो* । गयणात् । गयणाहितो^(२) ।
गयणा^(४) ॥

॥ 17 ॥ तदिदमोः^(५) से षष्ठीरूपायां^(६) ॥ १७ ॥

तद्^(७) इदम् अनयोर् एकत्वद्वित्वऊत्वेषु स्त्रीपुनपुंसकेषु 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 ॥ युष्मद् ॥ १८ ॥

अत^(१६) ऊर्द्धं युष्मदध्यायो भवति ॥

* C गगनात् । कगचज० (or कदतीय० iii, 34) इत्यनेन गकारस्य लोपः (गचन) ।
अस्थिते यत्वम् अचर्णः (or य० अचर्णं iii, 35 गचन) । तदगस्य० (iii, 16 गचण) । खरो०
(ii, 4 गयणा) । षो० (i, 16) इति गयणाद्यो ॥ † C गयणो (१७) । गयणा । हे गयणो ।
हे गयणा ॥ १ ॥ गयणं । गयणा or गयणे (i, 15) ॥ २ ॥ गयणेण । गयणेहिं or गयणेचि or
गयणेहिं ॥ ३ ॥ गयणस्सु । गयणाणं or गयणाहं ॥ ४ ॥ गयणाद्यो or गयणाद्य or गयणाहिं or
गयणाहितो or गयणा । गयणेहिंते ॥ ५ ॥ गयणस्सु । गयणाणं or गयणाहं ॥ ६ ॥ गयणे
or गयणमि । गयणेद्यु or गयणेद्युं ॥ ७ ॥ एवं सर्वेषां अकारान्तानां रूपं नेयं ॥ ‡ C युष्म-
च्चदस्य रूपाणि ॥ तुमं । तुम्हे ॥ १ ॥ तुर or तुमं । तुम्भे ॥ २ ॥ ते or तुमे or तद्
or तर । तुम्हेहिं or तुम्हेचि or तुम्हेहिं ॥ ३ ॥ तुह or तुज्ज् or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं or
तुम्हाहं or तुम्ह ॥ ४ ॥ तुम्हाहिं or तुम्हाहितो or तुम्हाद्यो or तद्दन्तो । तुम्हेहिंते ॥ ५ ॥
तुह or तुज्ज् or तुम्ह । तुम्हाणं or तुम्हाहं or तुम्ह ॥ ६ ॥ तद् or तुममि । तुम्हेद्यु
or तुम्हेद्युं ॥ ७ ॥

(१) A adds हिंस्र; B C D insert हिं after •तु० ॥ (२) A गयणाद्यो, गयणञ्
with ऌ, B C D गयणाद्यो । गयणाञ् (with ऌ). (३) A गयणाहितो (with ऌ); it
also adds गयणाहिं (with ऌ), while B C D prefix it. (४) C D add एवं देवाद्यः ॥
(५) A B D •मो ॥ (६) A om. षष्ठी ॥ (७) C D तत् ॥ (८) A B तस्या ॥ (९) So A;
B C D रूपं ॥ (१०) A B C गुणा ॥ (११) A D गुणाः ॥ (१२) A B om. the two last
examples. (१३) A B C D रूपं ॥ (१४) D om. this example, but, on the other
hand, adds तयोः रूपं से रूपं । तायां रूपं से रूपं ॥ (१५) B •व्या ॥ (१६) C D अतः ॥
(१७) So in MS., as माश्.

॥ 19 ॥ (१) तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥ १८ ॥

युष्मच्छब्दस्य सविभक्तेः सौ परतः^(१) तुमं आदेशो भवति ॥ (१) तुमं देवो^(४) ॥ (CD) ॥

॥ 20 ॥ (५) अग्निं तुष्ट^(६) च ॥ २० ॥

युष्मदो अग्निं परे^(७) तुमं भवति तुष्ट च । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमं भणामि* तुष्ट भणामि^(८) ॥ (CD) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ (९) तुम्भे^(१०) जसि ॥ २१ ॥

युष्मदो^(११) जसि परे तुम्भे^(१०) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्भे^(१०) †मनुस्मै^(१२) स्मरा^(१३) ॥

॥ 22 ॥ तुम्भे^(१४) शसि ॥ २२ ॥

युष्मदः^(१५) शसि परे तुम्भे^(१४) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुम्भे^(१४) †मनुस्मै^(१६) भणामि^(१७) ॥

* C भणामि । संस्कृतसमम् अत्र ॥ † C माणुस्मै । मनुष्य ॥ स्मरो० (ii, 4 माणुष्य) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 माणुष्य) । रश्मिणां सः (iii, 18 माणुष्य) । श्वलोभ्यो० (iii, 2 माणुष्य) । सोपे० (iii, 24 माणुस्मै) । पंसि० (i, 11 माणुस्मै) । स्मराणां० (ii, 1) माणुस्मै ॥ ‡ C here gives the same gloss as the preceding, omitting only the initial स्मरो० ॥

(१) C reads नं तु तुवं तुचं ॥ तुमं सौ स०; D नं तुं तुवं तुचं तुमं सौ स० ॥ (२) CD read परत एते पंच आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ (३) C reads नं तु तुवं तुचं ॥ लं तुमं द्विदो ॥ (४) C द्विदो, D द्विदो ॥ (५) CD place this sūtra after the following. (६) CD add तुमं तं ॥ (७) CD read तुष्ट तुमं तं च भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ (८) CD place this example before the other, and add तं भणामि ॥ (९) CD place this sūtra before the preceding one. (१०) So B, A तुम्भे, C तुम्भे, D तुम्भे ॥ (११) A places जसि परे after भवति ॥ (१२) So B; A मणुस्मै, C D माणुस्मै; in C मणुस्मै is corrected by later hand, but the original reading (माणुस्मै) is supported by the marginal gloss (q. v.). (१३) A स्मरा, B श्ररा; C D add the Skr. translation चूर्णं मनुष्याः श्रराः (C in MS. स्मराः) ॥ (१४) A तुम्भे, B तुम्भे ॥ (१५) A ऽदश् ॥ (१६) A मणुस्मै, C D मणुस्मै ॥ (१७) CD add Skr. युष्मान् मनुष्यान् भणामि ॥

॥ २३ ॥ ते तुमे तद् तए टार्था^(१) ॥ २३ ॥

युग्मदः^(२) टावचने ^(३)परे ते तुमे तद् तए एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्तेः ॥ किं^(४) ते कतं^(५) । तुमे *दिट्टो^(६) । तद् मज्झं^(७) कतं^(५) ।
तए पलातं^(८) ॥

॥ २४ ॥ तुमाहिं तुमाहितो^(९) तुमातो^(१०) तद्दत्तो^(११) पंचम्यां ॥ २४ ॥

युग्मदः^(१२) पंचम्येकवचने परे तुमाहिं^(१३) तुमाहितो^(१४) तुमातो^(१५)
तद्दत्तो^(१६) एते आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमाहिं अहं सूरो^(१७)
तुमाहितो^(१०) अहं सुहज्रो^(१८) । १ तुमातो^(१०) अहं ॥ नाणौ^(१९) ।
तद्दत्तो^(११) निक्खंतो^(२०) ॥ (C D) ॥

* C दिट्टो । दृष्टः ॥ खरारि० (ii, 5) इत्य् अनेन सूत्रेण दृ इत्य् अस्स दि भवति (दिष्टः) ।
वर्गे (iii, ३) इत्य् अनेन सूत्रेण दृ इति प्रकारस्य लोपः । ट स्थितं (दिष्टः) । लोपे० (iii, 24
दिष्टः) । तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दिष्टः) । एदोद्ग० (ii, 10 दिष्टो) । खरारि० (ii, 1 दिट्टो) ॥
† C B लया मध्यं कृतं ॥ ‡ B पलातं । प्रलातं ॥ C पलत्तं । प्रलत्तं ॥ § B लदहं
ज्ञानी ॥ ॥ C ज्ञानी । वर्षाविस्त्रेपे कृते सति ज्ञा इति स्थितं । शाब्द० (iii, 6) इत्य् अनेन
जलोपः (जानी) । हजथानां० (iii, 19 नानी) । तवर्गोस्य० (iii, 16 नाणौ) ॥

(१) B च टा ॥ (२) A C D ०दप् ॥ (३) A om. परे-एते incl. (४) A किन्ते ॥
(५) A B C D कथं; C D add the Skr. translations किं लया कृतं । लया दृष्टः ।
लया मस (B मध्यं in marginal gloss, q. v.) कृतं । लया प्रलत्तं (so C; D प्रलपितं) ॥
(६) A B दिट्टो, C दिट्टो, D दिट्टो (?) ॥ (७) A मज्झ कथं, B संबन्धियं, C D मज्झ कथं ॥
(८) A पलात, B पलातं, C पलत्तं, D पलत्तितं ॥ (९) B तुमाहिं ॥ (१०) A D तुमाउ,
B C तुमाओ ॥ (११) C D तद्दत्तो ॥ (१२) A ०दप् ॥ (१३) A तुमाहिं इत्यादयः, om.
the other forms. (१४) B तुमाहितो, A om. (१५) B C तुमाओ, D तुमाउ, A om.
(१६) B सूरो; D adds the Skr. translations लदु अहं शूरः । लदु अहं सुभगः । लदु
अहं ज्ञानी । लदु अहं निष्क्रान्तः, C om. them in the text, but gives them in the
marginal gloss. (१७) A om. तुमाहितो ॥ (१८) B orig. संहज्रो, corr. सु०; D
सुहज्रः ॥ (१९) B जाणौ, A C D णौ (see iii, G. iii, 19). (२०) So D; C णि०,
A निक्खान्तो, B रक्खवंतो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तुह तुज्झ^(१) तुन्ह^(२) षष्ठ्यां ॥ २५ ॥

युग्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे (२) तुह तुज्झ^(४) तुन्ह^(५) एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्तेः ॥ *तुह शीलं^(६) । तुज्झ^(१) कलाओ^(७) । तुन्ह^(८) गुणा^(९) ॥

॥ 25^a ॥ C D ॥ २५^a ॥

॥ 25^b ॥ C D ॥ २५^b ॥

॥ 26 ॥ असदः ॥ २६ ॥

अत^(१०) ऊर्द्ध^(११) असदध्यायो भवति^(१२) ॥

॥ 26^a ॥ C D ॥ २६^a ॥

॥ 26^b ॥ C D ॥ २६^b ॥

॥ 26^c ॥ C D ॥ २६^c ॥

॥ 26^d ॥ C D ॥ २६^d ॥

॥ 27 ॥ मे मए टार्यां ॥ २७ ॥

असदः^(१३) टावचने परे मे मए भवतः । सविभक्तेः^(१४) ॥ मे कतं^(१५) ।
मए दिट्टं^(१६) ॥

॥ 28 ॥ मदत्तो^(१७) ऊसो ॥ २८ ॥

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

(१) A तुम्ह, B तुम्ह ॥ (२) B तुज्झ, C D तुन्हः ॥ (३) A om. तुह, तुज्झ, तुन्ह ॥
(४) B तुम्ह ॥ (५) B तुज्झ, D तुन्हा ॥ (६) A शीलं ॥ (७) A कलाओ, B कला ॥
(८) A B तुज्झ ॥ (९) A गुणा ॥ (१०) B इत, D अतः ॥ (११) B C D ऊर्द्ध ॥
(१२) A निरूप्यते ॥ (१३) A C दप् ॥ (१४) A B om. (१५) A B C D कतं ;
C D add the Skr. translations मया कतं । मया दृष्टं ॥ (१६) A दिट्ट, B दिट्टं ॥
(१७) So A ; B C D मदतो ॥

अस्मदः^(१) पञ्चमेकवचने परे मद्दत्तो^(२) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ *मद्दत्तो^(३)
तुमं सूरो^(४) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ अन्दाहितो^(५) भ्यसि ॥ २९ ॥

अस्मदो^(६) भ्यसि परे अन्दाहितो^(५) भवति । सविभक्तेः^(७) ॥ अन्दाहितो^(८)
तुमं सूरो^(९) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ ^(१०)मह मज्झ^(११) ङसि ॥ ३० ॥

अस्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे मह मज्झ^(११) भवतः । सविभक्तेः ॥ मह
शीलं^(१२) । मज्झ गुणा^(१३) ॥

॥ 31 ॥ अन्धम्^(१४) आमि ॥ ३१ ॥

अस्मद्^(१५) आमि परे अन्धं^(१६) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अन्धं^(१६) चिय
ते दोषा^(१७) ॥

॥ 31* ॥ ॥ CD ॥ ३१* ॥

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

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

(१) A ०दभ ॥ (२) C D मद्दत्तो; B दत्तो om. म; A से मर भवतः (see i, 27).
(३) A मद्दत्तो, B C D मद्दत्तो ॥ (४) A शूरः; B places it before तुमं; D adds
Skr. translation लं शूरः ॥ (५) A अन्दाहितो ॥ (६) B ०दः ॥ (७) A B C om.
(८) A अन्दाहितो, B अन्दा ॥ (९) A शूरः ॥ (१०) B om. sūtra and comment,
but gives the examples. (११) A मज्झ, C D मज्झो ॥ (१२) A शीलं; C D add
मज्झ शीलं । मह गुणा ॥ (१३) B शील ॥ (१४) D अन्धम् ॥ (१५) B C D ०दः ॥
(१६) D अन्धं ॥ (१७) B दोषाः; C D add the Skr. translation अस्माकन् एव ते
दोषाः ॥ (१८) MS. चिलं ॥

॥ II ॥ अथ स्वरविधानम् आह ॥ २ ॥

॥ 1^a ॥ D ॥ १^a ॥॥ I ॥ 1 ॥ खराणां खरे^(१) प्रकृतिरलोपसंधयः ॥ १ ॥

खराणां खरे परे^(२) (२) प्रकृतिर लोपस् संधयश् च भवन्ति । *इह^(३)
 अच्छति^(४) । इहच्छति^(५) । इहागतो^(६) ॥ इमह^(७) इव हितो ।
 ॥ देविद्वंदितो^(८) । ॥ सक्तीसाणा^(१०) ॥ **स ईसरो^(११) । †तियसीसो^(१२) ।
 ††गह्वेसो^(१३) ॥ †††चंदुज्जला^(१४) । ††††तपोपरोहो ॥ (१५) सा ऊढा ।
 ††††नीसाम्सासा^(१६) । ***मोरो^(१७) ॥ †††††गामत्रो^(१८) गामो ॥

* C इह अच्छति । प्रकृति । अथ तिष्ठति । अस्य साधनिका । खरो० (ii, 4) इत्य् अनेन
 अकारस्य इ भवति (इत्) । रेफ० (iii, 9 इत्) । प्रथम० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्य
 थकारः (इथ) । पुनः प्रथम० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन थकारस्य घकारः (इध) । सो० (iii, 13 इह) ।
 इह इति सिद्धं ॥ तिष्ठति(१९) । कगचज्ज० (iii, 34 इहति) । खरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन
 दकारस्य अकारः (अइति) । षाहः (iii, 8 अषति) । रग्रपा० (iii, 18 अषति) । सस्य खह्वः
 (iii, 14 अक्षति) । लोपे० (iii, 24) नस्मिन्० (iii, 26 अच्छति) । पुनः कगचज्ज० (iii,
 34 अच्छति) ॥ † B C अथ अकारस्य लोपः ॥ †† B इहागतः । C संधिः । अथ आगतः ॥
 § B मख इव हितः ॥ ††† C लोपः । देवेन्द्रवन्दितः ॥ †††† B शक्रस्य(२०) ईशानस्य । अलोपः ॥
 C लोपः । शक्र अमे ईशान । द्विवयणे वडवयणे (see ii, 12) । शक्रस्य ईशानस्य
 शक्रेशानो ॥ ** B स ईश्वरः । C संधिः । शच्या ईश्वरः । शचीश्वरः ॥ ††† C लोपः । निदश
 अये ईशः । निदशेशः । निदशानां ईशः ॥ †††† C संधिः । ग्रहाणां ईशः ॥ ††††† C लोपः ।
 चंद्र अये उज्वला । चंद्रवत् उज्वला ॥ †††††† B तपसः उपरोधः । C संधिः । तपोपरोधः ॥
 ††††††† B निःश्वासस्य उक्त्वासस्य । अलोपः । C लोपः । (२१) निःश्वासस्य उक्त्वासस्य । निःश्वासे-
 क्त्वासो ॥ *** C संधिः । मोरो । मशूरः ॥ †††††† B ग्रामतः ग्रामः । C ग्रामात् गामो । प्रकृतिः ।
 गामो गामो । संधिः । ग्रामान् ग्रामः । but see note to translation.

