

A PĀLI GRAMMAR

by

Wilhelm Geiger

translated into English

by

Batakrishna Ghosh

revised and edited

by

K.R. Norman

Published by

The Pali Text Society - Oxford

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FOREWORD

The Pali Text Society has for many years wished to include a Grammar of Pāli in its List of Issues, but has been unable to persuade anyone to write one of suitable length and depth. Nor did any of the existing grammars seem to satisfy the needs of both beginners and those engaged in the academic study of Pāli. Among these Geiger's *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* (in its English translation *Pāli Literature and Language*) seemed best to satisfy academics, but beginners find its wealth of quotations and tightly packed pages daunting. It was finally decided to attempt to produce a version of Geiger which would, as far as possible, suit the needs of both classes of user.

In this version paragraphs have been separated out into subparagraphs to make their contents more transparent. This would have increased the size of the book enormously had the number of references included not been reduced. It seems likely that, because of the absence of dictionaries and concordances at the time, Geiger included whatever references were known to him from his own wide range of reading. Although the number of references given seems to imply completeness or to define the type of texts in which the form is found, this is usually very far from being the case and, now that there are concordances and other ways of checking references, there seemed to be no virtue in including more than one example or (very occasionally, in special circumstances) two examples of each usage, to confirm that it is a genuine form. Geiger's first example has usually been retained, but this practice has not been followed if he had by chance put a non-canonical reference first. In such cases the canonical reference has been retained.

Since other histories of Pāli literature have appeared since 1916, it was thought that there was no necessity to reproduce the portion of Geiger's work which deals with Pāli literature. Geiger's Introduction has been replaced by a new Introduction written by Professor Richard Gombrich.

The Pali Text Society is grateful to the University of Calcutta, who own the copyright in Ghosh's translation, for giving permission to make use of it in the production of this grammar. Since the desire to change the format of Ghosh's work meant that it was not possible to reprint it photographically, it became necessary to reset the work. This gave the opportunity of making certain corrections and additions to the text and of bringing the references up to date.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AKM	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
abl.	ablative
absol.	absolute
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AIC.	E. Müller, <i>Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon</i> , London 1883
Ai.Gr.	Wackernagel, 1896
AMg	Ardha-Māgadī
aor.	aorist
Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Av.	Avestan
BB	<i>Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen</i> (ed. Bezzenger)
Beitr.	E. Kuhn, <i>Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik</i>
BHS(G, D)	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Grammar, Dictionary)</i> = Edgerton, 1953A, 1953B
BR	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von O. Böhtlingk und R. Roth</i> , 7 vols., St Petersburg 1855 foll.
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
Catal.	Catalogue
caus.	causative
CDIAL	Turner, 1966
Childers	Childers, 1875
Cl.	Class
cond.	conditional
cons.	consonant
CP	K.R. Norman, <i>Collected Papers</i> I (1990), II (1991), III (1992), IV (1993), V (1994), VI (1996)
cpd	compound
cty, cties	commentary, commentaries
dat.	dative
dem.	demonstrative
denom.	denominative
desid.	desiderative

DoP	Margaret Cone, <i>A Dictionary of Pali</i> , Part I, A Kh. PTS, 2001.
fem	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
GGA	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
GN	<i>Nachrichten der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
IA	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>
IE	Indo-European
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
ind.	indicative
indef.	indefinite
inf.	infinitive
instr.	instrumental
intens.	intensive
interr.	interrogative
intrans.	intransitive
IT	<i>Indologica Taurinensis</i>
JAs	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JMāh.	Jain Mañarāṣṭri
JPTS	<i>Journal of the Pali Text Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
Kacc.	Kaccāyana, ed. and trans. by Senart (JAs 1871, pp. 193–544)
KZ	<i>Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> (see also ZVS)
loc	locative
LSprS	Geiger, 1900
Mag.	Magadhi
Mah.	Mahāraṣṭri
masc.	masculine
m.c.	metri causa
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan

mid.	middle
Ms(s)	manuscript(s)
MSS	<i>Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft</i>
MW	M. Monier-Williams, <i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i>
Nam.	Subhūti, Namamāla
neut.	neuter
nom.	nominative
Norman, CP	K.R. Norman, <i>Collected Papers</i> I (1990), II (1991), III (1992), IV (1993)
Notes	Trenckner, 1908
OB	<i>Orientalische Bibliographie</i>
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
O. Pers.	Old Persian
opt.	optative
Paiś.	Paiśācī
part.	participle
pass.	passive
PD	Childers, 1875
PED	(PTS's) <i>Pali-English Dictionary</i>
perf.	perfect
pers.	personal
PGI.	Andersen, <i>Pāli Reader</i> , II, <i>Pāli Glossary</i>
PGr.	Pāli Grammar; 1. J. Minayeff, <i>Pāli Grammar</i> ; 2. E. Müller, <i>Simplified Grammar of the Pali Language</i> ; 3. R.O. Franke, <i>Gesch. und Krit. der einheim. Pāli-Grammatik</i>
Pischel	Pischel, 1900
Pkt	Prakrit
pl.	plural
PLB	Bode, 1909
pluperf.	pluperfect
poss.	possessive
pot.	potential
PR	Andersen, <i>Pāli Reader</i>
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun, pronominal
pronom.	pronominal

PTC	<i>Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance</i>
PTS	Pali Text Society
rel.	relative
§.	Śauraseni
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists, ed. by Rhys Davids
SBE	Sacred Books of the East, ed. by Max Müller
sg.	singular
Skt	Sanskrit
subj.	subjunctive
subst.	substantive
s.v(v).	under the heading(s)
Tī.	Tīkā
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
trans.	transitive
trsl.	translation
Turner, CP	Turner 1975
Utt.	Charpentier 1922
Ved.	Vedic
voc.	vocative
VT	<i>Vinaya Texts</i> , trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, 3 vols. (= SBE XIII, XVII, XX).
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> (see also KZ)

The abbreviations of the titles of Pali texts are those used in CPD and DoP. NB: An asterisk after the line number indicates that the reference is to a verse passage; double asterisk = canonical prose in Ja; an acute accent = a commentarial portion of Ja.

INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS PĀLI?

What is Pāli? As the name of a language, it originates as an abbreviation.¹ In Pāli, *pāli-bhāṣā* means “the language (*bhāṣā*) of the texts (*pāli*)”. A fuller translation of *pāli* might be “text for recitation”. The texts in question are those of the earliest stratum of Buddhist scriptures as they are preserved by a particular Buddhist tradition, the Theravāda. In that tradition those texts are collectively referred to as the *Tipiṭaka*, which literally means “that which is in three baskets”, and they are supposed to be “the word of the Buddha” (*Buddha-vacana*). The *Tipiṭaka* is usually referred to in English as “the Pāli Canon”.

Our first, and provisional, answer to the opening question is therefore that Pāli is the language of the earliest Buddhist scriptures as preserved in one (conservative, but not static) Buddhist tradition. We shall try to improve on that answer, first by making it more informative and then by broadening it. Let us immediately summarise how we shall have to broaden it. Pāli is by no means coterminous with the language found in the Pāli Canon; it continued to be used by Theravāda Buddhists: for commentaries, for other exegetical works, for chronicles, and in due course for other literary works, not all of them closely related to the early scriptures. Pāli has also been used as a spoken language and a means of communication between learned Buddhists. However, one can safely say that with insignificant and probably artificial exceptions Pāli has been used only by Theravāda Buddhists and that most texts written in Pāli are closely linked to that religious tradition.

To make our provisional answer more informative we must ask: what kind of a language is Pāli, in terms of its origins? This question requires two kinds of answer: the answer given by the Pāli tradition itself, and the answer given by modern philologists. Within the Pāli tradition, Pāli has been widely known as Magadhi, i.e. the language of Magadha. Magadha was the ancient name for a part of north-eastern India; it had no precise boundaries, and referred at different times to an

¹ K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature*, Wiesbaden 1983, pp. 1–2.

area of different extent, but Magadha may very approximately be equated with the modern state of Bihar. The capital of Bihar today is Patna, and that is the same city as Pāṭaliputra, which was the capital of the Mauryan Empire (late 4th to late 3rd century B.C.); the third ruler of that empire, Aśoka (c. 269–c. 231), helped Buddhism greatly to expand by his patronage. The Buddha spent his adult life in and near Magadha, and Pāli was named Magadhi because of the belief that Pāli was the language that the Buddha spoke, and that therefore it must have been the language spoken around him.¹ The great exegete Buddhaghosa (5th century A.D.) wrote that if a child heard no other language it would grow up spontaneously to speak Māgadhi (our “Pāli”) and that it was the root language² (from which, presumably, all other languages derive); but there is no evidence for such beliefs in earlier texts. On the contrary, there is good reason to think that the Buddha recognised the conventional nature of the language he spoke. In any case, that was not Pāli — though, as we shall see, it was related to it.