(१) B om. (२) B C D परतः ॥ (३) So A B ; C D प्रकृतिरलोपसंधयश्च ॥ (४) A
 has only the examples marked * and §, om. all others ; B places *, §, †, ††.
 (५) A अच्छति, B C D अच्छति ॥ (६) B C D इहच्छति ॥ (७) B इहागत, C इहागस्यो, D
 इहागस्य ॥ (८) A मख इव हित, B मख इव हित्य (see marginal gloss), C D om. this
 example. (९) B ०दिज, D ०दिज, A C om. (see ii, 2). (१०) B ०शाणे, A om.
 (११) C D सईसरो, B सइसरो, A om. (१२) B तीसो, A om. (१३) B गह्वेसो, A om.
 (१४) B बंदज्जला, A om. (१५) B सोढो, C सो ऊढो, D भाउढा or डाउढा (?) ॥
 (१६) So B ; A om., C D णीसां ॥ (१७) C D add मजरो ॥ (१८) B ग्रामानामो । गामो
 ग्रामात् गामो, C ग्रामात् गामो, D ग्रामात् गामो ॥ (१९) So MS. and accordingly
 the explanation षाहः ॥ (२०) MS. शक्रस्य ईशानस्य ॥ (२१) MS. निःश्वा०, उक्त्वा० ॥

बुद्धी^(१) इमा* । †बुद्धिंदो^(२) । बुद्धीसो‡ ॥ बुद्धीओ^(३) । नईओ^(४) ॥

॥ 1^b ॥ D ॥ १^a ॥

॥ 1^c ॥ D ॥ १^b ॥

॥ 2 ॥ ^(४)संयोगे परे लोपः ॥ २ ॥

^(४)संयोगे परे स्वरे परतः पूर्वस्वरस्य^(५) नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥ घनाद्वाः^(६)
धनडू^(७) । देव इन्द्रः^(८) देविंदो । हत उद्योगः^(९) कतुज्जोओ^(१०) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ ह्रस्वलं संयोगे ॥ ३ ॥

स्वराणां ह्रस्वलं^(११) भवति । ^(१२)संयोगेऽक्षरे^(१२) परे ॥ ^(१४)कवं^(१५) ।
कजं । †इच्छितं^(१६) । तिकवं ॥ **सिग्घो^(१७) । ††उडू^(१८) । सुज्जो^(१९) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ स्वरौऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥ ४ ॥

* O बुद्धी इमा । प्रकृतिः ॥ † B बुद्धिन्द्रः । C लोपः । बुद्धि इन्द्रः ॥ ‡ C बुद्धीसो ।
संधिः ॥ § C प्रकृतिः । बुद्धयः । नद्यः ॥ ॥ B ईप्सित । C इच्छितं । ईप्सितं ॥ श्रे वर्गाद्यं
(iii, 4 ईप्सितं) । सस्य० (iii, 14 ईप्सितं) । लोपो० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 ईप्सितं) ।
ह्रस्वलं (ii, 3 इच्छितं) । कगचज० (iii, 34 इच्छितं) ॥ ¶ C तौच्छं । † वर्णविच्छेपे कृते
सति क् ष् ण् थं इति स्थिताः भवन्ति । रशपा० (iii, 18 तीकसणं) । श्राच० (iii, 6 तीकसं) ।
श्रे० (iii, 4 तीसं) । सस्य० (iii, 14 तीसं) । लोपो० (iii, 24) तस्मिन् (iii, 26 तीकवं) ।
ह्रस्वलं (ii, 3 तिकवं) ॥ ** B सिग्घं ॥ †† B ऊडं ॥

(१) B D बु० here and afterwards. (२) B D बुद्धीदो (but see marginal
gloss). (३) B prefixes एवं बुद्धी ॥ (४) C D संयोगपरं ॥ (५) A पूर्वस्वरस्य ॥
(६) A ंद्वाः, B ंव्यः ॥ (७) A घनाद्वा, B धनट्टो, C D घणट्टो ॥ (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 ह्रस्वलं ॥ (१३) C D संयोगाक्षरे ॥ (१४) C
prefixes घणट्टो (see ii, 2); C D prefix the Skr. translations कावं । कार्यं । ईप्सितं ।
तीच्छं । शीघ्रः । ऊडं । छर्यः; see also B in the marginal gloss. (१५) B कवं ॥
(१६) A B O D इच्छितं ॥ (१७) A om. this and the remaining examples; C
सिग्घा ॥ (१८) B ऊडं (see iii, 5. 9), C D उडू ॥ (१९) B सुज्जा ॥

खरो ऽन्यो ऽन्यस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ *कातव्यं^(१) । †सुदणं^(२) । इंगाला^(३) ।
B C D । ‡बुद्धीए^(४) । घेनूए^(५) । नेपुरं^(६) । B C D । कुचापि गच्छति^(७)
कत्य^(८) पि गच्छति^(९) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ खरा^(१०) रि च चवर्णस्य^(११) ॥ ५ ॥

चवर्णस्य स्थाने खरा^(१२) भवति । रि च भवति^(१३) ॥ घृतं घतं^(१४) ।
कृत्वा कातृण^(१५) । दृश्यते दीसते^(१६) । ऋषिः^(१७) इमि^(१८) । पृथ्वी
पुथ्वी^(१९) । दृद्धः^(२०) बुद्धो^(२१) । दृंतं^(२२) वेदं^(२३) । उल्लहं उक्कोसं^(२४) ।
ऋणं रिणं । (CD) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ (१५) एर ऐतः ॥ ६ ॥

ऐतः^(२५) स्थाने ए भवति ॥ †वेतद्धो^(२६) । तेह्लं^(२७) । सेंधवं ।
॥ वैरं^(२८) ॥

॥ ७ ॥ अइ च ॥ ७ ॥

* B कर्तव्यं । † B खचीनां (२०) ॥ ‡ C बुद्ध्या ॥ § B वेतालः ॥ ॥ C मम वैरं
केनापि सह न ॥

(१) A कायचं, B कायच, C कायव्यं, D कायव्यं (see iii, 29 and Lassen Inst. Prae. pp. 141. 365); CD add the following Skr. translations कर्तव्यं । खजनं । अंगाराः ; see also B in the marginal gloss. (२) A असुदणं, D खदणं ॥ (३) A इंगाल, B इंगालौ ॥ (४) A B D वु०; D prefixes बुद्धे ॥ (५) A C D घेनूए ॥ (६) A नेजरं, B नेजरं, C ऐवरं, D ऐजरं ॥ (७) A om. (८) A om., B कत्यं वि, D कच्छ वि ॥ (९) A B C D गच्छइ ॥ (१०) B खरो ॥ (११) B om. (१२) B reads अन्यखरो भवति ॥ (१३) A om. (१४) A B C D घयं ॥ (१५) A कातृण, B कातृण, C D कातृण; D adds तृण प्रत्यय ॥ (१६) A B C दीसइ, D दीसर ॥ (१७) So C; A B D ऋषि ॥ (१८) So A B C D; CD add व्यास ऋषिः वास इसी ॥ (१९) A B C D पुथ्वी ॥ (२०) A B C D दृद्धो ॥ (२१) A B बुद्धो, C D बुद्धो ॥ (२२) A B D दृंतं ॥ (२३) A विदं, B वितं, C D विदं ॥ (२४) A उक्कोसं, B उक्कोसा, C उक्कोसं, D उक्कोसं (see iii, 8). (२५) A ऐरतः ॥ (२६) A एत ॥ (२७) A वेसद्धो, B वेसद्धो, C D वेसद्धो; CD prefix the Skr. translations वेतालः । तेह्लं । सेंधवं । वैरं; see also B in marg. gloss. (२८) A तेह्लं ॥ (२९) C D add मज्जा ए कोण वि (see marg. gloss). (३०) MS. खचीनां ॥

ऐतः^(१) स्थाने अइ^(२) च^(३) भवति । ऐश्वर्यं^(४) अइसरिचं^(५) । वैरं^(६)
वइरं^(७) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ ओर^(८) औतः ॥ ८ ॥

औतः^(९) स्थाने ओ^(१०) भवति ॥ ^(११)ओसहं^(१२) । ^(१३)सोवचलं^(१४) ॥
॥ 9 ॥ अउ^(१५) च ॥ ९ ॥

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

॥ 10 ॥ एदोइलोपा^(१९) विसर्जनीयस्य^(२०) ॥ १० ॥

एत् औत् रलोपा^(२१) विसर्जनीयस्य स्थाने भवंति ॥ कतरे^(२२)
गच्छति^(२३) । *दित्तरूपे^(२४) । देवो । त्वंभणे । पुणरपि^(२५) । स^(२६) ।
एम्^(२६) । ^(२७)वति^(२६) । बुद्धि^(२८) । वृह^(२९) ॥

॥ 11 ॥ ^(२०)अदागमोऽनुस्वारलोपा च व्यंजनस्य^(२१) ॥ ११ ॥

* O दीप्तकः ॥ † O ब्राह्मणः ॥ ‡ O पुणर वि । (पुनः अपि) । र प्रत्ययः (ii, 10 पुनर्
अपि) । अप्यस्योर् अलोपः (ii, 18 पुणरपि) । प्रथमस्य^० (iii, 12 पणरवि) ॥ § C वधूः ॥

(१) A B एत ॥ (२) B अइ ॥ (३) C om. B इत्ययमादेशो ॥ (४) C ऐश्वर्यं ॥ (५) B
C D ०रिचं ॥ (६) D वैरं ॥ (७) B om. ; C D add the example वै वइ, whereto C
has the marg. gloss वै स्फुटनिश्चययोः ॥ (८) A ऊर, D उर ॥ (९) B औत ॥ (१०)
A ऊर, B ऊ, D उ ॥ (११) C pref. Skr. औषधं D ऊषधं ॥ (१२) A ऊसहं, D उसहं ॥
(१३) C pref. Skr. सोचलं, D सोवचलं ॥ (१४) A सोवचलं, C सोचलं, D सोषचलं :
C D add the example सोधं 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)
एदोइले ॥ याः ॥ (२०) B ०नीयस्थाने ॥ (२१) B (corrupt) एदो इलोपा ॥ (२२) A कपोरे,
B कथादि ; C D read कयरे and pref. Skr. कतरः गच्छति ॥ (२३) A गच्छद्, B C D
गच्छद् ; C D add the example अंतःपुरं । अंतःपुरं ॥ (२४) A दित्तरूपे, B तित्तरूपे, D
दित्तरूपे ; 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 दिदं (MS. एयं दिदं) ॥
(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 वृह ।
बुद्धी ॥ (२९) A वृह, B वृह ॥ (३०) C D अदागमानुस्वारलोपा, om. च ॥ (३१) A विसर्जनीयस्य ॥

(१) अकारागमोऽनुस्वारलोपो च व्यंजनस्य भवन्ति ॥ *अरहन्तो^(१) ।
 सरिताणं^(२) । (CD) ॥ †कर्म^(३) । (CD) । ‡सीसं^(४) ॥ नहं^(५) ॥
 ॥ सिरिणं^(६) । (CD) ॥

॥ 12 ॥ †द्वित्वं बह्वचनेन^(७) ॥ १२ ॥

(८) द्विवचनं बह्वचनेन^(१०) वाच्यं ॥ **इत्या । पाया । देवा ।
 वंभणा^(११) । CD ॥

॥ 13 ॥ षष्ठीवच्^(१२) चतुर्थी ॥ १३ ॥

षष्ठीवच्^(१२) चतुर्थी द्रष्टव्या ॥ †नमो^(१४) जिनस्स^(१५) । नमो^(१६)
 गुरुणो^(१६) ॥

॥ 13^a ॥ CD ॥ १३^a ॥

॥ 13^b ॥ CD ॥ १३^b ॥

* C अर्हन्त् । अदागमः ॥ † B सरित् इति अत्र तकारस्य अच् आगमः ॥ C सरित् ।
 अदागमः ॥ ‡ B कर्मभिन्निति अत्र रेफलोपो नकारोऽनुस्वारः (sic!) ॥ C कर्मन् ॥ § B
 श्रीर्षमित्यत्र रेफलोपः (sic!) ॥ C शिरस् ॥ ॥ B शिरसि^(१७) सलोपः ॥ C शिरस् ॥ ¶ C
 दुवयणं^(१८) बह्वचयणं चउत्थिविभन्नीए ऋद्धी^(१९) भक्षए । अह इत्य तद पाया । वंभामि
 देवाहं^(२०) देवाणं ॥ ** C इत्थौ । पादौ । देवौ । ब्राह्मणौ ॥ †† B नमो जिनाय इति
 नमो गुरवे इत्यत्र चतुर्थी षष्ठी ज्ञेया ॥ C नमः जिनाय । नमः गुरवे ॥

(१) A adds भवन्ति, C D read अकारागमानुस्वारलोपाश्च ॥ (२) B अरहन्तो ॥ (३)
 A सरियाणं, B C D सरिष्याणं ॥ (४) B adds रकं (सकं?, see App. CD), D
 prefixes कर्मन्, श्रीर्षन्, शिरसा to कर्म, सीसं, सिरिणं respectively. (५) A सीसं ॥
 (६) B नहं; A C D om. (७) A om. (८) C D बह्वचनेन ॥ (९) C D prefix
 सवासं स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च विभक्तीनां ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) A वंभणा (see ii, 15).
 (१२) B C D om. (१३) B षष्ठी, D षष्ठीव ॥ (१४) C D एमो ॥ (१५) A जिणस्य, B
 जिनस्य, C D जिणस्स ॥ (१६) C D add एमो अरहन्ताणं ॥ (१७) MS. शिरसि ॥ (१८)
 MS. दुव्व० ॥ (१९) MS. now has चउत्थिविभन्नीए, om. ऋद्धी; but in the place of थि
 and णि there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with
 yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (२०) MS. देवाहि (cf. I, 5).

॥ 14 ॥ न झुतडञाः^(१) ॥ १४ ॥

(१) झुता वर्णाः (२) डकारञकारौ च^(४) न भवन्ति ॥ C D । D ॥

॥ 15 ॥ अनुस्वारो बज्जलं ॥ १५ ॥

अनुस्वारस्य कचिल् लोपो भवति । कचिद् आगमः^(५) । कचित् प्रकृतिः^(६) ।
। C D ॥ वंभण^(७) । *मंजरो^(८) । विंचुओ^(९) । †चुनी^(१०) । काणं^(११) ।
काहं^(१२) । नईहिं^(१३) ॥ ‡सकृतं^(१४) । (C D) ॥ संगो^(१४) । भंगो^(१४) ।
(C D) । दुङ्क^(१५) । समिङ्क^(१५) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ गोर् गावि^(१६) ॥ १६ ॥

गो शब्दस्य गावि^(१७) इति^(१८) भवति निपातेन ॥ ‡गावी^(१९) ।
गावीओ^(२०) । गावीं^(२१) । गावीए^(२२) । गावीहिं^(२२) । गावीहितो^(२२) ।
गावीणं^(२३) । गावीसुं^(२५) ॥

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

(१) C D insert न (see iii, 16). (२) C झुतवर्णाः, D झुताः ॥ (३) C D read
डकारनकारञकाराश्च प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ (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, 182) ;
C D read मञ्जारो (see H. C. i, 26) and add वञ्जरो (see H. C. ii, 182) ; D
further adds आगम ॥ (९) A om., B विचुओ ; D has विन्दुच with प्रकृति after it ;
C reads विंचुच which is explained in the marginal gloss as विंचुकः । प्रकृतिः ॥
(१०) A चुनी, B चुनो, C चुओ, D चुणो ॥ (११) So A ; B काजणं (कातूणं ? see ii,
5), C D काजणं (see H. C. i, 27). (१२) A काहं, B काहं (कातुं ? see Lassen,
p. 365. H. C. iv, 214). (१३) C D एहिं ; 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 सकृतं ॥ (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 गाई ॥ (२०) A गावीओ, B गाविओ, D गावीओ ;
C D add गावीओ । गावी । (२१) A B om. (२२) A D गावीए, B गाविए ॥ (२३) A
गावीहि, D गावीहिं ॥ (२४) D गावीसुं ॥ (२५) D गावीसुं ; C D add गावीसुं ॥

॥ 17 ॥ एत्रार्थं (१) एदचेयचियाः (२) ॥ १७ ॥

(२) एव शब्दार्थं एद (२) चेय चिय एते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ गत्या एव
(४) गति एद । (५) मति एद । *तं चेय (६) । †सच्चिय (७) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ अयस्योर अलोपः ॥ १८ ॥

अपि असि च (८) एतयोर अस्व लोपो भवति (९) ॥ (१०) सूरो पि ।
(११) कतं पि । तं सि इह ॥

॥ 19 ॥ (१२) नु न्ना वा हु न्तु न्नुण (१२) ओ (१३) प्पि (१४) पूर्वकालार्थं (१५) ॥ १९ ॥

एते (१६) पूर्वकालार्थं (१७) भवन्ति ॥ वंदित्तु (१८) । †वंदिन्ता (२०) । ‡सुच्चा (२१) ।
॥ कद्दु । †भोत्तु (२२) । †भोत्तूण (२३) । †वंदित्रो (२४) । (२५) एवं कप्पि ** ।
C D ॥

॥ 20 ॥ अत्यर्थं (२६) आलदधौ (२७) ॥ २० ॥

* B तमेव ॥ † B स एव ॥ ‡ B C वंदित्वा ॥ § B शुक्ला । C भुक्ता (see note २१
॥ B C क्त्वा ॥ † C भुक्ता (२८) . ** B एव क्त्वा ॥

(१) A B नद् ॥ (२) A ०वेप विय, B ०चियेम् ॥ (३) B एवं ॥ (४) A B C D गद् ॥
(५) A C सद् एद, B सद् एद्, D om. whole example, .C prefixes Skr. सत्या एव ॥
(६) A तमेव, D त चेय; C pref. Skr. तं एव, D तत् एव ॥ (७) So B; A ०धिय (चिय ?
see p. 20, note १३), C ०चिय, D ०चेय; C D pref. Skr. स एव ॥ (८) B C D अनयोर
अलोपो भवति ॥ (९) A लोपः स्यात् ॥ (१०) A B C D वि; C D pref. Skr. transl. शूरः
अपि । क्तम् अपि । लम् असि अत्र ॥ (११) A कथं पि, B कथं प्पि, C D कथं 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 पूर्वकालार्थं; C adds
त्वा इत्यस्यैते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ (१९) A वंदित्तु, B वदित्तु; C D add सव्ये वि जिणिंदचंदे ।
वंदित्वा सर्वान् अपि जिनेद्रचंद्रान् ॥ (२०) B वंदीत्ता ॥ (२१) A सुच्चा, C D भुक्ता ॥ (२२) D
भोत्तु ॥ (२३) C भोत्तूण, D भोत्तूण or भोत्तूण ?; C D add काउच्चाण, see App. (२४)
A वंदित्तु, D वंदित्तु; C D add वंदेवि ॥ (२५) A एउ क०, B एषं क०; C D om. this
example. (२६) A आलदधौ D अल ॥ (२७) A दल, B दल ॥ (२८) MS. भोक्ता.

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

॥ २१ ॥ ता-ताव^(९) तावतः ॥ २१ ॥

तावच् क्कन्दस्व^(१०) ता तावौ^(११) भवतः ॥ (C D) ॥

ता* विक्किन्नं^(१२) गयणं ताव च्विय^(१३) जलहिणो^(१४) पि^(१५) गंभीरा ।

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

॥ २२ ॥ उपमाने पिव इव विव विथ^(२२) च्च^(२३) व जहा^(२४) वतः ॥ २२ ॥

उपमानार्थे^(२५) वतः^(२६) शब्दस्य एते आदेशा अवंति ॥ चंदणं^(२७)
पिव । चमरमिव । शुकमलं विव तुज्ज^(२८) मुहं । गिन्हो^(२९) विथ ।
सायरच्च^(३०) ।

* C तावत् विकीर्णं गगनं तावत् एव जलधयः च गंभीराः । यावत् गुरुः सुरशैलः
धाराभिः न यावत् गृह्यन्ते ॥ † C गुरुआ । गुरुः । एदोद्रं (ii, 10 गुरुओ) । स्वरौ०
(ii, 4 गुरुआ) । प्रथमैकवचनं सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C चंदणं । अनुस्वारो बज्जलं (ii, 15) । § C तव
मुखं कमलवत् (२१) ॥

(१) B om., C D add आल इल्ल ॥ (२) A om. (३) A स्यः ॥ (४) C D prefix Skr.
translations जटामान् । फटावान् ॥ (५) A जडालो ॥ (६) B जडिल्लो, and places ६, ५.
(७) A फडालो; B orig. फडालो, but corrected to फलालो ॥ (८) B फडिल्लो.
placing ८, ७. (९) C D read ता-ताव-जा-जावास् तावद्यावतोः ॥ (१०) C D add
यावक्कन्दस्व तु ॥ (११) C D add जाजावौ ॥ (१२) A वक्किन्न, C D विक्किणं ॥ (१३) A
च्चिय, C D च्विय ॥ (१४) B जलहिणो ॥ (१५) A व, B वि, C D य ॥ (१६) C D जा; A
om. this line. (१७) D गुरुआ ॥ (१८) B सुरसेल ॥ (१९) B धीरेहिं, c. m. (२०) C D
ण ॥ (२१) B जा तुलिज्जंति, C D जाव लिज्जंति ॥ (२२) B विथं ॥ (२३) D च्च (see H.
C. ii, 150). (२४) B जहा (sic). (२५) A om., C उपमानेऽर्थे, D उपमार्थे; B adds
पिव इव च्विव विथं च्व व जहा ॥ (२६) A वच् ब०, C वतु, D वत ॥ (२७) A B बं०; C D
prefix the Skr. translations चंदनवत् । चमरवत् (D MS. चमरं वत्) । कमलवत् ।
श्रीशं वत् । सागरवत् (D सावरवत्) । शेषस्य वत् ॥ (२८) A तुज्ज, B तुज्ज ॥ (२९) O गिन्ह,
D गिन्हं ॥ (३०) D सायरच्च, A अच्चायरच्च, B घोश्चो ॥ (३१) MS. कमल विव ॥

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

॥ 23 ॥ ओल्लम्^(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 खुर आदेशो भवति ॥ CD । एवं खु^(१५) जंतपीलणं ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तो वर्त्तमानार्थे^(१६) ॥ २५ ॥

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

॥ 26 ॥ (२२)मे सर्वासु युष्मद् ॥ २६ ॥

(२४)युष्मच् ऋदस्य सर्वासु^(२५) विभक्तिषु^(२६) मे^(२७) भवति ॥ CD । मे
निसामेय^(२८) यूयं निशस्यत^(२९) । CD । मे भणामि युष्मान् भणामि ।
मे कतं^(३०) लया क्तं । CD ॥

* C एष (फणः) तव भाति घमः शंखवत्^(३१) ॥ † C खलु इति खल्यं निश्चयार्थं ॥
‡ C चंचपीडनं ॥

(१) A च ॥ (२) C घेस ॥ (३) A रुह ॥ (४) A B C D माद् ॥ (५) D संख; C D
place संखो जहा c. m. (६) A B D उल्लम् ॥ (७) B ओर् ॥ (८) B C अवहसितं ॥ (९)
A B ओहसिचं, C ओहासिचं, D उहसिचं, B adds अपहसितं ओहसिचं ॥ (१०) B om.
(११) A B C ओसरिचं, D उसरिचं ॥ (१२) A अववरकः, B अपचरकः ॥ (१३) B ओच-
रथो, D उवरउ ॥ (१४) A B खल, D खलो ॥ (१५) B खुज्जं । पीलणं ॥ (१६) A ०माने
र्थे ॥ (१७) C D om. काल; B ०मानस्य कालार्थं ॥ (१८) B प्रत्ययस्यार्थे, om. ख ॥
(१९) A भिद्यमाणं, B भिद्यमानं, C मेयं ॥ (२०) A काहिं, B C D कहिं ॥ (२१) B
om. (२२) B सोहिं ॥ (२३) C D place this sūtra after i, 25 (i. e. after i, 25^b of
their own reckoning; see App. C D). (२४) B युष्मद्ः शं ॥ (२५) B C D add
अपि ॥ (२६) A adds परतो ॥ (२७) B मेर् ॥ (२८) C D णिं ॥ (२९) So D; A B C
प्रणुत् ॥ (३०) A B क्तं, C D कथं ॥ (३१) MS. सं ॥

॥ 27 ॥ (१) असादो ऽपि(१) ॥ २७ ॥

असञ्च कृद्स्यापि सर्वासु विभक्तिषु भे भवति(२) ॥ C D । C ।
नेहेन(४) भणामो भे तुभे(५) वयं युष्मान् स्नेहेन(६) भणामः । C । इत्यु
अर्थः । D ॥

॥ 27^a—27ⁱ ॥ C D ॥ २७^a—२७ⁱ ॥

॥ 28 ॥ इतेर् इयः ॥ २८ ॥

॥ इति शब्दस्य इय आदेशो भवति ॥ इय(७) एवं ॥

॥ 29 ॥ भावे चणः(८) ॥ २९ ॥

भावार्थे(९) चणः(१०) प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (११) गामचणं । नयरचणं(१२) ॥

॥ 29^a ॥ C D ॥ २९^a ॥

॥ II ॥ इति (११) श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणै(१४) (१५) खरविधानं(१६) द्वितीयं
समाप्तं(१७) ॥ २ ॥

(१) C D place this sūtra after i, 31 (i. e. after i, 31^a of their own reckoning, see App. C D). (२) C D add भे सर्वासु ॥ (३) A om. the whole commentary, instead of which it has स्पष्टं ॥ (४) C D एहेन ॥ (५) B भ नभे ॥ (६) B om. (७) A इव ॥ (८) A B चण ॥ (९) A भावर्थे ॥ (१०) A चण, B तन ॥ (११) C D pref. the Skr. translations ग्रामस्य भावः । नगरस्य भावः ॥ (१२) B C D एयं, C D add तीर्थकरस्य भावः नित्यनयरचणं ॥ (१३) A om. from श्री to लक्षणे ॥ (१४) B लक्षण ॥ (१५) B om. खर ॥ (१६) A धानसाह ॥ (१७) A om.

॥ III ॥ अथ व्यंजनविधानम् आह ॥ ३ ॥

॥ १ ॥ हाद्(१) खौ(२) लोप्यौ(३) ॥ १ ॥

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

॥ २ ॥ (१४) श्वलेभ्यो व्यंजनं(१५) ॥ २ ॥

श्वलेभ्यः(१६) परं(१७) व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ (१८) स्वयं सयं । स्वर्गं(१९)
सगं । ओतव्यं सेतव्यं(२०) । काव्यं कव्यं(२१) । शल्यं(२२) सल्लं । विल्वं(२३)
विल्लं । शर्द्धं(२४) सस्यं । अतं सुतं(२५) । श्लेष्मा सिष्मा(२६) ॥

॥ ३ ॥ वर्गो(२७) ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गो(२८) च परे तल् लोप्यं(२९) भवति(३०) ॥ शक्तः(३१) । सक्तो(३२) ॥ रक्तं
रक्तं(३३) । C D । दुग्धं दुद्धं । वद्धि(३४) वेम्नि । (३५) षट्कं षकं(३६) ।

(१) A हा ॥ (२) A खौ ॥ (३) D लोप्यौ ॥ (४) A om. comment हात् to भवतः ॥
(५) D om., C हाडकाराद् ॥ (६) B परभावे स्थितौ ॥ (७) B om., C D मुज्झर, A
मुज्झत् ॥ (८) A B om. (९) A om., B दह्यर, C डह्यर, D दज्झर ॥ (१०) A om.
this example. (११) B विक्रलो * (१२) A om. (१३) B जिम्बा ॥ (१४) C D स ॥
(१५) B adds लोप्यं ॥ (१६) A एतेभ्यो; B om. श्वत् to भवति ॥ (१८) The examples
are rearranged; their order in A is २०, २१, २३, २५, om. all the others; B has
२०, २१, २८, 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 सोत्तव्य, B सोसर्ध (corrupt for सोत्तव्यं), D सोत्तव्यं ॥ (२१)
A काव्यं, D कव्यं ॥ (२२) C D सस्यं ॥ (२३) A सोत्तं, B सुत्तं; C D om. this example.
(२४) C सिष्मा ॥ (२५) B om. (२६) B वर्ग ॥ (२७) B लुप्यं ॥ (२८) B C D read
वर्गो परे यत् पूर्व व्यंजनं तल् लो० भ० ॥ (२९) A सक्तो, B शक्तो ॥ (३०) B शक्तो, D सक्तो ॥
(३१) B adds मुक्तं मुत्तं; C D add मुक्तं मुत्तं ॥ (३२) B व ॥ (३३) B षकं ॥

षट्पदः कृष्णो^(१) । ^(२)खड्गं खगं । षण्मुखः^(३) कृष्णो^(४) । आत्मा^(५) अप्या ।
उत्पलं उप्पलं । सद्भावं सद्भावं । *मन्मथः मन्मथो^(६) । प्राप्तं पत्तं । *प्रद्युम्नः
पद्भुम्नो^(७) । †अर्कः अर्को । उक्ता उक्ता । भास्करः भक्करो । B C D ।
ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मा^(८) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ श्लो^(९) वर्गाद्यं ॥ ४ ॥

वर्गाद्यं^(१०) श्लो^(९) परे लोप्यं भवति ॥ वृत्तः^(११) वच्छो^(१२) । ^(१३)चमा
खमा । संवत्सरः संवच्छरो । मत्सरः मच्छरो । अप्सराः^(१४) अच्छरा ।
ईप्सितं इच्छितं^(१५) ॥

॥ 5 ॥ वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥ ५ ॥

वर्गात् परं अवर्ग्यं व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं^(१६) । ^(१७)शक्रः
सक्को । ^(१८)क्षीवः कीवो । ^(१९)विध्वं सितं विद्धं सितं^(२०) । B C ॥