Modern philologists classify Pāli as a form of Middle Indo-Aryan; within the Indian tradition, this group of languages is called Prakrit. Both these terms describe the languages directly derived from Sanskrit, which philologists also call Old Indo-Aryan. Old Indo-Aryan is sometimes divided into classical Sanskrit, which was codified by the grammarian Pāṇini (probably 4th century B.C.), and the pre-classical language, Vedic Sanskrit. Sanskrit is a branch of Indo-Iranian, and Indo-Iranian is in turn a branch of Indo-European. Indo-European is the theoretical reconstruction by modern linguists of a language (with many dialects) which must have been spoken three and more thousand years ago by people who originated somewhere near the Black Sea and came to range over a wide area.³ Indo-European, of which no direct record survives, is the ancestor of many modern languages, from Sinhala and Bengali in the South-east to English and the Celtic languages in the North-west, and also of many languages now dead. There is a widespread popular misunderstanding to the effect that Sanskrit is the

¹ K.R. Norman, “The dialects in which the Buddha preached”, pp. 61–77 in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung: The Language of the Earliest Buddhist Tradition*, Göttingen 1980.

² Norman, *Pāli Literature*, p. 2

³ K.R. Norman, “The Origin of Pāli and its Position among the Indo-European Languages”, *Journal of Pāli and Buddhist Studies* (Nagoya) I, 1988, pp. 1–27.

oldest Indo-European language. It is true that the evidence for Sanskrit is much older than that for most (not all) Indo-European languages, but that does not mean that the language itself is older than others for which the evidence is later. Besides, one must distinguish between two kinds of evidence: oral and written. It is plausibly argued that most of the oldest Sanskrit text, the *Rgveda*, goes back to the latter part of the first millennium B.C. (one cannot be more precise); but it was not written down for well over a thousand years. The earliest dated evidence for writing in India is the inscriptions of the Emperor Aśoka (see above). Writing was probably used in the far north-west of India (modern Pakistan/Afghanistan) at a somewhat earlier date, in a script which soon died out and left no descendants, but for the general cultural history of India that is marginal. Aśoka’s inscriptions were in Prakrit, not Sanskrit. There is good reason to think that texts in both Sanskrit and Prakrit began to be written down in the 2nd century B.C., though no direct evidence for a written text of that period survives.

This distinction between the types of evidence available is essential to clear thinking about the history of Pāli. Let us work backwards through time. Most of the physical evidence for Pāli is surprisingly recent: the bulk of the Pāli manuscripts surviving in Sri Lanka and Burma were copied in the 18th and 19th centuries. A considerable number of manuscripts in northern Thailand, recently brought to wider notice by Prof. von Hinüber, date from the 16th century; only a handful of manuscripts known from elsewhere are older than that. The grammarians who systematised Pāli grammar and prosody in Burma in the 12th century exercised considerable influence on how the language was written thereafter in Burma, and thence to some extent elsewhere.¹ However, analysis of the only Pāli manuscript to antedate those grammarians shows a language identical in most respects to that preserved by the later manuscripts. This oldest witness consists of four leaves of a manuscript of a canonical text; it is in Kathmandu and dated

¹ Oskar von Hinüber, “Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma”, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1983 nr. 3, pp. 67–79

on palaeographic grounds to c. 800 A.D. It seems to have been copied from a north Indian original some centuries older.¹

Whether we consider the Kathmandu manuscript the oldest substantial piece of written Pāli to survive is to some extent a matter of definition. There are older seals with Pāli formulae, just a few words long, inscribed on them. There are also two inscriptions, found in India and dated to the 5th century A.D. or close to it, which have several lines of canonical text; they are in a dialect of Middle Indo-Aryan very close to Pali as it is otherwise known, but with some phonetic differences, so that Prof. von Hinüber calls them "continental Pāli".² They are not taken into account in this book.

According to the Theravāda chronicles, the Pāli Canon was first committed to writing at a monastery in central Sri Lanka in the first century B.C., during the reign of Vattagāmaṇī Abhaya.³ Unfortunately there are two theories about the chronology of Sri Lanka at this period: if we follow Geiger,⁴ that reign is dated 29–17 B.C., if Mendis,⁵ exactly 60 years earlier. It is reasonable to assume that some texts may have been committed to writing earlier, whether in India or in Sri Lanka, but in what language we cannot know. The act of writing down the text must have stabilised the content of the Canon, even though whether a few specific texts were to be considered canonical (i.e., part of the *Tipitaka*) or not was a matter which was not settled until modern times.

Writing down a text does not ensure its perfect transmission any longer than that original copy is preserved; every time a text is copied out, errors occur. The commentaries on the Canon, most of which are

¹ Oskar von Hinüber, "The Oldest Pali Manuscript", Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, 1991 nr. 6.

² Oskar von Hinüber, "Epigraphical Varieties of Continental Pāli from Devnimori and Ratnagiri", pp. 185–200 in *Buddhism and Its Relation to Other Religions: Essays in Honour of Dr. Shozan Kumoi on His Seventieth Birthday*, Kyoto 1985.

³ K.R. Norman, "The Pāli Language and Scriptures", pp. 29–53 in T. Skorupski (ed.), *The Buddhist Heritage*, Tring 1989.

⁴ Wilhelm Geiger (trans.), *The Mahāvamsa*, Colombo 1960 (original ed. 1912), p. xxxvii.

⁵ G.C. Mendis, "The Chronology of the early Pāli Chronicles", *University of Ceylon Review* 5, 1, 1947, pp. 39–54.

ascribed to Buddhaghosa though he mainly edited older material, record quite a few variant readings and pass over other textual corruptions (as they are apparent to us) in silence. Nevertheless, those corruptions affect only a tiny proportion of the total text; they are far too limited to obscure our view of the character of its language as a whole. That language we may safely assume to have been Pali, very much as we know it and as it is described in this book.

How, then, does this Pali, the language in which the *Tipitaka* was consigned to writing, relate to the language in which the Buddha preached? This has been the subject of much learned debate, but here it would be out of place to recapitulate the controversy. Nor shall we go into detail, because it is easy to lose sight of the wood for the trees. We know that the Buddha spoke a form (or several forms, as he travelled) of Prakrit; that he lived in the 5th century B.C.,¹ so that the Sanskrit to which his speech was most closely related was pre-classical;² that he explicitly permitted his followers to translate what he had said (in conscious contrast to the Veda, of which the very sounds were sacrosanct); and that the texts into which his words came to be formalised were preserved orally by the monks and nuns for many generations. It is also evident that just as there is a gap in time of nearly 400 years between the death of the Buddha and the writing down of the Pali Canon, there is a distance of some 1,500 miles between the area in which the Buddha lived and central Sri Lanka. As Buddhism and its texts grew older and spread geographically, the dialects used must have changed and proliferated. Before the texts were written down, it is not likely that their dialect was ever completely fixed, or even that the differences between the dialects were clearly conceptualised; it must have been a matter of reciting in what appeared like "regional accents". And in the last resort, Pali was formed at the phonetic level by the spelling conventions which the first scribes chose to adopt.

The Pāli sound system contains inconsistencies which would not exist in the modern scholarly transcription of any real spoken language. For these inconsistencies there seem to be two main reasons. Firstly,

¹ Richard Gombrich, "Dating the Buddha: A Red Herring Revealed", pp. 237–59 in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *The Dating of the Historical Buddha: Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, part 2, Göttingen 1992.

² Oskar von Hinüber, *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*, Vienna 1986, pp. 22–23.

some words, and even a few grammatical inflections, show traces of a dialect from north-east India (Magadha) inconsistent with the rest of Pāli phonetics; these may well represent attempts to retain certain features of the speech of the Buddha and/or his earliest disciples. These word forms, with their "frozen" phonetics, mostly represent Buddhist technical terms which perhaps served as identity badges for the Theravāda tradition. The other main set of inconsistencies must be due to spelling conventions. During these early centuries of Buddhism, brahmins were exhaustively discussing and categorising the Sanskrit sound system; it was in terms of the sound values of Sanskrit that Prakrit dialects could be formalised or thought about. All the early (i.e., B.C.) Buddhist texts were in forms of Prakrit; and when they came to be written down, as we can see not only in the case of Pāli but also in what is called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, there was a tendency to move words towards their Sanskrit spellings. Indeed, as we shall repeat below, this was a recurrent tendency in the history of Pāli. This is easy to understand if we think of an analogy: when a modern novelist or playwright wants to record the speech of characters who use an English dialect, he does not provide a full phonetic transcription of that dialect speech — which hardly any readers could follow — but compromises with the spellings of standard English. This makes it most unlikely that we shall ever be able to recapture the full phonetic reality of the language which Buddhists were reciting before their texts were written down. On the other hand, we can be virtually certain that what was written came gradually to exert an influence on what was pronounced.

So we return to our opening question: what is Pāli? We can now offer a more informative version of our initial answer, and say that Pāli is the form of Prakrit (or Middle Indo-Aryan, which is the same thing) used in first writing down the Theravāda Buddhist Canon, an event which took place in Sri Lanka in the 1st century B.C.

However, we have already indicated that this answer is incomplete. A language cannot be reduced to its exemplification in its earliest or principal document — even though in the case of Pali its name might seem to imply that. The Pāli language is not coterminous, we have said, with the language found in the Pali Canon. It developed.