॥ 6 ॥ ^(२१)भास्व च पंचमो वा ॥ ६ ॥

वर्गपरः श्रपरश्च च वर्गपंचमो वा लोप्यो भवति ॥ ज्ञानं नाणं^(२२) ।
^(२३)यत्नं जत्तं^(२४) । लक्ष्मणः^(२५) लक्खणो । ^(२६)लक्ष्मी लक्खी । C D । B C D ।
^(२७)कृष्णं कण्हं ॥

* C कामः ॥ † C सूर्यः ॥

(१) B D कृष्ण; A om. this and the following examples, except Nos. २, ५ and ८ ॥ (२) B षट्पदो षट्पदो ॥ (३) A षट्मुखो ॥ (४) A कृष्णो, B कृष्णो; B C D place २, ४, २ ॥ (५) B आत्माः ॥ (६) B मन्मथो, C D मन्मथो ॥ (७) C D पद्भुम्नो, and add वर्गः वर्गो ॥ (८) A ब्रह्मा ब्रह्मा, B C D ब्रह्मा ॥ (९) A C D से, B से ॥ (१०) B C D add व्यंजनं ॥ (११) A वृत्तो ॥ (१२) B वच्छो ॥ (१३) A om. the remainder. (१४) B अप्सराः, D अप्सरा ॥ (१५) C इच्छितं, B D इच्छितं ॥ (१६) A सुक्खं, B D सुक्खं ॥ (१७) B क्षीवा कीवा ॥ (१८) D reads विध्वं विद्धं सितं सितं (acc. sing. of विधुः सितः). (१९) B C D सितं ॥ (२०) A C D सा, B स ष ॥ (२१) A B C D भास्व (see iii, 19). (२२) A om. this example. (२३) B यत्तं ॥ (२४) A णो, B लक्ष्मणः ॥ (२५) B om. this example. (२६) A कृष्णं कण्हं, B प्रथं पण्हं, C D प्रथं पण्हं ॥

॥ 7 ॥ दो वे^(१) ॥ ७ ॥

दकारो (१)वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति ॥ द्वारं वारं । वेति किं ।
द्वारं^(२) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ षाट् टः ॥ ८ ॥

षकारात् परष् टकारो वा^(३) लोप्यो भवति ॥ उत्कष्टं उक्त्रोमं^(४) ।
(१)स्यष्टं फुटं^(५) ॥ (८)पुटं । (९)उक्किटं ॥

॥ 9 ॥ (१०)रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥ ९ ॥

(११)सर्वस्माद् व्यंजनात् परः पूर्वस्यश्च^(१२) च रेफो लोप्यो भवति ॥ तन्न
तन्नं । अर्कः^(१३) अर्को । मुखः मुखो^(१४) । (१५)न्ययोधः निग्गोहो^(१६) । स्वर्गं
सर्गं । शीघ्रः सिग्घो^(१७) । अर्घः अर्घो^(१८) । अर्चनं^(१९) अर्चणं । वज्रं वज्रं^(२०) ।
दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । उद्गः उद्गो^(२१) । सुवर्णं सुवर्षं । शत्रुः सन्नु^(२२) । कर्त्तव्यं का-
तव्यं^(२३) । कर्दमं कद्दमं । जङ्घं^(२४) उडुं^(२५) । प्रवरः^(२६) पवरो^(२७) । C D । सर्पः
सप्यो । विभ्रमः विभ्रमो । दर्भः दग्भो । आघं अवं^(२८) । धर्मः धमो । सूर्यः
सुज्जो । व्रतं वतं^(२९) । पर्वतः पव्वतो^(३०) । श्रुतं सुतं^(३१) । ह्रस्वः ह्रस्वो । C D ॥

(१) C D add च ॥ (२) D वकारपरे ॥ (३) B द्वारं; C D add द्वारं दुवारं ॥ (४) B C om. (५) C D उत्कष्टं (see iii, 29 and App. C D in iii, 3), B उक्त्रोमं ॥ (६) B स्यष्टं; C D om. the remainder. (७) B कुडं (? फुडं) (८) A om., B places ट, ७. (९) A om.; B उक्किटं, repeating उत्कष्टं before it. (१०) B om. the sutra; A रेफश्, C D रेफ ॥ (११) B om. commentary, up to भवति ॥ (१२) D पूर्वस्य चधश् ॥ (१३) A om. this example; D places it before तन्न ॥ (१४) A मुखो, B मुखो ॥ (१५) A om. the remainder. (१६) C D णि० ॥ (१७) B शीघो ॥ (१८) D adds अर्घः अर्घो ॥ (१९) B om., up to सुवर्षं incl. (२०) D repeats वज्रं ॥ (२१) C उद्गो, and C D add उद्गो ङाढा ॥ (२२) B शत्रुः ॥ (२३) B C D कातव्यं, and place this example before the preceding one. (२४) B जङ्घं, C D उडुं; but C has a marginal correction in pencil उडुं ॥ (२५) B उडुं, C उडुं, D उडुं ॥ (२६) C प्रवरो, with marginal correction in pencil प्रवरः ॥ (२७) B प्रवरो, D पचरो ॥ (२८) B अवं, C अवं, D अवं, (see H. C. ii, 56). (२९) B वतं, C D वतं ॥ (३०) B C D पव्वतो ॥ (३१) So B; C D सुतं ॥

॥ १० ॥ (१) असंयोगस्य ॥ १० ॥

अत ऊर्ध्वं ये व्यंजनादेशास् ते असंयोगस्य भवन्ति ॥ गृहं घरं । स्तम्भः(१)
खंभो ॥

॥ ११ ॥ प्रथमद्वितीययोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थौ ॥ ११ ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं द्वितीयचतुर्थौ आदेशौ(१)
भवतः ॥ भास्करः भक्त्वरो । निश्चयः निच्छयो(४) । (५)दुष्टं दुट्ट(६) । (५)स्तम्भः
थंभो(७) । पुरुषं(८) फरुसं(९) । विजयते(१०) विज्जते(११) । (५)दंष्ट्रा दाढा(१२) ।
मथुरा मधुरा(१३) । नाथः नाधो(१४) ॥

॥ ११ ॥ C D ॥ ११ ॥

॥ १२ ॥ प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥ १२ ॥

(१५)प्रथमस्य स्थाने तृतीयो भवति ॥ एकं एगं । तीर्थकरः(१६)
तित्यगरो(१७) । पिशाची पिसाजी । जटा जडा । कृतं कदं(१८) । प्रति-
षिद्धं पडिसिद्धं(१९) । C D । (२०)प्रच्छे वुच्छे ॥

॥ १३ ॥ ख (२१)खकारभावात् ॥ १३ ॥

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

(१) C D om. this sūtra and its commentary. (२) A स्तम्भं, B स्तम्भो ॥ (३) B
C D om. (४) A निवृत्त, B निवृत्त, C निवृत्तो, D निवृत्तः ॥ (५) A om. this example.
(६) C D ०ट्टो ॥ (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 रुसं रुसं (see iii, 13). (१०)
A विजयते, B विजयते, C D विजयते ॥ (११) A B विज्जए, C D विज्जए; cf. H. C. II,
28; and as to ज् for ज्, see p. 20 footnote 28; p. 10, n. 7; p. 27, n. 13; p. 30,
n. 7. (१२) B दंष्ट्रा, C दाढा, D दढा ॥ (१३) A B C D मथुरा ॥ (१४) A नाथः, B
नाथो; C D read आदिनाथः आदिनाथो ॥ (१५) A has only the following comment,
सष्टं । पिशाची पिसाजी; om. all the rest. (१६) B तीर्थकरः ॥ (१७) B तित्यगरो, D
तित्यगरो ॥ (१८) B करं ॥ (१९) B प्रतिषिद्धं ॥ (२०) Conjectural; B वच्छे, C D om.
this example. (२१) C D om. ख (see note ६ in iii, 11.). (२२) C D om. खकार ॥
(२३) B ०भकार इत्येतेषां ॥ (२४) A om. comm., up to भवति ॥

(१) मुखं मुहं । (२) मेघः मेहो । (३) मधवः महवो । वृषभः (४) वसहो ॥

॥ 14 ॥ खखः (४) खखः (५) ॥ १४ ॥

(६) सकारस्य स्थाने खखः (७) भवन्ति ॥ भिन्ना भिक्त्वा । षण्मुखः
कम्बुहो (८) । पाषाणः पाहाणो । दश दह ॥

॥ 15 ॥ ययः ॥ १५ ॥

(९) यकारस्य स्थाने जकारो भवति ॥ यौवनं जुवणं । सूर्यः सुज्जो ।
यात्रा जत्ता ॥

॥ 16^a ॥ CD ॥ १५^b ॥

॥ 16 ॥ तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥ १६ ॥

तवर्गस्य स्थाने चटवर्गौ भवतः (१०) । यथासंख्यं ॥ नित्यं निचं (११) ।
(१२) पथं पक्कं (१२) । विद्या विज्जा । (१३) बंध्या वंज्जा (१३) । नृत्यं नट्टं (१४) ।
स्थितः ठितो (१५) । (१६) दंडः डंडो (१७) । दग्धः (१८) दड्डो (१९) । CD । धान्यं
धलं (२०) । CD ॥

॥ 17 ॥ युष्मदो यस्य (२१) तः ॥ १७ ॥

युष्मत्संबन्धिना यकारस्य (२२) तकारो भवति (२२) ॥ तुम्हेहि (२३) ॥

॥ 17^a ॥ CD ॥ १७^b ॥

(१) CD om. this example (see p. 26, note ९ in iii, 11). (२) A om. this example. (३) A B वृषभो ॥ (४) B स खखः ॥ (५) A ०च्छं ॥ (६) A has only स्पष्टं । पाषाणो पाहाणो । दश दह, om. the rest. (७) B खखः ॥ (८) B D कम्बुहो ॥ (९) A only स्पष्टं, om. the whole commentary. (१०) A only स्पष्टं, om. up to भवतः ॥ (११) CD णिचं ॥ (१२) B पक्का with Skr. पंथा ॥ (१३) B D वंज्जा; C originally वंज्जा, with marginal correction ०ज्जा ॥ (१४) CD णट्टं ॥ (१५) A ठिचः, B CD ठिचो ॥ (१६) A om. the remainder. (१७) B दंडो, D डडो । (१८) B C दग्धो ॥ (१९) B ०ट्टो, C ०ट्टो, D ०ट्टो ॥ (२०) B धान्यं, D धालं ॥ (२१) B भं ॥ (२२) A om. up to भवति ॥ (२३) A तुम्हेहि, B तुम्हेहि; C D add कथं । युष्मभिः कर्तं ॥

॥ 18 ॥ रश्मिणां^(१) श्चः ॥ १८ ॥

(१)रेफशकारषकाराणां^(२) स्थाने (४)सकारो भवति ॥ श्रिर^(५) सीसं ।

(१)शशी मसी^(७) । आमिषं आमिसं^(७) ॥

॥ 19 ॥ रजथानां रजथाः^(८) ॥ १९ ॥

(२)रजथानां स्थाने रजथाः^(८) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं^(९) ॥ गृहं घरं ।

(७)ज्ञानं नानं^(१०) । C D । (७)खंभः^(११) खंभो ॥

॥ 20 ॥ गरहाणां घणझाः^(१५) ॥ २० ॥

(१२)गरहाणां स्थाने घणझाः^(१५) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं ॥ (७)गृहं घरं ।

करवीरः^(१५) कणवीरो^(१५) । C D । (७)वाह्यः वज्झो^(१६) । C D ॥

॥ 21 ॥ मडहानां^(१७) वलभाः^(१८) ॥ २१ ॥

(१९)मडहानां स्थाने^(१७) यथाक्रमं वलभा भवन्ति^(१९) ॥ मन्मथः^(२२)

मन्मथो^(२२) । षोडश^(२४) सोलस^(२५) । (७)जिह्वा जिभा । C D ॥

॥ 22 ॥ (१९)पवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ ॥

(२०)यकारवकारयोर व्यत्यासो^(२८) भवति^(२९) ॥ पर्य्यकः पल्लको^(३०) ।

(१) B ०नां ॥ (२) A only रषां ॥ (३) B ०सकारष० ॥ (४) A सस् स्थान् ॥ (५) B श्रिरः ॥ (६) B शसी ॥ (७) A om. this example. (८) C D रण० ॥ (९) B C D om. this clause. (१०) B ज्ञानं, C D णां ॥ (११) D खंभः (Prākṛit खंभो, see iii, 11). (१२) A घनसाः, B ०सां, D घण० ॥ (१३) A only यथासंख्यं भवन्ति स्यात् ॥ (१४) B घणसा, D घणभा ॥ (१५) A ०वीरं ॥ (१६) B बन्धो ॥ (१७) A B C D ०णां ; but C with marginal correction ०नां ॥ (१८) B व० ॥ (१९) D ०हाणां ; but B C ०हानां ॥ (२०) B D om. (२१) A only स्यात्, om. up to भवति ॥ (२२) A B ०यो ॥ (२३) A C वन्मथो, B मन्मथो, D वन्मथो ॥ (२४) B D ०शः, A B ड् for ड ॥ (२५) B सोलसः ॥ (२६) So A ; B om. sūtra ; C D read पवयोर् ॥ (२७) So A ; B पवयोर् ; but C D पवयोर्, see below note २९. (२८) A व्यत्यसं ॥ (२९) A स्यात् ; in C D, here follows the example पापं पावं (see iii, 12 in App. C D), after which comes a new sūtra रलवोर् व्यत्यासः, to which are assigned पर्य्यकः etc. as examples (see App. C D). (३०) A B ०कः ; C D add पर्य्यकं पल्लकं ॥

*^(१)वेदूयः^(१) वेदुलियो^(२) । चयोदश तेरह । ^(३)वृत्तः रुक्लो^(४) । C D ॥

॥ 23 ॥ शहयोर^(५) लोपे नणमानाम् अधो^(६) होऽपदादौ^(७) स्थितानां ॥ २३ ॥

नणमानां संबन्धिनौ यौ शहौ^(८) तयोर लोपे हकारागमो भवति ।
^(९)अधो^(१०)ऽपदादावस्थितानां ॥ प्रश्नः पन्धो^(११) । ढष्णा तण्हा^(१२) ।
 यस्मात् जन्हा^(१३) । B C D । C D । ^(१४)गृह्णाति गिण्हति^(१५) । वङ्गिः
 वन्ही^(१६) । जिह्वाः जिन्धो^(१७) । B । ^(१८)अपदादाव् इति किं । श्मशानं^(१९)
 मसानं ॥

॥ 24 ॥ लोपे द्वित्वं ॥ २४ ॥

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

॥ 25 ॥ ^(२३)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥ २५ ॥

^(२४)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि द्वित्वं भवति ॥ न ज्ञायते न^(२५) नञ्जते^(२६) ।
^(२७)वाध्यते वाहिञ्जते^(२८) ॥

(१) A om. this example. (२) C D वेदूयः ॥ (३) B वेदुलियो, C वेरुलियो, D वेरुलिउ ॥ (४) D रुक्लो ॥ (५) So B; A C D से ॥ (६) A om. हो ॥ (७) Conjectural; the MSS reading is corrupt; B throws sūtra and commentary into one and reads श० लो० नण० अधो पदावस्थानां हो भवति; A has ऽपदावस्थानानां; 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 पन्धो ॥ (१२) B तिण्हा; A adds छत्रः कन्धो (see App. B C D). (१३) A D जन्हा ॥ (१४) A om. the remainder, up to अपदादाव् ॥ (१५) B गृह्णति, C D गिण्हति ॥ (१६) C D वण्ही; B places this example after निह्विया (see App. B). (१७) C D place the examples thus: २६, २६, २५, २२, २३, २७. (१८) So C; A अपादाविति, B अपादाति०, D अपदादविति ॥ (१९) B C D श्मशानं ॥ (२०) D विशेषस्य; B adds च after it. (२१) A स्यात् ॥ (२२) C D दुर्गः दुग्गा ॥ (२३) A om. the sūtra. (२४) B क्वचिद् अलोपे ? ॥ (२५) C D ए ॥ (२६) A B नञ्जते, C D एञ्जते; C D add तैल तैल ॥ (२७) B ०ञ्जते, C D ०ञ्जए ॥