The Theravāda Buddhist tradition, Pāli's social vehicle, was virtually confined, so far as we know, to Sri Lanka and south-east India for over a thousand years. In the 11th century it spread to Burma and thence, during the next three centuries, to much of the rest of

continental South-east Asia. In each country Pāli was somewhat influenced by the main language in use in its surroundings. Thus, for example, the Pāli written in Sri Lanka and on the adjacent mainland of India shows traces of Sinhalese and Dravidian influence. In Cambodia (where the first Pāli is in an inscription dated 1308–9) local influence went so far that there developed a macaronic language, a mixture of Pāli and Khmer¹ (not treated in this book); but that seems to have been exceptional.

The main influence on the development of Pali, however, continued to be Sanskrit. Again and again in its history — the inscriptions and the Kathmandu manuscript mentioned above furnish examples — there is a tendency to drift back to Sanskrit spellings, or at least to Sanskrit phonetics. What does this distinction mean? Again, let us take an English parallel. Some English dialects (e.g., Cockney) lose initial *h*. A scribe anxious to correct Cockney may restore standard English phonetics by supplying initial *h*, but he may not be restoring English spelling if he puts an initial *h* where it does not belong: "I ham happy to see you". The Burmese grammarians of the twelfth century, for example, performed analogous feats with Pāli.

Buddhaghosa, especially in his great compendium of Theravāda doctrine, the *Visuddhi-magga*, wrote a Pāli which was influenced by classical Sanskrit in syntax and style. After the scholarship of the Burmese grammarians, works came to be written in a Pāli which was virtually calqued on Sanskrit: the distinctive morphology of Pāli and its earlier vocabulary were preserved, but any Sanskrit lexical item could be turned into Pāli by mechanically applying phonetic rules, and Sanskrit sentences could similarly be transposed into Pali without paying much attention to the distinctive features of earlier Pāli idiom and style. In this sense the use of Pāli, even though it could serve as a medium of communication between monks who had different mother tongues, became highly artificial.

Lexicographers have tended to ignore this latest phase of Pāli, and that is not unreasonable, since in theory any item in the Sanskrit lexicon could be represented in Pali without changing its meaning. For the

¹ Saveros Pou, "Sanskrit, Pāli and Khmero-Pāli in Cambodia", pp. 13–28 in J.G. de Casparis (ed.), *Sanskrit outside India, Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference* vols. VI and VII (bound together), Leiden 1991

practical purpose of describing the language, then, the development of Pāli is generally considered to end with the Burmese grammarians.

We should therefore complete our answer to the opening question by saying that Pāli has undergone changes and development over the centuries: least in morphology (grammatical inflection) but quite noticeably in phonetics, syntax, style and vocabulary. As von Hinüber has put it, Pali is not so much a "dead" language as an artificial language that has been repeatedly reshaped.¹

A PĀLI GRAMMAR

A. PHONOLOGY

I. SOUND-SYSTEM AND ACCENT

§0. Four stages of the Pāli language can be distinguished:

1. The language of the Gāthās, i.e. the metrical pieces. It is very heterogeneous in character. On the one hand it contains many archaic speech-forms which are distinguished only phonologically from the OIA forms; on the other hand, it also contains large numbers of new formations wholly characteristic of Pāli, and they are often mixed with archaic forms which may occur side by side with them, sometimes in one and the same verse. In some cases the exigencies of metre probably determined the choice of the forms to be used. In those cases where verses were translated from an older language into a later one the use of archaic forms was particularly liberal, because it afforded a closer approximation to the original.

2. The language of the canonical prose. It is more homogeneous and uniform than the language of the Gāthās. The archaic forms become less numerous and, in part, disappear altogether. The use of new formations is no longer accidental or arbitrary as in the oldest period of the language, but is governed by more rigid rules.

3. The later prose of the post-canonical literature, e.g. the Milindapañha, the great commentaries, etc. It is based on the canonical prose and reflects its artificial and erudite usage. The difference between the first and the second period is therefore much greater than that between the second and the third. The latter is further characterised by a still more restricted use of archaic forms.

4. The language of later artificial poetry, which no longer possesses a homogeneous character. The authors derived their knowledge of the language and borrowed speech-forms indiscriminately from older and later literature, and their propensity to archaism and Sanskritism varied in different cases.

¹ "Notes on the Pāli Tradition in Burma", p. 69.

§ 1. In the Orient various scripts are used for the writing of Pali. in Sri Lanka the Sinhalese, in Burma the Burmese, in Thailand the Siamese script.

§ 2. The sound-system of Pāli consists of the following:

1. Vowels: *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o,*

as well as the nasal vowels *am, im, um.*

2. Consonants: Gutturals (or Velars): *k, kh, g, gh, n*

Palatals: *c, ch, j, jh, ñ*

Retroflexes (or Cerebrals): *t̪, th, d̪, dh, n̪*

Dentals: *t, th, d, dh, n*

Labials: *p, ph, b, bh, m*

Liquids: *r, l, ŋ, jh̪*

Semi-vowels: *y, v*

Sibilant: *s*

Aspiration: *h.*

Note:

1. The vowels *e* and *o* are ambiguous as to length; in closed syllables they are short and in open syllables they are long.²

2. The sign of nasalisation (*m*) corresponding to the *anusvāra* and *anunāsika* of Sanskrit is called *niggahīta* by the Pāli grammarians. In Sri Lanka at present the *niggahīta* is pronounced as a guttural nasal.

3. The consonant *l̪* stands for intervocalic *d̪*, and *lh̪* for intervocalic *dh̪*. In the MSS *l* and *lh̪* are always confused. Some spellings seem to be arbitrary. Thus *kāla* 'black' is mostly written with *lh̪*, although it is equivalent to Sanskrit *kāla*, probably to distinguish it from *kāla* 'time'. It would seem preferable to write *l̪* everywhere where an etymological connection with retroflex sounds is obvious.

4. Where it stands alone, *h̪* is a consonant. In combination with *y, r, l, v*, or with the nasals, it appears to have been pronounced in a special manner, which the grammarians call *orasa* 'spoken in the chest'.³

¹There is no special sign for this sound. It is usually indicated by the ligature *l + h̪*

²Sometimes *e* and *o* in open syllables must be scanned as short metri causa.

³Sadd 609.5.

§ 3. In its sound system Pāli stands in a Prākritic stage when compared with Old Indian. Pkt too has lost the vowels *ā* and *ū*, as well as the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, in all dialects, and the vowel *ṛ* in most of the dialects except Apabhramśa.¹ Moreover Pkt like Pāli possesses the retroflex consonant *l̪* and the ambiguous-length vowels *e* and *o*. Most Pkt dialects like Pāli have only the dental *s*; the retroflex *ś* is found only in Gāndhārī,² and the palatal *ś* is absent in most.³

The original diphthongal character of *e* and *o* is shown by the fact that in sandhi *a + i* becomes *e* and *a + u* becomes *o*, cf. *macchassevodoke gatam* = *macchassa iva udake gatam* 'like the course of fish in water' Ja I 295.8. They were even used (instead of *ai* and *au*) as vrddhi-vowels. Thus forms are found which have originated inside Pāli, such as *tepiṭaka* 'devoted to the Tipiṭaka' Dhp-a III 384.18 from *upiṭaka*, and *opadhika* 'relating to the substratum of existence' S I 233.15 from *upadhi*. This strengthening into *e* and *o* may take place even in cases where *i* and *u* are not original, e.g. *pothujjanika* 'relating to common people' Vin I 10.12 from *puthujjana*, where the *u* corresponds to Skt *r̥* (*prthagjana*). Cf. *sosānika* 'relating to a cemetery' Pp 69.27 from *susāna* = Skt *śmaśāna*. In *gelañña* 'illness' D II 99.16 from *gilāna* = Skt *glāna*, and in *sovattika* 'bringing prosperity' Vv 18.7 from *svavatti* = Skt *svasti*, *e* and *o* are the strengthened forms of the svarabhakti-vowels *i* and *u* which originated within Pāli. Cf. also *veyyāvacca* 'rendering service' Vin I 23.20 from **vīyāvata* = Skt *vīprta*; *veyyākaranya* 'answering' D I 51.5 from *vīyākaroti* = Skt *vīkaroti*.⁴

In the same way *a* has been strengthened to *ā* within Pāli; *sakhalya*, *sakhalla* 'friendliness' M I 446.19 from *sakhila*; *bhākuṭika* 'with frowning eye-brows' Vin III 181.6 from *bhakuṭi* = Skt *bhrakuṭi* (or *bliṅkuṭi*).

¹Where, however, it appears to be a characteristic of certain families of MSS, rather than a genuine feature of the dialect. See Tagare (1948, p. 23).

²Its appearance in the Kālsī version of the Aśokan Rock Edicts is merely a scribal idiosyncracy.

³Pischel (§ 45).

⁴Cf. Skt *vīyākaranya*, as the vrddhi form of *vyākaranya*

§ 4. Nothing has been handed down to us about the nature of the Pali accent. It is, however, improbable that the ancient Indian accent was

still in force. It is more likely that, as Jacobi has suggested for Pkt,¹ the Sanskritic accent was the rule in Pāli.² This is suggested by the changes of vocalism in Pāli, such as the weakening of a vowel after the accented syllable (in the Skt form) or its strengthening in the main accented syllable. Cf. §§ 19 foll.

¹Jacobi, ZDMG, 47, pp. 574 foll.; KZ, 35, pp. 578 foll. Pischel takes a different view; cf. Pischel (§ 46); KZ, 34, pp. 568 foll.; 35, pp. 40 foll. Cf. Grierson, ZDMG, 49, pp. 395 foll.; Michelson, IF, 23, p. 231.

²On this cf. Jacobi, ZDMG, 47, p. 574.

2. THE LAW OF MORAE

§ 5. In Pāli, as generally in Middle Indian,¹ a syllable can contain only one mora or two morae but never more. The syllable is thus either (1) open with a short vowel (one mora) or (2) open with a long vowel (two morae), or (3) closed with a short vowel (two morae). Every syllable with a nasal vowel is considered as closed. Long nasal vowels do not occur. Because of this law, where Skt has a long vowel before a double consonant (i.e. in a closed syllable), Pāli has either:

- (a) a short vowel before a double consonant² or
- (b) a long vowel with the following double consonant simplified.

Examples of (a): *jīṇa* ‘old, exhausted’ = Skt *jīrṇa*. Likewise *māṃsa* ‘flesh’ = Skt *māṃsa*, and the final in *nādīm* ‘the river’ (acc.) = Skt *nādīm*. In such cases the vowels *e* and *o* are short: *sēmha* ‘catarrh’ = Skt *slesman*; *ōṭha* ‘lip’ = Skt *oṣṭha*.

Examples of (b): *lākhā* ‘lac’ = Skt *lakṣā*; *dīgha* ‘long’ = Skt *dirgha*. In the case of the vowels *e* and *o* the orthography in the MSS not infrequently varies, e.g. *apēkkhā* and *apekhā* ‘expectation’ = Skt *apeksā*; *upēkkhā* and *upekhā* ‘indifference’ = Skt *upeksā*; *vimōkkha* and *vimokha* ‘deliverance’ D II 70,28 = Skt *vimokṣa*.

¹R O Franke, Pāli und Sanskrit, pp. 90 foll.

²In Pāli *sutti*, therefore, Skt *śukti* ‘oyster-shell’ (Vin II 106,11) and *sukti* ‘good speech’ (Saddh 340) have coincided

§ 6. The Law of Morae has led to various changes.¹ Because of it:

1. In Pāli there can be a long vowel before a single consonant where Skt has a short vowel before a double consonant: *sāsapā* ‘mustard seed’ (instead of **sass-*)² Dhp 401 = Skt *sarṣapa*; *vāka* ‘bark’ (instead of **vakka*) D I 167,2 = Skt *valka*; *nīyāti* ‘goes away’ = Skt *niryāti*.³

2. Pāli shows a short vowel before a double consonant where originally there was a long vowel before a single consonant: *abbahati* ‘draw out’ Th 162 = Skt *ābhṛhati*;⁴ *nīḍa* ‘nest’ Dhp 148 (AMg *nēḍda*) = Skt *nīḍa*; *udukkhala* ‘mortar and pestle’ Vin III 6,26 (AMg *udukkhala* beside *uduhala*) = Skt *udukhala*; *kubbara* ‘pole of a carriage’ A IV 191,6 = Skt *kūbara*, *kūvara*; *pēttika* ‘fatherly’ D II 232,10 for **pētika* = Skt *paitṛka* (by analogy with which *mettika* has been subsequently formed). Cf. also *mahabbala*, *mahappala* = Skt *mahābala*, *mahāphala*.⁵

3. As the short nasal vowel has two morae like the long vowel, a nasal vowel not infrequently appears in place of a pure long vowel⁶ and vice versa: *mamkuna* ‘bug’ Ja III 423,13 instead of **māk-*, **makk-* = Skt *matkuna*; *sañvarī* ‘night’ D III 196,22* instead of **sāvare*, **sahbarī* = Skt *śarvarī*; *sumka* ‘toll’ (AMg *ussumka*) instead of **sūka*, **sukka* = Skt *sūka*; *ghaṇsati* ‘rubs’ instead of **ghās-*, **ghass-* = Skt *gharsati*; *vidamsentī* ‘she who shows’ Thī 74 instead of **vidās-*, **vidasy-* = Skt *vidarśayanti*. On the other hand: *vīsatī*, *vīsaṁ* ‘twenty’ = Skt *vīṁsatī*; *siha* ‘lion’ = Skt *śimha*; *sārambha* ‘audacity’ (beside *saṁrambha* Dāth 4,34) = Skt *saṁrambha*;⁷ and other words beginning with *saṁ-* (before /)

¹For analogous phenomena in Pkt, see Pischel (§§ 62–65, 74–76, 90).

²Turner, CP, p. 421, doubts this.

³Cf. also *svātanāya* ‘for next day’ (in BHS *śvetanāya*, etc.) from Skt *svastana*. Johansson, Monde Oriental, 1907–08, pp. 106 foll.

⁴This may be from a guṇa grade formation **ābhṛhati*. See Norman, 1971B, p. 333.

⁵Although here we may be dealing with compounds of *mahat-*. See Norman, 1992B, p. 186.

⁶The tendency towards nasalisation is often seen in MSS: *namgara* instead of *nagara*, *gaṇchi* (*gañchi*) instead of *gacchi*, etc. Cf. *ulumpa* ‘raft’ D II 89,15 – *udupa*.

⁷via **sar-rambha*; see § 52.6.

§ 7. Sometimes a long vowel is retained before a double consonant, particularly in contractions, as in *sājja* = *sā ajja* ThI 75, *yathajjhāsayena* = *yathā ajjasayena* ‘according to desire’ Ja IV 243.8. Also in derivatives such as *dussilya* from *dussila*. Cf. *bālya* ‘stupidity’ Dhp-a II 30.3, as a variant reading for *balya*. These are clearly examples of learned orthography. There are also sporadic cases like *dabbi* (name of a plant) Abh 586 = Skt *dārvī*; *datta* ‘sickle’ Abh 448, Mil 33.3.6 = Skt *dātra*.¹ Quite frequent is *svākkhāta* ‘well proclaimed’ Vin I 12.24 = Skt *su-ākhyāta*.

See Turner, CP, pp. 432–35. Childers also gives *ajjava* ‘straightness’ beside *ajjava*. *Sākyā* Mhbv 22.12 instead of *Sakya* (according to the Colombo edition), *Sakka* or *Sakiya* is perhaps a wrong reading. The form *Sakiya* also is not quite correct.

§ 8. It is also due to the action of the Law of Morae that even when a consonant-group is resolved by a svarabhakti vowel (§§ 29 foll.) a long vowel preceding the consonant-group is regularly shortened.¹ The two one-mora syllables in such cases represent one two-mora syllable: *suriya* ‘sun’ (instead of **sūyya*) = Skt *sūrya* but *sūriya* ‘heroism’ Ja I 282.17, purposely differentiated from *suriya*; *pakiriya* absol. of *pakirati* ‘loosens (the hair)’ = Skt *prakīrya*. In such words as *cetiya* = Skt *caitya* and *Moriya* = Skt *Maurya* *e* and *o* should therefore perhaps be considered as short vowels. The insertion of the svarabhakti vowel does not, however, change the length of a following vowel: thus *gilāna* ‘ill’ = Skt *glāna*. Only in the case of the originally monosyllabic words *itthī* ‘woman’ = Skt *strī*, *siri* ‘fortune’ = Skt *śrī* and *hiri* ‘modesty’ = Skt *hrī* does this law act to some extent.² In compounds these words have short vowels³: *itthiratana* ‘jewel of a woman’ D I 89.3, *hirimana* ‘of modest disposition’ D II 78.34. Cf. also *sirimant*, *hirimant* and occasionally *sassirika*,⁴ *ahirika*, etc.

¹ As a rule it is different in Pkt, cf. AMg *sūriya*, *vīriya*, etc. But still AMg, JMāh. *veruliyā* = *vaidūrya* (Pāli *veṇurya*). In Pāli we have *sīliya*, Ja III 7.1* only metri causa.

² On the same words in Pkt see Pischel (§§ 98, 147).

³ Lengthening takes place only metri causa, thus *sirimant* Th 94, *siridhara* Mhv 5.16

⁴ *sassirika* Ja I 504.29, *nissirika* Ja VI 456.1.

3. THE VOWELS ā, ī, ū

§ 9. Occasionally *e* appears for *a* before a double consonant: *pheggū* ‘empty, worthless’ M I 194.25 = Skt *phalgu*; *seyyā* ‘bed’ = Skt *śayyā*.¹ The word *ettha* ‘here’ is probably not = Skt *atra*, but = **itra*, Av. *iθra*,² and is therefore to be classed with § 10.2. In the same way *hetthā* ‘below’ is derived not from Skt *adhashtat*, but from **adhesthat*,³ as is shown by the retroflex -*ṭh*-.

¹ There were perhaps intermediate forms such as **phiggu*, **siyyā* (Pkt *sejjā* with the frequent v.l. *sijjā*). Cf. *mumjā* ‘marrow’ (§ 6.3) = *majjā* Pischel § 101 explains this as the weakening of the syllable before the accent, but the vowels in *seyyā* and *minjā* are more likely to be due to palatalisation by the following palatal consonants. See Norman, 1976A.