॥ 26 ॥ तस्मिन् द्वितियचतुर्थयोः^(१) प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्मिन् द्विले वर्त्तमानयोर् द्वितियचतुर्थयोः स्थाने^(२) प्रथमतृतीयौ भवतः ॥ सौख्यं सुखं^(३) । ^(४)अर्घः अग्घो । पथं पच्छं^(५) । साध्यः^(६) सज्जो^(७) । षष्ठः षट्ठो^(८) । दृढः वृद्धो^(९) । पार्थः पत्यो^(१०) । वर्धमानः वद्धमानो^(११) । पुष्यं पुष्पं । जिह्वा जिभ्वा^(१२) ॥

॥ 27 ॥ स एवान्येषां ॥ २७ ॥

अन्येषां^(१३) मुक्तामुक्तविशेषाणां द्विले स एव भवति ॥ ^(१४)अर्कः अर्को । सत्यं सच्चं^(१५) । B C D ॥

॥ 28 ॥ न पदादौ^(१६) ॥ २८ ॥

पदादौ^(१६) द्विलं न भवति ॥ क्रोधः कोहो^(१७) । ^(१८)चुद्रः खुहो^(१९) । ^(२०)पदादाव् इति किं । ^(२१)भद्रः भहो^(२२) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ क्वचित् अन्यथापि ॥ २९ ॥

क्वचित् पदमध्येऽवसाने^(२३) च लोपे कृते द्विलं न भवति ॥ काश्यपः^(२४) कासवो । ^(२५)वैश्रवणः वेसवणो^(२५) । स्पृष्टं^(२६) फुटं^(२७) । ^(२८)कर्त्तव्यं

(१) A ०चतुर्थयोः, B ०चतुर्थौ ॥ (२) So B; B संयोगान्; C D संयोगौ ॥ (३) A सौख्यं (for सोख्यं? but see iii, 5). (४) A om. the remainder. (५) B पथं; so also C now; but originally C seems to have had पच्छं ॥ (६) D साध्या ॥ (७) D सज्जा, B सम्भो ॥ (८) B षट्ठो, D सट्ठो ॥ (९) B ०ट्टो, C ०ट्टो, D ०ट्टो ॥ (१०) D पच्छो ॥ (११) B दृढमाणो, C वद्धमाणो, D वद्धमाणो (for बद्ध०); 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 उक्ताविशेषाणां; the latter is also the reading of C D (see App. B C D). (१४) B अर्को अर्को ॥ (१५) B सच्चं ॥ (१६) C पादादौ ॥ (१७) B adds क्रुद्रः कुहो ॥ (१८) A om. this example. (१९) B खुहो, D खुहो ॥ (२०) B C पादादाव् ॥ (२१) A भद्रा, D भद्रं ॥ (२२) A भद्रा, B भहो ॥ (२३) So C; A अवसाने, B D अवसाने ॥ (२४) A काश्यपः ॥ (२५) B वैश्रवणो ॥ (२६) D स्पृष्टं ॥ (२७) A फुटं, D पडं ॥

कातव्यं^(१) । शीर्षं^(२) सीसो^(३) । दीर्घः दीहो । ^(४)उत्कथं उक्कोसं^(५) ॥

॥ ३० ॥ संबोधयत्येष्टस्वरागमो अच्चे ॥ ३० ॥

द्वयोर^(६) व्यंजनयोर मध्ये इष्टस्वरागमो भवति ॥ अग्निः अगणी^(७) ।
विश्लेषः विसलेसो^(८) । ^(९)स्रजः पलक्वो । ^(१०)रत्नं रतणं^(१०) । वर्षं वरिसं^(११) ।
C D । सूर्यः सूरियो^(१२) । ^(१३)सर्षपः सरिसपो^(१३) । ^(१४)वैदूर्यः^(१४)
वेदुलियो^(१५) । ^(१६)क्ष्मा खिमा^(१६) । ^(१७)स्रज्जं सुज्जमं^(१७) । ^(१८)पद्मं
पदुमं^(१८) । C D ॥

॥ ३१ ॥ यवयोर^(१९) इदुतौ ॥ ३१ ॥

यवयोः^(१९) स्थाने ^(२०)इकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ त्रयोदश तेरह^(२२) ।

C D । भवति हेति^(२३) ॥

॥ ३२ ॥ ^(२४)संख्यायास् ^(२५)तिशयोर लोपः ॥ ३२ ॥

^(२६)संख्यायाः ^(२७)संबंधितिशयोर लोपो भवति^(२८) ॥ ^(२९)विंशतिः वीसा ।

पंचाशत् पन्ना^(२९) ॥

॥ ३३ ॥ तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥

(१) B C D कायव्यं; C adds काहवं ॥ (२) A शीर्षो, B शीर्षं, C D शीर्षः ॥
(३) A सीसौ, B सीसं ॥ (४) A om. this example. (५) B उक्कोसं, C D उक्कसं
(see iii. 8). (६) B repeats द्वयोर after व्यं ॥ (७) B अग्नि ॥ (८) A विश्लेष ॥
(९) A om. this example; B C D place it after सूरियो ॥ (१०) B C D रतणं ॥
(११) A वरिसं ॥ (१२) A D सूरिच, 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 वहरं ॥ (१५) C D
वैदूर्यः ॥ (१६) A वैदुलिच, B वेदुलिचो, C वेदुलिचो, D वेदुलिच; C D add क्वयं
कसिणं ॥ (१७) So A; C D खमा ॥ (१८) So C D; B सुज्जमं ॥ (१९) B पद्मं, C D
पदुमं ॥ (२०) A यवयोर ॥ (२१) B C D यकारवकारयोः ॥ (२२) B C D इदुतौ ॥
(२३) A तेरह; B om. by mistake, as it gives only त्रयो, omitting दश and तेरह ॥
(२४) A B C होइ; D होयाइ (sic); A B place the examples २४, २२, but C D २२,
२४ ॥ (२५) D repeats संख्या ॥ (२६) B त्रिं ॥ (२७) D om. (२८) C संबन्धिनोः तिं ॥
(२९) A स्थान् ॥ (३०) A om. all examples, probably by mistake. (३१) C D पषा ॥

(१)संख्यासंबन्धिनस् तकारस्य(२) च(३) लोपो(४) भवति ॥ पञ्चपंचाशत्(५)
(६)पणपणस ॥

॥ 34 ॥ (७)कतृतीययोः खरे ॥ ३४ ॥

ककारस्य वर्गतृतीयस्य च खरे(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 ॥ यत्नं अर्वर्षे(१५) ॥ ३५ ॥

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

॥ 36 ॥ शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥ ३६ ॥

व्यवस्था वर्षावस्थानं(१८) शिष्टप्रयोगात् ज्ञातव्या(१९) ॥ अर्कः अक्को ।
(२०)सूर्यः सूरियो(२१) । भिन्ना भिक्त्वा । लक्ष्मी लक्ष्मी(२२) । C D ॥

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

(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 sūtra. (६) A पणपणस, B D पणपणा, C पणवणा ॥ (७) C D have an
altogether different sūtra 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 वणरार्द ॥ (१४) A
adds नूपुरं नेउरं । कूपः कुओ (MS. कूप कूष) ; B adds many more examples, see
App. B. (१५) C अर्वर्षः, D वर्षः; A adds ककारवर्गतृतीययोः ॥ (१६) So B; A corrupt
अवर्षपरयोरेफयोःपरयोर्यत्नं स्यात् (अवर्षे परे एतयोर् यत्नं स्यात्?); but C D read
differently, see App. C D. (१७) C D नाया ॥ (१८) A B ०स्थानां ॥ (१९) So A;
B C D ०त्वं ॥ (२०) A om. the remainder. (२१) B C D सूरियो. (२२) Here C D
terminate this chapter, see App. C D. (२३) D ०भ्रंसे ॥ (२४) B om. ऽधो रेफस्य ॥

(१)अपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य लोपो न भवति ॥ *वरत्तु^(२) । ग्रामो^(३) । (४)वाघ्नो घसि^(५) जादि ॥

॥ ३४ ॥ पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर^(६) लनौ^(७) ॥ ३८ ॥

पैशाचिक्यां रेफस्य लकारो भवति । एकारस्य नकारः ॥ †अले^(८) अले
(९)दुट्टलकखसा पनमत^(१०) (११)पनयिद्धितासा ॥

॥ ३५ ॥ भागधिकायां रणयोर^(१२) लशौ^(१३) ॥ ३९ ॥

भागधिकायां रेफसकारयोर^(१४) लशौ^(१५) अवतः ॥ (१६)चंदकलनिकलं
हवति । श्रेणे^(१७) । हंशे^(१८) । परत्ते^(१९) ॥ C D ॥

॥ ३५^a ॥ C D ३९ ॥

॥ (१८)३९ ॥ २९ ॥ ३९ ॥ सूत्राण्य् अत्र ९९ ॥

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

॥ (२२)इति प्राकृतलक्षणं संपूर्णं^(२३) ॥

* Ed. वरत्तं । ग्रामः । वाघ्नः घसिला याति ॥ A and C om. the interpunctuation between व० and ग्राम०, B has it ; A B C have the interpunctuation between वा० and घसि० ; D om. it throughout. † Ed. अरे अरे दुष्टराक्षसाः प्रणमन्त प्रणयिद्धितासाः ॥

(१) B om. (२) B वरत्त, D वरत्तु ॥ (३) A गाड, B ग्राड, C D ग्रश्चो ॥ (४) A om. this example, B व्याघ्नः, D व्याघ्नो ; C D prefix the Skr. व्याघ्नः ॥ (५) C D घसि ॥ (६) B om. (७) B लोनौ ॥ (८) D अरे ॥ (९) A दुट्टलकखसा, B दुट्टकखं । लसा, C दुट्टलकखसा, D दुट्टलकखसा ॥ (१०) So C ; A पनमत, B पननमत, D पननते ॥ (११) A इद्धितासा om. पन, B पुनइद्धितासा, C पनइ । टिआसा, D पनइं टिआसा ; B explains it in the margin as Skr. पुणइिकायाः (sic), but the word is not distinctly legible. (१२) B लशौ ॥ (१३) B लशौ ॥ (१४) A वन्दकलति कलवति ; B वन्द नी कलति ॥ कलसवति ; B in the margin explains कलति by the Skr. करोति ; C D चं हवदि ॥ (१५) A श्रेणे, B लोसे ; C D prefix the Skr. श्रेषः ॥ (१६) A B हंसे, D om. ; C D prefix the Skr. हंसः ॥ (१७) A परत्त, B परत्ते, C D om. (१८) B C D om. this remark. (१९) A कते, B om. कत ॥ (२०) C D read भाषांतरविधानं चतुर्थं, making this the termination of the fourth chapter ; their third chapter terminates with sūtra 36 ; see App. C D. (२१) C चतुर्थं, D तृयेः ॥ (२२) A om. (२३) A B D om. this remark. (२४) Here follow various dates in the MSS. ; A माघ कल्प १ ; B माघ कल्प ८ अष्टमी संवत् १९२१ ; D संवत् १९२१ का ; C gives no date.

EXPLANATION.

The MSS. C and D contain a large number of Sūtras 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 Sūtra 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 Sūtra I, 6^a refer to an additional Sūtra 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 SŪTRA II, 25. ON PAGE 21.

साहि० ॥ साहिज्जमान^(१) साहियंतं^(२) ॥

(१) MS. साहिसान ॥ (२) MS साहियंतं^(२); in A the two letters य and प are often indistinguishable.

APPENDIX B.

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 26.

निह्वितं ॥ निह्वितं निह्वितं^(१) । निह्विका निह्विया^(२) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

भौगिकः ॥ (१)काकी काई^(४) । (२)शकुनः सउणो^(५) । (४)प्रतिकूलः पद-
 जलो^(६) । काकेन काएण^(७) । काकः कात्रो । भौगिकः भौद्रो ।
 त्यागिनां^(८) चाईणं^(९) । प्रगुणः पउणो । (१०)श्रवणुठः श्रवजठो ।
 त्यागेन चाएण । त्यागः चात्रो । सुचिरं सुदरं । शुचिः सुई ।
 (११)प्रचुरेण पउरेण । पिशाचेन पिसाएण । पिशाचः पिसात्रो ।
 वनराजिफलं वणराइफलं^(१२) । (१२)वनराजी वणराई । (१४)प्रजुष्टं
 पउष्टं । (१५)गजेन गएण । गजः गत्रो^(१६) । (१७)पतिना पइणा ।
 गोमती गोमई । (१८)जतुना जउणा । (१९)वातुलः वाजलो ।
 वातेन वाएण । वातः वात्रो^(२०) । मदिरः मइरो । (२१)नदी नई ।
 पादुका पाउआ । मदेन मएण । मदः मत्रो । कूपिका कूदआ ।
 कपीनां कईणं । (२२)नूपुरं नेउरं । रिपूणां रिजणं । कूपेन कूएण ।
 कूपः कूत्रो^(२३) कूवो^(२४) । कत्रिना कइणा । कापरुषं कावुरिसं^(२५)
 काउरिसं^(२६) । रवेण रएण । देवः देत्रो^(२७) । मयि मइ^(२८) । प्रयुक्तं
 पउक्तं । मयूरः मजरो । विप्रयोगः विप्रयोत्रो^(२९) ॥

(१) MS. निह्वितं ॥ (२) MS. निह्वितं ॥ (३) The MS. places this example after पउणो ॥ (४) This example also occurs in D. (see App. C D). (५) MS. शकुणः शकुणो ॥ (६) MS. पदकूलो ॥ (७) MS. काकेण ॥ (८) MS. त्यागिनाः ॥ (९) MS. चाइणो ॥ (१०) MS. श्रवणुठः श्रवजठो ॥ (११) Conjectural; MS. सवलेन सउलेण ॥ (१२) MS. वनराजि ॥ (१३) This example also occurs in A, omitting however वन ॥ (१४) MS. प्रजुष्टं प्रउष्टं, and places it after गत्रो ॥ (१५) MS. गायनः गायणो ॥ (१६) MS. गज ॥ (१७) MS. prefixes the example सितं सिचं, which is repugnant to the following sūtra (iii, 35). (१८) MS. जतुना जउणा ॥ (१९) MS. वातुलः वाजलो ॥ (२०) MS. वाक ॥ (२१) This example also occurs in A. (२२) MS. कूवो कूवू ॥ (२३) MS. places २४, २५. (२४) MS. इज ॥ (२५) MS. नई ॥ (२६) MS. विप्रयोगः ॥

APPENDIX C.