² So already Lassen, Instit. Linguae Pracriticae, p. 129. Cf. E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 21. Pischel (§ 107) thinks of a connection with Vedic *ītthā*. Note, however, the v.l. *ubhayettha* for *ubhayattha* Dhp-a I 29.13. Both *itra* and *etra* are found in Gāndhārī: see Konow, Kharoshthī Inscriptions, Index, s.vv.

³ Pischel (§ 107).

§ 10.1. The vowels *i* and *u* are lengthened in the inflectional endings *-ihi*, *-ūhi* and *-īsu*, *-ūsu* of the -*i* and -*u* declensions (§ 82).

2. Not infrequently *i* and *u* become ī and ū before a double consonant or consonant group¹: *Venhu* (JMāh. *Vīnu*) D II 259.22 = Skt *Viṣṇu*;² *nekha* ‘gold ornament’ Sn 689 (beside *nikkha* Vin I 38.16) = Skt *niṣka*; *koccha* ‘bundle, ball, fleshy part’ Vin II 149.32 = Skt *kūrca* (cf. § 62.1); *oṭṭha* ‘camel’ M I 80.13 = Skt *uṣṭra*; *vokkamati* ‘gets deranged’ D I 230.14 = Skt *vyutkramati*; *Okkāmukha* (proper name) = Skt *Ulkāmukha*.³ In such words as *rāmaṇeyya* ‘charming’ = Skt *ratnāṇīya*, *dakkhīṇeyya* ‘worthy of veneration’ = Skt *dakṣināṇīya*, an intermediate stage with *-iyya has to be imagined. The change into *e* takes place even when *i* is derived from *r*, e.g. *gheppati* ‘grasps’, if it is to be derived from **ghippati* < **ghṛipyati* as Pischel has suggested for Pkt *gheppai*.⁴ The double consonant following after ī and ū may be secondarily simplified according to the Law of Morae with an accompanying lengthening of *e* and *o*: *Uruvelā* (place-name) through **Urūvēllā*, **Urūvillā* = Skt *Urūvilvā*; *ojā* ‘strength’ D II 285.10 through **oja*, **ujjā* = Skt *ūrjā*. In *vihesati* ‘injures, insults’ Ud 44.30 (beside

vihūṣati) the intermediate steps **vihīsati*, **vihissati*, **vihēssati* have to be imagined.⁵ Similarly *i* and *e* have developed from original *r̥* in *paligedha* ‘desire’ A I 66,10, and *paligedhin* A III 265,7 through *-*giddha*, *-*gēddha*, and *-*giddhin*, *-*gēddhin* = Skt *griddha* and *grddhin*.

¹Frequently also in Pkt. See Pischel (§§ 119, 122, 125)

²In S I 52,10 too *Venu* should be read instead of *Venḍu*.

³But always *ukkā* ‘flame, meteor’ D I 49,31, Ja IV 290,23, D I 10,17 = *ulkā*. The name *Okkaka* = *Ikṣvāku*, which is connected by the Buddhists with *ikṣu* ‘sugarcane’ is in fact derived from **Ukkhāka* (**ukkhu* side-form of *ucchu*). The analogical influence of *Okkāmukha* also had some effect.

⁴Pischel (§ 107).

⁵For the suggestion that *hes* is the guṇa grade of *his*, see Burrow, 1956, p. 200.

§ 11. Intermediate stages with double consonants have perhaps to be assumed where *ī* and *ū* have become *e* and *o* in open syllables: *edi*, *edisā* (*erisa*), *edisaka*, *edikkha* (*erikkha*) ‘such a one’ Sn 313 (beside *īdisa*, etc., Mhv 5,93) through **iddi*, **ēddi*, etc. = Skt *īdr̥ś*, *īdr̥śa*, *īdr̥ksa*;¹ *āveļā* ‘garland’ Vv 36,2 (Pkt *āmeļā*) through **āviddā*, **āvēddā* = Skt *āpiḍā*;² *galocī* (a plant; Pkt *galōī*) Abh 581 through **galucci*, **galōccī* = Skt *guḍucī*; *jambonada* ‘gold’ Dhp 230 through *-*unnada*, *-*ōnnada* = Skt *jambūnada*. *Mahesi* ‘queen’ from Skt *mahiṣī*³ is remarkable.

¹The influence of the *e*- of the demonstrative pronoun should not be ignored. Cf. AMg *eddaha* beside *erisa*, etc.; see Pischel (§§ 121, 122). Pāli has, however, only *kidi*, *kidisa*, etc.

²Pischel (§§ 122, 248). See also Norman, 1960B, p. 106.

³E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 24 suspects the influence of *mahesi* ‘wise man’. Cf. here also *gahetvā*, *nervā* which have been wrongly explained by Minayeff, PGr., § 16, p. 6. See Alsdorf, 1965, p. 59, where the vowel length of *mahiṣī* is confirmed for verse texts

4. DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOWELS *r̥*, *ī*

§ 12. The vowel *r̥* develops into *a*, *i*, *u* in Pāli, even in initial position, which is not the case in Pkt.¹ The quality of the vowel is largely influenced by the neighbouring sounds (cf. § 16); *u* appears mostly after labials.

1. *r̥ > a*: *accha* ‘bear’ Ja VI 507,5* = Skt *rksa*; *pasada* ‘spotted antelope’ Ja VI 537,31* = Skt *pr̥ṣata*; *vaka* ‘wolf’ Sn 201 = Skt *vṛka*; *hadaya* ‘heart’ = Skt *hrdaya*.

2. *r̥ > i*: *ikka* ‘bear’ Ja VI 538,1* (cty: *accha*) = Skt *r̥kṣa* (cf. § 62.2); *ma* ‘debt’ (AMg *aña*) Sn 120 = Skt *r̥na*; *vicchika* ‘scorpion’ D I 9,8 = Skt *vṛścika*; *sipāṭikā* ‘seed-house’ M I 306,2 = Skt *sṛpāṭikā*.

3. *r̥ > u*: *uju* or *ujju* (Ja VI 518,8*) ‘straight’ = Skt *r̥ju*; *usabha* ‘bull’ Dhp 422 = Skt *r̥ṣabha* (beside *vasabha* = Skt *vṛṣabha*); *pucchatī* ‘asks’ Skt *pr̥cchati*; *mulāla* Ja I 100,7 and *mulāli* Ja VI 530,16* ‘lotus-stalk’ Skt *mṛṇḍala*; *pāvusa* ‘rainy season’ Th 597 = Skt *prāvṛṣa*.

4. Sometimes the development varies: there is, beside *accha*, the dialectal form *ikka* ‘bear’; Skt *vṛddhi* has been differentiated into *vuddhi* ‘blessing’ and *vuddhi* ‘growth’; Skt *mṛga* has been differentiated into *maga* ‘animal’ Sn 275 and *miga* ‘gazelle’ passim.² Beside *īna* there is *an-aña* ‘debtless’ M II 105,16 and *sāna* (= *sa-aña*) ‘indebted’ M III 127,7, probably through vowel-assimilation³ (but *sa-y-īna* or *sa-īna* Mhv 36,39). Beside *karha* ‘black’ (= Skt *kṛṣṇa*) a v.l. *kinha* D I 90,15 is found. Skt *pr̥thivī* appears as *pathavī*, *pathavī*, *puthavī*, *puthuvī*, *puṭhuvī*; here the region from which the MSS are derived is to be taken into consideration: e.g. *pathavī* is the orthography of the Burmese MSS. Cf. also *pitughātaka*, *matughātaka*, ‘patricide, matricide’ Vin I 88,20 with *pitipakkhato*, *matipakkhato* ‘from the paternal side, from the maternal side’, etc.

¹In Pkt initial *r̥* usually becomes *r* + vowel; see Pischel (§ 56). Pāli has *iruveda* Dip 5,62 or *irubbeda* Sv 247,19 = *Rgveda*, where *r̥* seems to have become vowel + *r*. It is possible that *ujju* = *r̥ju* is another example of this development. The rarity of the development in Pāli suggests that these two words are borrowings from some other dialect.

²The form *miga* is found in its general meaning ‘animal’ in *sākhamiga* ‘monkey’ Ja III 98.14*, *migacakka* ‘animal magic’ D I 9.10, Sv 94.6.

³Trenckner, Notes, p. 129.

§ 13. In some cases the *r*-vowel appears to become a consonant + vowel: *brahant*, *brahā*⁰ ‘big’ Th 31 = Skt *bṛhant*; *bruheti* ‘devotes himself to a cause’ Dhp 285 = Skt *bṛmhayati*, *vṛmhayati*.¹ Despite the appearance *ru* is probably not from *vṛ* in *rukha* ‘tree’ = Skt *vṛkṣa*² or in *pāruta* ‘covered, concealed’ Th 153 = Skt *prāvṛta* and *apāruta* ‘opened up’ Vin I 7.4* = Skt *apāvṛta*.³

¹Here *brahant* is perhaps to be derived from the *guṇa* grade of *bṛh*, while the “restoration” of *r* in *brūheti* is probably a hyper-form, perhaps on the analogy of *brāhmaṇa*.

²Pischel (§ 320) connects *rukha* with Skt *rukṣa*. Cf. Wackernagel, Ai.Gr., I, § 184b. The by-form *rakkha* is found in Ja III 144.15*. See Norman, 1988, pp. 56–58.

³*pāruta* is more likely to be derived from the metathesised form *pārupatt*. See Norman, 1988, p. 54.

§ 14. The vowel */* develops into *u*: *kutta*¹ ‘clipped’ D I 105.9 = Skt *kṛpta*.² In the same way also *kuttaka* (a kind of woollen cover) D I 7.10, perhaps ‘shorn cover’,³ and *kutta*, *kutti*, ‘behaviour, procedure’ = Skt *kṛpti*, *kṛpti* in *itthikutta*, *purisakutta* A IV 57.6.9, *samnatavīrakutti* Ja V 215.16* where *kutta* = *kappana*, just as *mata* = *marāṇa*.⁴ At As 321.11 it is explained by *kiriyā*.

¹E. Leumann, GGA, Nr. 8, p. 594.

²Cf. Rhys Davids, Dial. I, p. 130, f.n. 2.

³Buddhaghosa, however, explains: *solasannam nāṭukītthīnam ḥatvā naccayoggam unṇāmayapaccattharanam* (Sp 1086.16–17).

⁴i.e. the past participle is being used as an action noun. See Norman 1992B, p. 210.

5. DIPHTHONGS AND THEIR DEVELOPMENT

§ 15. The diphthongs *e* and *o* are as a rule preserved; *ai* and *au* have become *e* and *o*. *Erāvana* (the name of Indra’s elephant) = Skt *Airāvāna*; *metti* ‘friendship’ = Skt *maitrī*; *ve* (interj.) = Skt *vai*; *orasa* ‘derived from the breast’ = Skt *aurasa*; *pora* ‘urban’ = Skt *paura*; *ratto*

‘at night’ = Skt *rātrau*.

Not infrequently *e* and *o* are shortened to *i* and *u*, respectively, before double consonants;¹ this shortening may take place even where the double consonant is of secondary origin (according to § 6.2):

1. *i* from *e* = original *e*: *paṭivissaka* ‘neighbour’ M I 126.5 from *-vēssaka = Skt *prativeśya-ka*; *pasibbaka* ‘bag’ Vin III 17.10 through *-sēbbaka = Skt *prasevaka*. The word *ubbilla* ‘pleasant surprise’ M III 159.4 with its numerous derivatives belongs to the root *vell* with *ud*. Kuhn² traces *dvinnam* and *ubhinnam* back to **dvenam* and **ubhenam*, which are directly derived from the nom. (**ubhe* instead of *ubho* is due to analogy with *dve*).³

2. *i* from *e* = original *ai*: *issariya* ‘rulership’ = Skt *aśvarya*; *sindhava* ‘horse from Sind’ = Skt *saindhava*.

3. *u* from *o* = original *o*: *akuppa*, *asamkuppa* ‘unshakable’ Th 182 = Skt *kopya*; *tutta* ‘spur’ D II 266.5* = Skt *toura*;⁴ *sussām* (v.l. *sossām*) ‘I shall hear’ Sn 694 = Skt *śroṣyāmī*; *gunnam*, gen. pl. of *go* ‘cow’ = Skt *gonām*.

4. *u* from *o* = original *au*: *ussukka* ‘zeal’ = Skt *autsukya*; *khudda* ‘honey’ Ja VI 582,30* = Skt *kṣaudra*; *ludda* ‘horrible, diabolical’ Sn 247 = Skt *raudra*;⁵ *assumha* ‘we heard’ (§ 159.III) = Skt *aśrauṣma*. In *ussāva* ‘dew’ Ja II 11.12 (cf. AMg *ussā* and *osā*) = Skt *avasyāya* the *u* is derived from *o* < *ava*.

¹For Pkt see Pischel (§ 84).

²Beitr. p. 28.

³Cf. Š. *duvenam*, *duvehi*, *duvesu*.

⁴E. Müller, PGr. p. 12.

⁵H. Lüders, GN, 1898, p. 1.

6. THE INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBOURING VOWELS OR CONSONANTS ON VOWELS

§ 16. Vowels are not infrequently influenced by neighbouring vowels. This is the beginning of ‘vowel-assimilation’ in Pāli.¹

1. The influence of following vowels: (a) *i* becomes *u* before a following *u*: *usu* ‘arrow’ (also in AMg) = Skt *iṣu*; *ucchu* ‘sugar-cane’

(AMg *ucchu* beside *ikkhu*) = Skt *ikṣu*; *kukku* (a measure of length) Vin I 254.36 = Skt *kīṣku*;² *susu* ‘young’ = Skt *śiṣu* (nasalised form in *sumsumāra* ‘crocodile’ = Skt *śiṣumāra*). In *kukkusa* ‘powder in rice-ears’ Vin II 280.20 = Skt *kikkasa*³ the intermediate steps are **kikkasa*, **kikkusa* (§ 19.2). Here belongs *nūṭhubhati*, *nūṭhuhati* ‘spits out’ Vin II 175.7 (beside *nūṭhubhati* Ud 50.18, *nūṭhuhati* Dhp-a II 36.7) from a root **stuh* with *ni*.⁴

(b) *a* becomes *u* before a following *u*: *sumugga* ‘basket’ Ja I 265.28 (beside *samugga*) = Skt *samudga*; *usuyā*, *usuyyā* ‘envy’ S I 127.8, (§ 6.2) = Skt *asūyā*.

(c) *a* becomes *i* before a following *i*: *siriṁsapa* ‘snake’ = Skt *sarīṣpa*; *timissā* ‘moonless night’ Ja III 433.10 = Skt *tamisrā*.⁵

(d) *u* becomes *a* before a following *a*: *kappara* (AMg *koppara*) ‘knuckle’ Vin III 121.9 = Skt *kūrpara*.

¹Trenckner, Notes, pp. 128 foll. For Pkt see Pischel (§ 117). On vowel-assimilation in modern dialects see Grierson, ZDMG, 49, pp. 400 foll.; Geiger, LSpRS, pp. 43 foll.

²E. Müller, PG, p. 9.

³VT 11, p. 367, f.n. 4.

⁴Pischel (§ 120).

⁵Also *timisā* D II 175.17, M III 174.26, which presupposes **tamiyā*.

§ 17. There is further:

2. The influence of the preceding vowel:

(a) *a* becomes *u* after a preceding *u*: *uṇuka* ‘ladle’ Ja I 235.23 = Skt *udan̄ka*; *kurunga* (kind of gazelle) Ja I 173.15 = Skt *kuraṅga*; *pukkusa* (designation of a low caste) Ja III 194.30* = Skt *pukkaśa*; *puthujana* ‘ordinary (not converted) people’ = Skt *prthagjana*.

(b) *i* becomes *a* after a preceding *a*: *arañjara* ‘water pot’ Abh 456 = Skt *aliñjara*; *kākaṇikā* (small coin) Ja I 120.20 = Skt *kākiṇika*; *pokharanī* ‘lotus-tank’ = Skt *puṣkarinī*; *sākhalla*, *sakhalya* ‘friendship’ (§ 3) from *sakhula*.¹

(c) *u* becomes *a* after a preceding *a*: *āyasmant* ‘venerable’ = Skt *āyuṣmant*; *matthalunga* ‘brain’ Ja I 493.10 = Skt *mastulunga*; *sakkhalī*, *sakkhalikā* ‘ear-lobe’ (JPTS, 1909, p. 17) = Skt *śaṣkuli*.

(d) *a* becomes *i* after a preceding *i*: *siṅgivera* ‘ginger’ = Skt *śringavera*; *nisinna* ‘sitting’ (but *pasanna*, *samsanna*) = Skt *nisanna*.²

¹Similarly *kosajja* ‘slowness’ Dhp 241, A I 11.29 (from *kusūta*) as opposed to *kausīdya*.

²It is possible that *nisinna* is based upon the present stem *nisd + na*. Also in *pathavī* (-th-) and *puthuvī* (§ 12.4) = *prthivī* we have vowel-assimilation; *puthavī* is a cross-form. Not so Pischel (§ 115).

§ 18. The influence of consonants on vowels is shown by the fact that:

1. The vowel *u* usually appears in the neighbourhood of labials. Of derivatives from the root *majj* with *ni* and *ud* there occur *nimujjati* ‘drowns’, *ummujjati* ‘floats’, *nimujjā*, *ummujjā*, *nimugga*, etc. Cf. further *sañmujjanī*, -*muñjanī* ‘broom’ Dhp-a III 169.6 beside *sañmājjanī* Dhp-a III 7.19 = Skt *sammārjanī*. Also *muta* ‘thought’ Sn 714, *muti* ‘thought’ Sn 846, *mutimā* Sn 321 = Skt *matimān* should be regarded only as dialectal side-forms of *mata*, etc.¹ The existence of a root *mu* however seems to be guaranteed by the fut. pass. part. *motabba* and the verbal noun *motar* A II 25.16–18. The Skt enclitic *svid* has become *su*, *ssu*: *kim su*, *kena ssu*, etc., S I 36.20 foll.