SUTRA I, 11^a. ON PAGE 6.॥ ११ ॥ क्लीवे जस्रशसोर् दू^(१) ॥ ११^म ॥

क्लीवे वर्त्तमानान् नाम्नः परयोः जस्रशसोः इं इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥

*कमलदं^(२) मल्लवि अलिउलदं करिगंडादं महंति ।†असुलहम् एत्य ए जाहं ‡मलि ते एवि 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 ॥अणामः ॥ भे कयं मया कृतं । भे कयं अस्माभिः कृतं । भे णिक्किट्टो मत्
निःकष्टः । भे तं णिक्किट्टो अस्मत् त्वं^(४) निःकष्टः । भे देसो मम देशः ।
भे देसो अस्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं मयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं
अस्मासु निहितं ॥

* C कमलानि मुक्ता अलिकुलानि करिगंडानि क्लृप्ति । असुलभम् अत्र न येषां भस्ते ते
नापि दूरं गणयंति ॥ † C असुलहं । असुलभं दुर्लभं वा । कदा यत्रो भवति ॥ ‡ C मलि
हटाकारेण ॥

(१) See H. C. IV, 353. T. V. III, 4. 25. (२) The MS. has the mark of
interpunctuation (1) after each word of the first line ; thus कमलदं । म० ॥

(३) The MS. has विदू रगणंति ॥ (४) MS. om.

APPENDIX D.

SUTRA II, 1^a. ON PAGE 13.॥ १^a ॥ संज्ञानवन् संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥ १^a ॥

प्राकृते पदयोर यत् संधिकार्यं तत् संज्ञतोक्तवद् भवति ॥

SUTRAS II, 1^b. 1^c. ON PAGE 14.॥ 1^b ॥ स्वरस्योद्धृते^(१) ॥ १^c ॥

व्यंजनसंपृक्त. स्वरौ यो^(२) व्यंजने लुप्ते ऽवशिष्यते स उद्धृत इहोच्यते ।
स्वरस्योद्धृते स्वरौ परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ गगनं गअणं । गंधकुटी गंधउडी ।

॥ 1^c ॥ न युवर्णस्यास्त्रे ॥ १^c ॥

द्वर्णस्य उवर्णस्य चास्त्रे वर्णे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ न वैरिवर्गे^(३) अपि
अवकाशः । ए^(४) वैरिवर्गे वि अवयासे ॥

TO SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

कर्हिचित्^(५) ॥ ऐदौतौ च केषांचिन् मते भवत एव ॥ कैतवं कैअवं । सौदर्थ्यं
सौअरिअं । कौरवाः कौलवा कौरवा ॥ डञ्जौ^(६) अपि स्वर्ग्यसंयुक्तौ^(६)
भवत एव ॥ अहंकारः हङ्कारो^(७) । अजितं^(८) अञ्जिअं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

अर्थः ॥ एवं सर्वासु विभक्तिषु ॥

(१) D ०त्तेः ॥ (२) D om. (३) D वैरवर्गे ॥ (४) D ०वर्गे ॥ (५) See App. C D.
(६) D डञ्जौ and ०त्तौ ॥ (७) D डङ्कारो ॥ (८) D अजिअं अजितं ॥

APPENDIX B C.

TO SUTRA III, 5. ON PAGE 24.

जिह्वः । जङ्घं उङ्घं । प्राप्तं पत्तं ॥

APPENDIX C D.

TO SUTRA I, 1. ON PAGE 2.

देशी० प्राकृतम् अनेकधा भवति । तद् यथा* ।

* C adds the following declension of जस्य = यज्ञ, सत्ता = सात्र and णिच्च = नित्य ;
 जस्यो । जस्यो ॥ हे जस्यो । हे जस्यो ॥ जस्यं । जस्यो or जस्ये ॥ जस्येण or जस्येणं । जस्येहि or जस्येहि
 or जस्येहिं ॥ जस्यस्स । जस्येणं or जस्येहं ॥ जस्योश्चो or जस्योश्चो or जस्योश्चि or जस्योश्चितो or
 जस्यो । जस्येहितो ॥ जस्यस्स । जस्येणं or जस्येहं ॥ जस्ये or जस्येभिः । जस्येभु or जस्येभुं ॥ एवं
 हेवाद्दयः ॥

सत्ता । सत्ताश्चो or सत्ताश्चो or सत्ता ॥ हे सत्ता । हे सत्ताश्चो or हे सत्ताश्चो or हे सत्ता ॥
 सत्तं । सत्ताश्चो or सत्ताश्चो or सत्ता ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताहि or सत्ताहिं or सत्ताहिं ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताश्चं
 or सत्ताश्चं ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताहिंते ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताणं or सत्ताहं ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताभु or सत्ताभुं ॥
 सित्तं । सित्ताणि ॥ सित्तं । सित्ताणि ॥ येषं यज्ञवत् ॥

*झल्लरिपउरे^(१) गामे इल्लपलिंदाण सुम्मए सद्दो ।

तह सज्जिज्जइ चिच्ची सुहेण जह बोलेण तुंगी ॥ १ ॥

सत्तवीसं^(२) (१)जोयणयरपसरो? जाव अज्जवि ण होइ ।

(४)पडिहत्थविंबगहवदवयणे ॥ ता वज्ज भत्तारं ॥ २ ॥

महाराप्रदेशे । भातु । भेट्टु ॥ अंध्रदेशे । वंटकमु । कूडु ॥ कर्णाटदेशे ।
कूलु ॥ द्राविडदेशे । चोरु ॥ इत्यादि ॥

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

कुल्लानि ॥ चत्वारि चत्तारि । चत्वारः चत्तारो । चतुरः चउरो^(३) ।
तिष्ठंति^(४) चिट्ठंति पय्य^(५) पेच्छ वा^(६) । यूयं तुम्हे^(७) । वयं अम्हे^(८) ॥

अयम् ॥ ग्रामेभ्यः^(९) गामाहितो । गुरुभ्यः^(९) गुरुहितो^(१०) । धेणुहितो ।
एरुहितो । दोहितो वेहितो^(११) । (१२)तौहितो ॥

अहंसे ॥ **दोसं दोसु । †वेसुं^(१३) वेसु । तीसुं तीसुं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 5. ON PAGE 4.

परितापं ॥ एरुणं एरुहं । गुरुणं गुरुहं । बुद्धीणं^(१४) बुद्धीहं । मङ्गणं^(१५) मङ्गहं ।

* C इल्लपलिंदाण व्याघ्राणां सद्दो शब्दः झल्लरिपउरे इजाप्रचुरे गामे ग्रामे सुम्मए यूयते ।
तह तथा चिच्ची अग्निः सज्जिज्जइ सज्जाते जह यथा तुंगी रात्रिः सुहेण सुखेन बोलेण व्यतिक्रान-
ति ॥ † C तुंगी इति । श्यामा तुंगी तमा तमी इति नामनिष्ठानकोशाकरे ॥ ‡ C सत्तवीसं
जोयणयरपसरो सप्रविंशतिथेज्जनकरप्रसरः जाव यावत् अज्जवि अथापि ण न होइ भवति ।
पडिहत्थविंबगहवदवयणे हे प्रतिहस्तविंबपदपतिवदने ता तावत् वज्ज वज भत्तारं भत्तारं ॥
§ C सत्तवीसंजोयण शब्दने चन्द्रः । तस्य कारणां प्रसरः चंद्रकरप्रसरः ॥ ॥ C प्रतिहस्तं
तिस्सतं विंबं कंडलं यस्य स प्रतिहस्तविंबः । प्रतिहस्तविंबो पदपतिश्च चंद्रः इति बोधनं ॥
¶ C ग्रामेभ्यः । गुरुभ्यः । धेनुभ्यः । नदीभ्यः । द्वाभ्यां । विभ्यः ॥ ** C दोसं । द्वि अये सुप्
(see ii, 12) । वर्गाद् अवगर्थं (iii, 5 दि-सुप्) । खरोऽन्यो (ii, 4 दोसुप्) । अदागमो
(ii, 11 दोसु) । अनुस्यारो (ii, 15 दोसु) ॥ †† C वेसुं । द्वि-अये सुप् (see ii, 12) ।
वर्गे (iii, 8 विसुप्; sig!) । खरो (ii, 4 वेसुप्) । अदागमो (ii, 11 वेसु) । अनुस्यारो
(ii, 15 वेसु) ॥ ‡‡ C इयोः ॥ विष्णु ॥

(१) D झल्लरिपउरे ॥ (२) D सत्तवीसं c. m. (३) D जोयणं ॥ (४) D चच्छं,
D विंबं ॥ (५) D चतुरो ॥ (६) D तिष्ठंति, C om. (७) C om. (८) D तुम्हे and
अम्हे ॥ (९) C om. (१०) D गुरुहितो ॥ (११) D वे ॥ (१२) D ताहितो ॥ (१३) C
वे ॥ (१४) D बुं ॥ (१५) D मधुणं ॥

अन्हाणं अन्हाहं* । (१) एमो अरहंताणं । एमो सिद्धाणं । (२) एमो
आइरियाणं? । (३) एमो उवज्जायाणं ॥ ॥ एमो लोए सव्वसङ्गणं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 6. ON PAGE 5.

भवति ॥ दोहं वेहं^(४) । तिहं । चउहं ॥

SUTRA I, 6a. ON PAGE 5.

॥ ० ॥ टा णः ॥ ३ ॥

लिंगात् परष् टा इत्यस्य^(५) ए आदेशो भवति ॥ देवेण । गुरुणा ।
मज्जणा । दहिणा । सिरेण । इत्यादि^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA I, 7. ON PAGE 5.

गामोहिं ॥ **गुरुहिं^(७) । एरुहिं । तुहेहिं^(८) । अहेहिं । ††दोहिं^(९) वेहिं ।
तीहिं ॥

* ० नदीनां । गुरुणां । बुद्धीनां । मधूनां । अस्माकं ॥ † ० एमो अरहंताणं नमोऽर्हंताः ।
नमोऽर्हंत् (१०) चतुर्थी बहुवचनम् अये भ्यस् । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 एमः अर्हन्त्) । एदोऽर्हं (ii,
10 एमस्यो अर्हन्त्) । खराणां० (ii, 1 एमो अर्हन्त्) । वर्षाविस्तेषं छत्वा र्हे इत्य् अस्य र्च इति
स्थितं । संयोगस्य० (iii, 30 एमो अरहन्त्) । अनुखारो० (ii, 15 एमो अरहन्त्) । अदा-
गमो० (ii, 11 एमो अरहन्त्) । षष्ठीवच्० (ii, 13) । सागमस्या० (ii, 5 एमो अरहन्त्) ।
खरो० (ii, 4 एमो अरहन्ताण) । अनुखारो० (ii, 15 एमो अरहन्ताणं) ॥ ‡ ० सिद्धाणं ।
सिद्धेभ्यः ॥ § ० आइरियाणं आचार्येभ्यः । आचार्यं । कगचज्० (iii, 34 आचार्यं) । खरो०
(ii, 4) इत्यनेन आ स्थाने इ भवति (आइर्यं) । वर्षाविस्तेषं छत्वा संयोगस्येष्ट० (iii, 30
आइरिय) । खरो० (ii, 4 आइरिया) । आम् अस्य णः (i, 5 आइरियाण) । अनुखारो० (ii,
15 आइरियाणं) ॥ ॥ ० उवज्जायाणं उपाध्यायेभ्यः । उपाध्याय । प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12
उर्वाध्याय) । वर्गाद् (iii, 5 उवाधाय) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16 उवाभाय) । लोपे० (iii, 24)
तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 उवाभाय) । ऋखल्वं० (ii, 3 उवज्जायाय) । खरो० (ii, 4 उवज्जाया) ।
आमो णः (i, 5 उवज्जायाण) । अनुखारो० (ii, 15 उवज्जायाणं) । उवज्जायाणं सिद्धं ॥
¶ ० नमो लोके सर्वसाधुभ्यः ॥ ** ० गुरुभिः । नदीभिः । युष्माभिः । अस्माभिः । द्वाभ्यां ।
चिभिः ॥ †† ० दोहिं । द्वि अये भ्या । द्विवचने बहुवचणं (sic) ज्ञेयं (ii, 12 द्वि-भिस्) ।
वर्गाद् (iii, 5 दिभिस्) । खरो० (ii, 4 दोभिस्) । हिं भिसः (i, 7 दोहिं) ॥

(१) C adds एमो अरहंताणं । एमो अरहंताणं ॥ (२) C adds एमो आइरियाणं ॥
(३) C adds एमो उवज्जायाणं ॥ (४) C वे० ॥ (५) D reads only णो for इत्यं ए
आद० ॥ (६) D om. (७) D गुरुहिं ॥ (८) D तुहेहिं and अहेहिं ॥ (९) C adds दोहिं
दोहिं । वेहिं वेहिं । तीहिं तीहिं ॥ (१०) C चतुर्थी बहुवचनम् ॥

SŪTRA I, 10^a. ON PAGE 6.

॥ 10^a ॥ द्विचिश्चिद्वाभ्यां जसश्चोर् णिः ॥ १०^a ॥

दुष्णि विष्णि दुवे* दो वे । तिष्णि^(१) । ^(२)एवं शसोऽपि ॥

TO SŪTRA I, 13. ON PAGE 7.

शोहा ॥ ^(२)चकारग्रहणात् किं । अकारात् परस्य डस्यः द्वित्वसकार एव भवति न तु णो ॥

TO SŪTRA I, 19. ON PAGE 9.

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

TO SŪTRA I, 20. ON PAGE 9.

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

TO SŪTRA I, 24. ON PAGE 10.

निक्खंतो ॥ ^(५)तुह्नेहिंतो अह्ने^(६) धिट्ठा^(७) । युष्मद् वयं धृष्टाः ॥

SŪTRAS I, 25^a, 25^b. ON PAGE 11.

॥ 25^a ॥ तुह्मम् आमि ॥ २५^a ॥

युष्मदः आमि परे तुह्मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुह्मं चियां ते गुणा । युष्माकम् एव ते गुणाः ॥

॥ 25^b ॥ तद् ङो ॥ २५^b ॥

सविभक्तेः ॥ तद्^(८) । १तुह्मम् ॥ तुह्नेसु^(९) ॥

* C दुवे । द्वौ । वर्षविशेषं कृत्वा दुवौ इति स्थितौ । संयोगस्येष्टं (iii, 30) इत्यनेन च प्रत्यय आगतः (दुवौ) । खरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन वै इत्यस्य वे भवति (दुवे) ॥ † C चियं । एवार्थे षट्-चिय-चेयाः (ii, 17) ॥ ‡ C तद् लथि सिद्धरूपं । वगोद् (iii, 5 तथि) । कगच्छञ् (iii, 34 तद्) । तद् सिद्धं ॥ § C युष्मद् । युष्मदो० (iii, 17 तुष्मद्) । रश्मणार्ण सः (iii, 18 तुष्मद्) । वर्गो (iii, 3 तुष्मद्) । शश्चोर् (iii, 23 तुह्मद्) । अदागमो० (ii, 11) इत्यनेन दकारस्य लोपः (तुह्) । एमि ङेः (i, 14 तुह्मि) ॥

(१) D places तिष्णि after एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (२) C repeats दुष्णि, etc., instead of the remark एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (३) D reads अकारान्, 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 तुं । (५) D तुह्ने० ॥ (६) D अह्ने० (७) C धिट्ठा ॥ (८) C om. (९) Here follows sūtra ii, 26 (see p. 21) in C D.