2. The vowel *i* usually appears in the neighbourhood of palatals²: cf. *miñjā* ‘marrow’ (see § 9, f.n. 1) from Skt *majjā*; *jigucchati* ‘conceals’ D I 213.23, *jigucchā* D I 174.19 as opposed to Skt *jugupsate*, *jugupsā*;³ *bhiyyoso* ‘more’ from Skt *bhūyas*.⁴ On *seyyā* see § 9.

¹For other examples of labialisation see Norman, 1976B, pp. 41–58.

²For other examples of palatalisation see Norman, 1976A, pp. 220–37

³It is possible that these are examples of the dissimilation of vowels. Forms like *jeguccha* ‘contrary’ Vin I 58.28, etc., and *jegucchin* ‘disgusting’ Vin III 3.1, Ja I 390.14, etc., are new formations. Cf. § 3.

⁴Alternatively, this may be an example of the root **bhī* = *bhū*. See Norman, 1986, pp. 391–92.

7. THE INFLUENCE OF ACCENT ON VOWELS

§ 19. In words of three or four syllables, which on the evidence of Skt had the accent on the first syllable, the vowel of the second syllable is often reduced. In most cases the reduced vowel appears as *i*; after labials *u* appears frequently, though not always, instead of *i*.

1. After the accented syllable *a* becomes *i*: *candimā* ‘moon’ = Skt

candramās;¹ *carima* ‘following, last’ Th 202 = Skt *carama*;² *parima* ‘the highest’ M III 112,15 = *parama*; *puttima* nom. sg. ‘endowed with sons’ Sn 33 = **putramān*; *majjhima* ‘middle’ = Skt *madhyama*;³ *saccika* ‘true’ Mil 226,17 = Skt *satyaka*.⁴ Cf. the forms *ahimkara*, *mamimkāra* ‘self-consciousness’ M III 32,34 beside *ahāmkara*, *mamāmkāra*. It is possible that the same explanation should be given for future forms such as *dakkhisī* ‘you will see’, *kahisī* ‘you will do’ (beside *dakkhasī*, *kāhasī*), *ehisī* ‘you will go’, etc., as opposed to Skt *drakṣyasi*, **karsyasi*, *esyasi*.⁵

2. After the accented syllable *a* becomes *u*: *navuti* ‘ninety’ (AMg *nallīm*) = Skt *navati*; *pāpurāṇa* ‘mantle’ S I 175 foll. through *pāvurāṇa* M I 359,13 (AMg *pāurāṇa*) = Skt *prāvarana*; *sāmmuti* ‘consent’ (beside *sāmmata*) = *sāmmati* (cf. above § 18.1). In the inflectional system (§ 92.3) *brahmunā*, *brahmuno*; *kammunā*, *kammuno* (also AMg *kammuñā*, *kammuño*); *addhunā*, *addhuno* = Skt *brahmañā*, *brahmañas*; *karmañā*, *karmañas*; *adhvanā*, *adhvanas*.⁶ After non-labials there is *u* in *ajjuka* (name of a plant) Abh 579 = Skt *arjaka*;⁷ *kukkusa* (§ 16.1a) = Skt *kiknasa*; *pekuṇa* ‘wing’ Th 211 = Skt *preñkhana* ‘swing’;⁸ *sajulasa* ‘resin’ Vin I 202,1 = Skt *sarjarasa*.

3. Occasionally after the accent-syllable *i* becomes *u* and *u* becomes *ī*: *rājula* (a reptile) Abh 651 = Skt *rājila*; *geruka* ‘reddish chalk’ Vin I 48,8 (AMg *geruya* beside Māh. *geria*) = Skt *gairika*; *pasuta* ‘intent on something’ Th 18 = Skt *prasita*. Further *muditā* ‘softness’ M I 370,8 (beside *mudutā* A I 9,28) = Skt *mṛdutā*. On *suṇīsā* see § 31.2.

¹ A different explanation is given by Pischel (§ 103). Smith (Sadd, p. 1372) suggests formations with different suffixes, viz. *cand-i* : *cand-ra* = *śuc-i* : *śuk-la*.

² For the suggestion that these words are examples of a suffix *-ima*, see Cai. at, 1970, pp. 9–10.

³ This is more probably an example of the palatalisation of *a* to *i* after *jhh*. See Norman, 1976A, p. 330.

⁴ This is more probably an example of the palatalisation of *a* to *i* after *cc*. See Norman, 1976A, pp. 329–30.

⁵ Smith, 1952, suggests an alternative explanation, based on the alternation *yati*, i.e. *-syati/-siti*. Some forms, at least, are possibly examples of palatalisation after *y*. See Norman, 1976A, p. 331.

⁶ Since all these changes occur after labial consonants, it is probably better to regard all of them as examples of labialisation. See Norman, 1976B,

pp. 43–47.

⁷ Subhuti, Abh-Suci s.v., gives *ajjaka* beside *ajjuka*.

⁸ Pischel (§ 89).

§ 20. Unstressed short vowels, particularly when immediately after the accent, are sometimes dropped: *jaggati* ‘watches’ (§ 142.4) is to be traced from *jagarati* through **jag^arati*; *oka* ‘water’ Dhp 34 from *udaka* through **ōkka*, **ukka*, **utka*, **ud^aka*; *agga* ‘house’ (in *uposathagga*, *khuragga*, *bhattachagga*, etc.) from *agāra* through **ag^ara*, **agara*.¹ Syncope is also in evidence in the verbal ending *-mhe* (beside *-mahe*).² Finally, there is a number of onomatopoeic words in which syncope may be clearly traced: *ciciciyati* ‘rustles’ Vin I 225,25 beside *ciciciyāti*; *sassara*, *babbhara* M I 128,25 (JPTS, 1889, p. 209) for **sar^asara*, **bhar^abhara* beside *sarasara*, *bharabhabra*. In enclisis *khalu* has become *kho* through **khālu*, **kkhu*.³

¹ This may, however, be an example of the suffix *ra* replacing *āra*. See Norman, 1986, pp. 394–95.

² E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 94.

³ In Pkt Śaurasenī and Māgadhi we have *kkhu* which causes the shortening of the preceding *e* and *o*. See Pischel (§§ 94, 148). The *o* in Pāli *kho* perhaps arises to give the same mora length as in the original *khalu*.

§ 21. Weakening of the syllable preceding the accented one is found in *kāhāpana* (a coin) (Pkt *kāhāvana*) = Skt *kārṣāpana*; perhaps also in *nygrodha* ‘ficus indica’ = Skt *nyagrodha* and in *susāna* ‘burial ground’ from **śvaśāna*, a side-form of Skt *śmaśāna*.¹ Similar instances of *samprasaranā* are, however, found also in the syllable with the main accent. It is perhaps due to the weakening of the syllable preceding the accented one that *dvi-* appears as *du-* in compounds, e.g., *dujivha* ‘double-tongued’ Ja V 82,4*. If the syllable is accented there are the regular forms *dvi-*, *di-*, e.g. *dipada* ‘biped’.² The two types were later confused, and there is on the one hand *duvidha* ‘double’ = Skt *dvividha*, and on the other *dvibhumika* ‘consisting of two stories’ Ja II 18,8. Forms like *ṭhāpeti* (*uṭṭhāpeti*, etc.) as opposed to Skt *sthāpayati* are perhaps formations made on the analogy of Skt *jñāpayati*,³ etc. (§ 180.1); similarly *kiṇati* ‘buys’, as opposed to Skt *krīnāti*, on the analogy of *minati*, *lunati*.⁴

¹ Pischel (§ 104). Johansson (IF, 25, pp. 225 foll.) separates *susāna* from

śmaśāna and derives the former from *savaśayana* ‘burial ground’.

²Pkt too has *du-*, *do-* beside *di-*, *bi-*. See Pischel (§436). We may, however, be dealing with an ancient extension of *du* (weak grade of *dva*) to *du-i*. Cf. Latin *du*-plex and see Norman, 1958, p. 45

³Since *jñapayati* shows the weak grade *jña* of *jñā*, it is possible that *jhăpeti* is similarly based upon a genuine historic weak grade *sthā* of *sthā*. See Barrow, 1979, p. 50

⁴A different explanation is given by Michelson, IF, 23, p. 127.

§ 22. The effect of accent can also be seen in the shortening of unstressed final syllables. Thus *o* becomes *u* in *asu* ‘that’ (§ 109) through **aso* (thus in AMg) = Skt *asau*; *udāhu* ‘or’ = Skt *utāho*; *sajju* ‘immediately’ Dhp 71 (from which *sajjukam*) through **sajjo* = Skt *sadyas*; ¹ *hetu* (in *kissa hetu* ‘what for?’) through **heto* = Skt *hetos*.² With later nasalisation: -*khattum* (adv. numeral suffix) through *-*khatto* = Skt -*kṛtvās* and *adum* ‘that’ through **ado* = Skt *adas*. Cf. § 66.2b. Qualitative change (reduction) is in evidence in *saddhim* ‘together with’ = Skt *sārdham*,³ *sakkhi(m)* or *sacchi* ‘before one’s eyes’ (certainly not = Skt *sākṣāt*, but) = **sākṣam* (AMg *sakkham*⁴); *sanīm* ‘slowly’ Mhv 25.84 (not = Skt *sanais*, but) = **śanam*. Reduction to *u* under the influence of *u* in the preceding syllable (§ 17.2a) is found in *puthu* ‘separate’ Th 86 = Skt *prthak*. The Skt enclitic *svid* has become *su*, *ssu* by labialisation (§ 18.1): *kim su*, *kena ssu*, etc. S I 36.20 foll., but remains as *si* in *kam si* Dhp-a I 91.18. Cf. § 111.1.