SUTRAS I, 26^a—26^d. ON PAGE 11.॥ 26^a ॥ ह्रं हं अहं^(१) सविभक्तेः ॥ २६* ॥

अस्मदः सौ परे ह्रं^(२) हं अहं एते^(३) आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः^(४) ॥
 (५) ह्रं सौ एरो^(६) । तेण हं विद्धो । अहं कयपणामो* ॥

॥ 26^b ॥ अस्मद् जसि ॥ २६^b ॥

अस्मदो जसि परे अस्मद् भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अस्मद् मणुस्मा^(७) सूरा । वयं
 मनुष्याः शूराः^(८) ॥

॥ 26^c ॥ अस्मि ॥ २६^c ॥

अस्मदः अस्मि परे अस्मद् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः^(९) ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां
 पश्य ॥

॥ 26^d ॥ अस्मि शसि^(१०) ॥ २६^d ॥

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

SUTRA I, 31^a. ON PAGE 12.॥ 31^a ॥ (१२) मद् छौ ॥ ३१^a ॥(१) सविभक्तेः ॥ (२) मद्^(१२) । अस्मि^(१३) ॥ (१४) अस्मि^(१५) ॥

* C कयपणामो कृतप्रणामः ॥ † C मद् । मधि । कयचज० (iii, 34) इति मद् सिद्धं ॥

(१) C places सौ after सवि० ॥ (२) D ह्रं ॥ (३) C om. (४) C D place सवि०
 before सौ ॥ (५) D अहं ॥ (६) D एरो ॥ (७) C मणुस्मा ॥ (८) C सूराः ॥ (९) C
 D place सवि० before अस्मि ॥ (१०) D शसि ॥ (११) C D place सवि० before
 शसि ॥ (१२) C om. sūtra. (१३) D मद् ॥ (१४) D om. (१५) Here follows sūtra
 ii, 27 (see p. 22) in C D.

TO SUTRA II, 5. ON PAGE 15.

रिषां ॥ ऋद्धिः^(१) इड्डी^(२) । वृषभः वसहो *उसहो^(३) रिमहो ॥ वृहस्यति-
 शब्दस्याष्टादश रूपाणि भवन्ति ॥ 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 ऋषः सरिवसो । सदृक् रूपः
 सरिरुवो । सदृशः सरिसो । सदृचः सरिच्छो । एतादृशः एत्रा-
 रिमो । भवादृशः भवारिमो । यादृशः जारिमो । तादृशः तारिमो ।
 कौवृशः केरिमो । ईदृशः^(१०) एलिसो^(११) । अन्यादृशः अणारिमो ।
 अस्मादृशः अन्हारिमो । सुस्मादृशः तुन्हारिमो । इत्यादि ।

TO SUTRA II, 9. ON PAGE 16.

कडळा ॥ मौघं सउहं । मौनं मउणं । पौरुषं पउरिसं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 11. ON PAGE 17.

भरि० ॥ पडिवयाणं । यत् जं । तत् तं ॥

* C वृषभः । खरा० (ii, 5) इत्यनेन वृ इत्यस्य वु (वृषभः) । कगचज० (iii, 34) इत्यनेन
 वकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थितं (उषभः) । रशशा० (iii, 18) उसभः) । हे० (iii, 13) उसहः) ।
 एदोद्र० (ii, 10) उसहसो) । खराणां (ii, 1) उसहो) ॥ † C वृहस्यतिः । खरा० (ii, 5
 विह०) । पवयोर्० (iii, 22) पिह०) । प्रथम० (iii, 11) फिह०) । पुनः प्रथम० (iii, 11
 मिह०) । हकारस्य खरस्य विक्षेपे छते हश्च इति स्थितं (मिह्च०) । अदागमो० (ii, 11)
 इत्यनेन हलोपः (भिअ०) । श्वलोभ्यो० (iii, 2) भिअसतिः) । लोपे० (iii, 24) भिअसतिः) ।
 कगचज० (iii, 34) भिअस्सई) । खरो० (ii, 4) भिअस्सई) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10) भिअस्सई) ।
 भिअस्सई इति सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C सदृक् ऋषः । खरा० (ii, 5) सदृक्०) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16)
 सडिक्०) । मउहा० (iii, 21) सलिक्०) । रलधोर्० (iii, 22^a) सरिक्०) । अदागमो० (ii,
 11) सरि-अर्णः) । रेफ० (iii, 9) सरिवणः) । लोपे० (iii, 24) सरिवणः) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10)
 सरिवणसो) । खराणां (ii, 1) सरिवसो) ॥ § C प्रतिपत् । अदागमः ॥

(१) C ऋद्धि, D ऋद्धी ॥ (२) C इड्डी, D इड्डी ॥ (३) D om. (४) C places this after
 वृहस्सई ॥ (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 एदृशः ॥ (११) So both C D.

कर्म ॥ सम्यक्^(१) समं^(२) । ईषत्^(३) ईसं ॥

शिरै० ॥ शिराणं* ॥

TO SUTRA II, 12. ON PAGE 17.

Commentary: सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च द्विवचनं बद्ध० ॥

दंश० ॥ ण्यणा । सोहंते ॥

SUTRAS II, 13^a, 13^b. ON PAGE 17.

॥ 13^a ॥ प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥ १३^b ॥

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

॥ 13^b ॥ सप्तम्यास् द्वितीया आर्षे ॥ १३^c ॥

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

SUTRA II, 14. ON PAGE 18.

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतस्मन्वाः ॥ १४ ॥

सुता वर्णाः उकारनकारञकाराश् च प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ श्लोकः ।

इि औ खरौ ततः पश्चात् ष्ट ष्ट लृ लृ चतुःखराः ।

ऐअः उञ्जनशषाः^(६) संति प्राकृते नैव कर्हिचित् ॥ १ ॥ (D) ॥

* C शिरस् । (शिरसां) ॥ † C नयने । शोभने ॥ ‡ C ऐऔ खरौ० । गाथा(१) ।

तेत्तीस विंजणाई सत्तवीसा सरा तच्चा भणिया ।

चत्तारि य जोगवहा चउसट्ठी(७) मूलवणा औ ॥ १ ॥

ह्यवरल । अणनडम । भादधघम । जडदगव । कठथखफ(८) । चटतकप । शषस ॥ २३ ॥

अशाशाः । इईईः । उऊऊः । ष्टष्टष्टः । लृलृलृः । एएएः ऐऐऐः । औऔऔः ॥ २७ ॥

श्रुः ष्यः अंशः(९) ॥ ४ ॥ ६४(१०) मूलवर्णा भवन्ति संस्कृते(११) । प्राकृते ५२ भवन्ति ॥ औ इति

संबोधने(१२) ॥ § C अः इति विसर्जनीयः । (१२) अकार उच्चारणार्थः । कुमारीसुनयुगला-

कृतिर् वर्षो विसर्जनीयसंज्ञो भवति । शृंगवद् बालवत्स्य बालिकाकुचयुग्मवन्नेत्रवत् छण्यसर्पस्य

(१४) विसर्गोऽयम् इति स्मृतः ॥

(१) C om. (२) B रक्षं ॥ (३) C om., D इषत् ॥ (४) D तित्यथरा ॥ (५) See Bhagavati (ed. Weber) p. 260, Kalpasūtra (ed. Jacobi) p. 33. (६) C अः उः अ० ॥

(७) C ० सट्ठी ॥ (८) खफकठथ ॥ (९) MS. indistinct, व्यः for ष्यः ॥ (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 ॥ कचिद् अर्द्धानुस्वारोऽपि भवति ॥

संज्ञातं ॥ सङ्कारो* । वीसा । तीसा । लोप ॥

भङ्गो ॥ देवेहिं । प्रकृति ॥ देवेहि । लोप ॥ देवेहिं । (अर्द्धानुस्वार^(१)) ॥

SUTRA II, 19. ON PAGE 19.

॥ 19 ॥ तु ता चा हु चुं त्वाण तुआण ओ वि प्पिणु वेप्पिणु पूर्व० ॥ १३ ॥

भोत्तूण ॥ काउआण । वंदेवि ॥ कप्पि ॥ वंदेप्पिणु^(२) । पणवेप्पिणु ॥

TO SUTRA II, 20. ON PAGE 20.

फडिल्लो ॥ स्लोक^(३) ।

(४)वतोर् मतोर् (५)इल्ल उल्ल आल आलू इरा मणः ।

वत्तो मामत्त इत्ताश्^(६) च यथा लच्छं दश^(७) स्यताः ॥ १ ॥

शोभवान् सोहिल्लो । विकारवान् विआरुल्लो । अद्धावान् सद्धालो । खेह्वान्
 णेहल्लू । गर्खवान् गव्विरो । धनवान् धणमणो धणवत्तो । हनुमान् हणुमा
 हणुमत्तो । पुण्णवान् पुण्णमत्तो । मानवान् माणइत्तो^(८) । काव्यवान्
 कव्वइत्तो^(९) ॥ तच्च भवेऽपि इल्ल उल्लो ॥ ग्रामे भवः गामिल्लो । पुरे भवः
 पुरिल्लो ॥ अधो भवः । अधो हेट्टः^(९) । अधः स्थाने हेट्टादेशो^(९) भवति ।
 हेट्टिल्लो^(९) ॥ उपरि भवः उवरिल्लो । आत्मनि भवः अपुल्लो ॥

SUTRA II, 21. ON PAGE 20.

॥ 21 ॥ ता ताव जा जावास् तावद्यावतोः ॥ २१ ॥

* C संस्कारः ॥

(१) C D om. (२) D वं० ॥ (३) C om. (४) C reads वतोः स्थाने इल्ल०, and makes it to be a new sūtra. (५) D reads अल्ल for आल ॥ (६) C D इत्ताश् ॥ (७) D inserts numbers after each suffix, thus इल्ल१ उल्ल२, etc.; C superscribes them, thus इल्ल^१ उल्ल^२, etc. (८) D इत्तो ॥ (९) C हेठः, हेठा०, हेठि० ॥

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

TO SUTRA II, 24. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ गाथा ।

*गुरुलङ्गप्रथत्याणं तग्गुणमुल्लं हवेद् सव्वेसिं ।

कुह्नित्रिसिन्नाण भोज्जं जलपाणं तं अमुल्लं खु ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 26. ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ भे सुणु । त्वं प्रुणु ॥

निश्चस्यत ॥ भे भणामि । त्वां भणामि ॥

ह्यतं ॥ भे कथं युष्माभिः ह्यतं । भे अहं णिक्किट्ठो^(१) त्वं अहं निःह्यः ।

भे अहं सूरुओ युष्मद् अहं प्रूरः^(२) । भे देसो तव देशः । भे देसो

युष्माकं देशः । भे णिह्दिदं त्वयि निह्दिदं । भे णिह्दिदं युष्मासु

निह्दिदं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22.

भवति ॥ भे भणामि । अहं भणामि ॥

SUTRAS II, 27^a—27^f. ON PAGE 22.

॥ 27^a ॥ इजेराः पाद्दपूरणे^(१) ॥ २७^a ॥

॥ 27^b ॥ जि अथ्यथं एवार्थं ॥ २७^b ॥

॥ 27^c ॥ णवरि आणंतर्था^(२) ॥ २७^c ॥

॥ 27^d ॥ णवरु केवलार्थं^(३) ॥ २७^d ॥

॥ 27^e ॥ चदेः कुडु^(४) ॥ २७^e ॥

* C गुरुलङ्गपदार्थानां तद्गुणमौल्यं भवति सर्वेषां । चुषितवषितानां भोज्यं जलपानं (तद्) अमौल्यं (खलु) ॥

(१) D णिक्किट्ठो ॥ (२) C D सूरः ॥ (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.

॥ २७^a ॥ धूयु द्विह कुत्साया ॥ २७^a ॥

॥ २७^b ॥ दडवड^(१) श्रीप्रार्थ ॥ २७^a ॥

*दडवड^(१) होइ विहाण ॥

॥ २७^b ॥ अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखस्येतस्ततो गमने डवडव ॥ २७^a ॥

डवडव चरियाए ॥

॥ २७^c ॥ णं एउ एाहं एावइ^(२) जणि जणु मणु इवार्थे^(३) ॥ २७^a ॥

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

॥ २७^d ॥ दाणिं एण्हिं^(५) एत्तहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥ २७^a ॥

॥ २७^e ॥ यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिमतिमौ ॥ २७^a ॥

दोहा^(६) ।

†कालु लहेविण जोइया^(७) जिम जिम मोह^(८) गलेइ ।

(९)तिम तिम दंसण^(१०) लहइ जो^(११) णियमे^(१२) अण्यु^(१३) मुण्णइ ॥१॥

SUTRA II, 29^a.

॥ २९^a ॥ जो डः ॥ २९^a ॥

* C श्रीप्रं (भवति) विभातं ॥ (दोहा) ।

ढोला मइ^(१४) तुज्जं^(१५) वारिआ मा कुए दीहा माणु ।

णिइए^(१५) गमिही रत्तडौ दडवड^(१) होइ विहाणु ॥ १ ॥

मानं प्राप्तं नायकं प्रति काचिन् नायिका प्रःह^(१६) । ढोला हे नायक मया लं वारितः दीहा दीर्घं मानं दर्प्यं मा कुए । निद्रया रात्रिर् गमिष्यति । दडवड^(१) श्रीप्रं विभातं प्रभातं हे इ^(१७) (भवति) ॥ † C कालं (लब्धा जायायाः) यथा यथा मोहः गलति । तथा तथा दर्शनं लभते (यावत् नियमेन) आत्मानं (मन्यते) ॥

(१) C दडवड ॥ (२) D एावइ ॥ (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 अण्यु c. m. (१४) C मइं तुज्जं c. m. (१५) C णिइए ; here ए is short, metri causa, = णिइए ; see Vr. 5, 22. (१६) C नयका प्राहा ॥ (१७) C चेा ॥

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

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 23.

रत्नं ॥ स्पष्टं फुडं । स्पष्टं^(१) पुट्टं^(२) । उक्त्यं उक्किट्टं^(३) । नष्टः णट्टो^(४) ।
दुष्टः दुट्टो^(५) । सुष्टः सुट्टो^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

रक्षी ॥ तीक्ष्णं तिक्खं । आत्मा आदा आया अन्ता^(१) अत्ता । सर्वज्ञः
सव्वसू^(२) ॥ वेति किं । वच्चि वेम्मि ॥

TO SUTRA III, 9. ON PAGE 25.

पवरो ॥ भ्रमरः भवरो भमरो भसलो ॥

हसो ॥ प्रथमशब्दस्य चत्वारि रूपाणि । पुढुमो पढुमो पढमो पुढमो ॥
स्ती थी ॥

SUTRA III, 11^a.

॥ 11^a ॥ द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥ ११^a ॥

वर्गाणां द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं प्रथमद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं
णकरं । मार्गणः मक्कणो । गिरितटं किरितटं । मेघः मेखो । व्याघ्रः
वक्खो । घर्षः खम्भो । राजा राचा । जर्जरं चच्चरं । जीमूतः चीमूदो^(१) ।
निर्झरः णिच्छरो । झर्झरः क्ख्छरो । तडागं तडाकं^(२) । मंडलं मंटलं ।
डमरुकः टमरुको । गाढं काठं । षंडः संठो^(३) । ढक्का^(४) ठक्का । मदनः
मतनो^(५) । कंदर्पः कंतप्पो । दामोदरः तमोतरो । मधुरं मथुरं ।
बंधवः पंथवो ॥

(१) D स्पष्टं ॥ (२) C ०ठं, D ०ट्टं ॥ (३) C ०टो, D ०ट्टो ॥ (४) C ०टो, D ०ट्टो ॥
(५) D अत ॥ (६) C D सव्वसू ॥ (७) So C D, with द ॥ (८) So C D, with ड; but
in C corrected to ट ॥ (९) D संडो(?) ॥ (१०) D ढक्का(?) ॥ (११) So C D;
but C has a marginal correction in pencil रुतरो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26.

यष्टिः ॥ जिनप्रतिमा जिणपडिमा । वितस्त्रिः^(१) विहत्थी^(२) । वसतिः वसही ।
 भरतः भरहे । कातरः काहलो । मातुलिंगः^(३) माङ्गलिंगो ।
 पापं पावं । पुत्रः विट्टो । पुत्री विट्टी^(४) ।

SUTRA III, 15^a. ON PAGE 27.॥ 15^a ॥ पवथोरू जो वा ॥ १५^क ॥

पकारवकारयोः स्थाने मकारो वा भवति ॥ श्वरः^(५) सवरो समरो ।
 स्वप्नः^(६) सिमिणे सिमिणे । नीवी^(५) णीवी णीमी । पूर्वः^(६) पुञ्चो^(७)
 पुरिमे ॥

TO SUTRA III, 16. ON PAGE 27.

रुद्धी ॥ वर्द्धमानः वद्धमाणो । वृद्धः बुद्धो ॥
 धृषं ॥ खिद्यते खिञ्जए । रुदितं रुषं ॥

SUTRA III, 17^a. ON PAGE 27.॥ 17^a ॥ जस्य रः ॥ १७^क ॥

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारो भवति ॥ व्युत्सृजामि वोसरामि । व्युत्सृजति
 वोसरद् ॥ यष्टिः लट्टी^(८) । यष्टिका लट्टिआ^(९) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 19. ON PAGE 28.

नाजं ॥ राजा राणा । आज्ञा आणा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 20. ON PAGE 28.

कण ॥ (१०)करीरः कणीरो । करोति कुणद् ॥
 वज्जो ॥ भगिणी । वहिनी भदणी ॥

(१) D वितस्त्री ॥ (२) D विहत्थी ॥ (३) D ंलिंगो ॥ (४) D विट्टी ॥ (५) D om. (६) D पूर्वः ॥ (७) D पुञ्चो ॥ (८) C लठी, D लट्टी ॥ (९) C ंटिआ, D ंटिआ ॥ (१०) C om. this example.

TO SUTRA III, 21. ON PAGE 28.

जिज्ञासा ॥ वडमुखं^(१) वलमुहं । गरुडः^(२) गरुलो । तडागः तलाञ्चो^(३) ।
क्रीडति कीलद्^(४) । स्फटिकः फलिहो ।

SUTRAS III, 22, 22^a. ON PAGE 28.

॥ ४४ ॥ पवयोर व्यत्सासः ॥ २० ॥

पवयोर व्यत्सासो भवति ॥ पापं पावं ॥

॥ ४४^a ॥ रलयोर व्यत्सासः ॥ २२* ॥

पर्यंकः । etc. *

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

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

TO SUTRA III, 30. ON PAGE 31.

वरिसं ॥ श्री सिरी । ह्रीः^(७) हिरौ । अर्हत् अरहंतो । आचार्यः आय-
रिञ्चो^(८) । स्त्री इत्यौ^(९) ॥

मदुमं ॥ तन्वी तणुवी । लघ्वी लज्जवी । गुर्वी गुरुवी । पृथ्वी पुह्वी ।
(१०)बङ्गी (१०)बज्जवी । मृद्वी मदुवी । स्यात् सिया^(११) । स्याद्वादः
सिञ्चावाञ्चो^(१२) । भव्यः भविञ्चो^(१३) । (१४)श्वः कृतं सुवे कयं । खे
जनाः सुवे जणा । ज्या जीञ्चा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31. ON PAGE 31.

तेरह ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत्^(१५) तेतीसा । चयोविंशतिः^(१५) तेवीसा ॥

(१) D व० ॥ (२) D गु० ॥ (३) D तङ्गाड ॥ (४) D कीलद् ॥ (५) D तङ्ग ॥ (६) D तङ्गि ॥ (७) D ह्री ॥ (८) D ंरिड ॥ (९) D इच्छी ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) C सिया ॥ (१२) D ंवाड ॥ (१३) D भविड ॥ (१४) D श्वः ॥ (१५) C om.

SUTRA III, 34. ON PAGE 32.

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

खरात् परेषां अनादिभूतानां असंयुक्तानां कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुक्
भवति ॥ क^(२) । काकः काओ^(३) ॥ ग । नागः णाओ^(४) ॥ च । पिशाचः
पिसाओ^(५) ॥ ज । गजः गओ ॥ त । शितं सिओ ॥ द । मदः मओ ॥ प ।
नूपुरं णेओ^(६) ॥ य । निश्चयः णिच्छओ^(६) ॥ व । देवः देओ^(७) ॥ अनादेर्
इति किं ॥ कालो । गंधो । चोरो । परउट्टो^(८) ॥ कचिद् आदेर् अपि ॥
पुनः उणो^(९) । गंधं अंधं । च अ । वृषभः उसहे ॥ असंयुक्तस्येति किं ॥
अर्कः^(१०) अक्को । चक्रं^(१०) चक्कं । कचित् संयुक्तस्यापि ॥ नक्तं चरः एअं चरो ।
नमस्कारः एमोयारो एवयारो^(११) ॥ प्रायो ग्रहणात् कचिन् न भवति ॥
शपयः^(१२) सवहे । शापः^(१२) सावो । सकुसुमं^(१३) । प्रयागजलं^(१०) पयाग-
जलं । प्रयुक्तं पजुक्तं^(१४) । विप्रयोगः विप्पजोओ ॥

SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

॥ ३५ ॥ यत्नं अवलम्बः ॥ ३५ ॥

कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुकि सति शेषोऽवर्षोऽवर्षपरो यत्नं आपद्यते ॥

TO SUTRA III, 36. ON PAGE 32.

लक्ष्मी ॥ इति श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षण^(१६) व्यंजनविधानं तृतीयं समाप्तं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 39. ON PAGE 33.

पञ्चुत्तं ॥ पुरुषः पुलिशे । ^(१७)एषः एषे । ^(१७)मेघः^(१८) मेघे ॥

(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 । काको काई । प्रतिकूलः पडि-
जलो ॥ (४) D णाउ ॥ (५) D पिसाउ ॥ (६) D णिच्छिओ ॥ (७) D देवो ॥ (८) C
उट्टो, D उट्टो ; D adds the Skr. परपुष्टः ॥ (९) D उणो ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D adds
नमस्कारः ॥ (१२) C D स० ॥ (१३) C आपः (modern Hindi साप). (१४) C सकुसुमं ॥
(१५) C पञ्चुत्तं ॥ (१६) D reads प्राकृतप्रकारे ॥ (१७) C om. this example. (१८)
D मेघे ॥

गाथा^(१) ।

(२) लहश्चवश्चनमिलश्चलशिलविश्रुतिदमंदाललाजिदं हिजुगे^(३) ।

वीरजिणे पक्खालदु मम^(४) शयलम् अक्खजंवालं* ॥ १ ॥

SŪTRA III, 39^a. ON PAGE 33.

॥ 39^a ॥ (५) शौरसेन्यां तकारस्य इकारो 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॥

* Ed. रभस-वश्च-नश्च-सुर-शिर-विगलित-संदा-राजितां हि-जुगः ।

वीरजिनः प्रचालयतु मम सकलम् अक्ख-जंवालं ॥ १ ॥

(१) C om. (२) D लहश्च, C originally लहश्च, but corrected into लहश्च; also C D नमिश्च, but in H. C. IV, 288 नमिल; also D विश्रुतिद ॥ (३) D जुगे ॥ (४) C D शयलम् ॥ (५) C D give no sūtra for this commentary; but add it as if it were part of sūtra 39. (६) D prefixes तावः (sic); see H. C. IV, 262. (७) C D read पदं पयं ॥ (८) C om. (९) C D सौ ॥

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 ॥

डसि ॥ (५) तस्सा तिस्सा(६) ॥

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

डि ॥ गामे(९) । कुले(९) । तत्र(१०) तत्थ(११) । तस्मिं(१२) तन्धि । लयि तयि ।
मयि(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA II, 4. ON PAGE 15.

इंगाला ॥ (१४) विंशतिः वीसा । त्रिंशत्(१५) तीसा । वच्छे(१५) *वुच्छं(१६) ।
(१७) वच्मि वेम्मि(१७) ॥

नेपुरं ॥ (१५) संगट्हाति संगिहद्द(१८) । क्खला कट्टु(१९) । † नयनविह्वनं(२०)
मुहं । निर्व्वार्यते(२१) नीवारिअद्द(२२) ॥

* B ब्रुवे ॥ † C नयनविहीनं मुखं ॥

(१) C D तुम्हे ॥ (२) B रक्खयो ॥ (३) D अच्चे ॥ (४) C D णो ॥ (५) B तस्सा ॥
(६) B ताह; 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 सुहं । मम सुहं ॥
(९) C D add गामस्मि and कुलस्मि ॥ (१०) C om. (११) D तच्छ ॥ (१२) B C D
तस्मिन्; the whole reading in B is confused तत्थ । तस्मिन् । तत्र । तस्मि (or तस्मि ?) ।
तन्धि । तन्धि (or तन्धि ?) ॥ (१३) B लयि मयि तद् मद, D लयि तद् मयि मद, C only
तद् मद ॥ (१४) B om. this example (see iii, 32. ii, 15). (१५) B om. Skr. transla-
tion, but see the marginal gloss. (१६) D बु० ॥ (१७) D repeats वेम्मि ॥ (१८) B
संगिहद्द ॥ (१९) B कट्टु, D कट्ट (see ii, 19). (२०) B नदं वक्खुहं ॥ (२१) So B; C
D निर्व्वार्यते ॥ (२२) B निव्वा०, C D णीवा० ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3. ON PAGE 24.

भक्त्वरो ॥ कः करोति को करद् । कः पचति को पयद्^(१) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6. ON PAGE 24.

लच्छी ॥ C D ॥ आत्मा अप्पा । तीर्णं तिण्ह^(२) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 23. ON PAGE 29.

जन्हा ॥ ^(३)कृष्णः कण्हो^(४) । यीष्मः^(५) गिन्हो^(६) । ऊष्मा^(७) उन्हा^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 24. ON PAGE 29.

दुग्गा ॥ शक्रः सक्रो^(८) । तस्करः तक्करो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 27. ON PAGE 30.

अन्येषाम् उक्तविशेषाणां द्वि० स एव भ० ॥ अ० अ० । स्वर्गं सगं । स० स० ।
दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । नाय्यः^(९) नट्टो^(१०) । भुक्तं भुक्तं । धान्यं धन्नं^(११) ।
सर्पः सप्पो । श्रुत्वं^(१२) सुत्वं । काव्यं कव्यं । शस्यं सस्सं^(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 35. ON PAGE 32.

नाया ॥ पिशाचाः पिमाया । ^(१४)वनराजा वणराया । माता माया^(१५) ।
यदा जया^(१६) । ^(१७)पापफलं पायहलं ॥ अवर्ष इति किं ॥ देवाः
देव्रा^(१७) । पिता^(१८) पित्रा^(१९) । ^(२०)लोकस्य लोअस्स । भुवनं
भुअणं । कचिद् भवत्य एव ॥ पिवति^(२१) पियद् ॥

(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 कृष्ण (see p. 29), but B after जन्हा ॥ (४) A कण्हो (see note १२, p. 29). (५) C D यीष्मो ॥ (६) C D place this example before यस्मान् (see p. 29). (७) B D उष्मा ॥ (८) D शक्रो ॥ (९) C D नाट्यं ॥ (१०) C D णट्टं ॥ (११) So B; C D धन्नं ॥ (१२) Conjectural; B has श्रुतः सुक्तं; C D श्रुत्वं सुक्तं ॥ (१३) B शस्सं ॥ (१४) B om. this example. (१५) B adds शारदा सारया ॥ (१६) B adds अपकृतं अवकथं (MS. अपकृतं अपचितं अवहितं (MS. अवहितं); 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.

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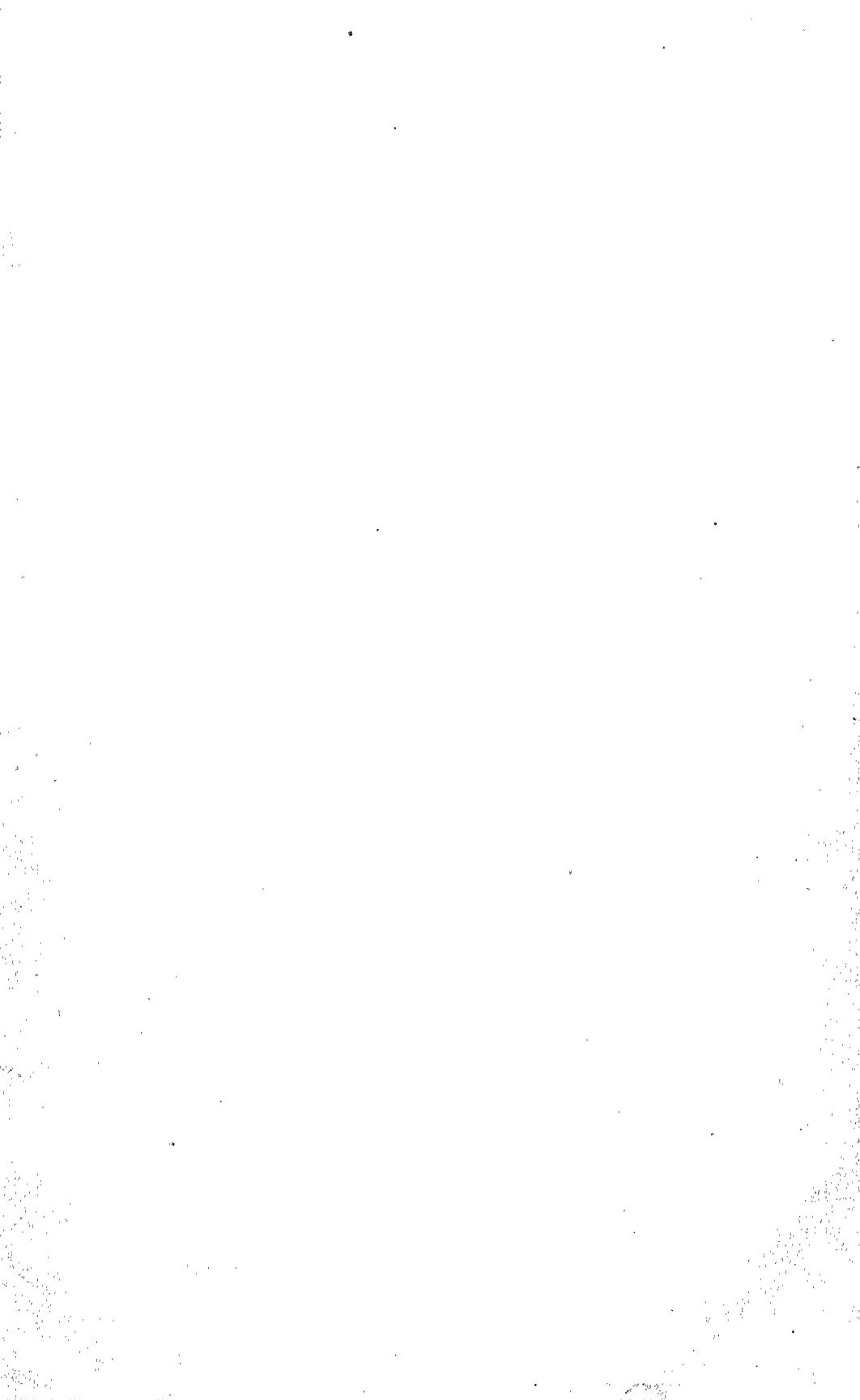
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On page 9 in footnote (दइ) insert : B मनुस्सा, and on page 53, in footnote (५) insert : C D prefix देवान् देवा, and in footnote (९) insert : C D prefix देवे देवन्नि ॥







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