¹Even new nominal stems are formed in this way; Skt *āgas* ‘sin’ through **āgo* becomes *dgu*, inflected like *madhu*.

²Always to be scanned as *hetū* in metrical texts. See Norman, 1971A, p. 177.

³Pischel (§ 103) suggests a derivation from Ved. *sadhṛīm*. It is possible that it represents the weak grade stem *sadhṛic-* being used indeclinably instead of the normal grade *sadhryak-*. See Norman, 1958, p. 46.

⁴Pischel (§ 114).

§ 23. In a number of words even from the beginning the long second syllable was shortened. This is perhaps due to the shifting of the accent to the first syllable, but in some cases may be on the analogy of forms in -*ika*, -*ita*. Examples: *alika* ‘false’ Sn 239 = Skt *alika*; *gahita* ‘seized’ = Skt *grhīta*; *paññavant* ‘intelligent’ Th 70 = Skt *prajñāvant*; *pāniya* ‘water’ beside *pānīya* (*pānyāni* D I 148.4, *pānīyi* Ja I 450.8) = Skt

pānīya (AMg, JMāh. *pāṇīya*); *vammika* ‘ant-hill’ Ja I 432.5 beside *vammīka* Ja III 85.8 = Skt *vālmīka*; *sāluka* ‘lotus-root’ Vin I 246.16 = Skt *śālūka*. Similarly *dutiya* ‘second’, *tatiya* ‘third’ = Skt *dvitīya*, *tritīya*.¹ In other cases, where the vowel of the second syllable was originally short, qualitative change of the vowel took place as a result of this shifting of accent: *Pajjunna* (name of the god of rains) D II 260.25 = Skt *Parjanya*; *mutinga* ‘drum’ D I 79.13 (Pkt *muunga*) = Skt *mṛdanga*. Cf. *meraya* ‘intoxicating drink’ Dhp 247 = Skt *mareya*.²

¹Pischel (§§ 82, 91; KZ, 35, p. 142) assumes the basic forms **dvityā*, **trityā*, which seem to underlie AMg *docca*, *tacca*, with the suffix -*tya* rather than -*tīya*. But see Jacobi, Kalpasutra (AKM. VI. 1), p. 103, f.n., as well as KZ, 35, pp. 570 foll., and for the suggestion that *docca* is < **du-tya* see Norman, 1986, p. 395.

²This may be due to the dissimilation of vowels.

§ 24. The effect of the new expiratory accent is perceptible also in the occasional lengthening of the vowel of the first syllable: *ājira* ‘courtyard’ Mhv 35.3 = Skt *ajira*; *ālinda* ‘terrace in front of a house’ D I 89.30 = Skt *alinda*; perhaps *ānubhāva* ‘power’ Ja I 509.23 = *anubhāva* should also be included here.¹ This explanation of the lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable often however remains doubtful, as in *āroga* ‘in good health’ Ja I 408.1 (reading uncertain) beside *aroga* = Skt *aroga*; *pātibhoga* ‘surety’ Ud 17.10, which in meaning is difficult to connect with Skt *pratibhoga*; *pātiyekka* ‘individually’ Ja I 92.24 beside *pacceka* = Skt *pratyeka*. Gemination of consonants may occur in place of the lengthening of vowels: *ummā* ‘flax’ in *ummāpuppha* (a precious stone) A V 61.21 = Skt *umā*; *kunmagga* ‘evil path’ A III 420.29, *kunnadī* ‘small (intermittent) river’ Th 145, *kussubbha* ‘small pool’ S V 63.8 (beside *kusubbha*) = Skt *ku* + *mārga*, *nadī*, *śvabhra*; *mukkhara* ‘garrulous’ Minayeff, Prātimokṣa p. 59² (beside *mukhara* S I 203.34) = Skt *mukhara*.³

¹Although this may have been extracted from compounds such as *mahānubhāva*.

²Quoting Khk 131.37 where, however, the PTS edition reads *mukhara*.

³The example *suddītha* quoted in JPTS, 1909, p. 193 is = *su-uddītha*; *sakkāya* is not = *svakāya*, but = *satkāya* (Franke, D. trsl., p. 54, f.n. 4) and *cikkhalla* ‘earthen’, Vin II 122.31 not = *cīkhala* but = **cākhalya* > **cēkhalla* > **cēkkhalla* (E. Müller, PG., p. 19).

8. SAMPRASĀRAṄA AND THE LOSS OF SYLLABLES THROUGH CONTRACTION

§ 25. Through samprasāraṄa:

1. *yă* becomes *i* in a stressed syllable: *thina* 'sloth' = Skt *styana*; *dīha*, *tīha* 'period of two (three) days' D I 190,15 = Skt *dvyaha*, *tryaha*; *visīveti* 'dries out at fire' Ja II 68,16 = Skt *viśyāpayati*. Of frequent occurrence is *vīti-* = *vyati-*, *vi-ati-*, e.g., *vītvattā* = Skt *vyativṛttī*, etc.¹ Cf. *nīka* (a kind of deer) Abh 619 = Skt *nyāṅku*. Instead of *i* there is *e* in (*sam*)*pavedhati* 'shakes' Sn 928 from the root *vyath*. Often *yă* is retained: *vyasana* 'misfortune' *vyādha* 'hunter', etc. In *cajati* 'gives up' = Skt *tyajati*, *majjhantika* 'relating to noon-time' from Skt *madhya*, etc., there is the palatalisation of the preceding consonant by *y*.

2. *vă* becomes *ū* in *sūna* 'dog' Abh 519 from the stem Skt *śvān-*.² Before double consonants *ū* becomes *ō* through *u* (§ 10): *sotthi* 'welfare' (beside *suvatthi*) = Skt *svasti*; *soppa* 'sleep' (beside *supina*) S I 110,32* = Skt *svapna*; *sobbha* 'tank' (cf. *kussubbha* § 24) = Skt *śvabhra*.³ The form *ko* 'where?' S I 199,16* (beside *kvaṁ*, *kuvam*, *kva ci*) is probably a sandhi-form before double consonants. Before single consonants there is *o* instead of *ū*, e.g., in *sopāka* (AMg *sovāga*), 'man of low caste' = Skt *śvapāka* and *soṇa* 'dog'.⁴ Moreover *vă* is often retained with the assimilation of *v* to the preceding consonant, e.g., *assattha* 'ficus religiosa' (AMg however has *assottha*, etc.) = Skt *asvauṭha*.

3. Quite peculiar is *dosa* in which Skt *doya* 'fault' and *dveṣa* 'hatred' have coincided. Cf. *dosaniya* 'deserving hatred' A III 169,28 = Skt *dveṣanīya*.

¹This is probably not samprasāraṄa, but *viyati* > **vīyiti* > *vīti*. See Norman, 1976A, p. 331.

²In *turita* 'hastening' and *kuthuta* 'boiled' as opposed to *tvarita* and *kvathita*, we do not in fact have samprasāraṄa of the Pāli stage. We have to assume here older basic forms **turita*, **kuthuta*.

³These are probably examples of labialisation. See Norman, 1976B, pp. 47–48.

⁴The intermediate stages seem to have been *iya* > *iyi* and *uva* > *uvu*; thus *dvyaha* > **dvīyaha* > **dvīyiha* > *dīha*; *śvan-* > **śravan-* > **suruna* > *suna*, *sona*. Cf. *sonṇa*, 'gold' beside *suvanna*.

§ 26. Through contraction *aya* can become *e* and *ava* can become *o*, by palatalisation and labialisation respectively, through the intermediate stages *ayi*: *aī* and *avu*: *au* (§ 19).

1. *aya* becomes *e* in *jeti* 'wins' (beside *jayati*) = *jayati*, etc.; *ayhenā* 'study' Sn 242 = Skt *adhyayana*. Optionally also in causatives and other verbal stems in *aya*, such as *moceti*, *katheti*.² Further *terasa* 'thirteen' = **trayadaśa*, *tevisa(ti)* = **trayavimśati*; *aya* is retained in *nayana* 'eye', *sayana* 'bed', etc. (but *senasana* 'bed and seat' beside *sayanāsana* Sn 338).

2. *ava* becomes *o* in *odhi* 'limit' D II 160,31 = Skt *avadhi*; *oma* 'lowly' Sn 860 = Skt *avama*; *poṇa* 'sinking, inclined' Vin II 237,19 = Skt *pravāṇa*; *lona* 'salt' = *lavāṇa*; *hoti* 'is, becomes' (beside *bhavati*) and many other forms. Also optionally *o* = the prefix *ava-* (or *odha* 'harem' = Skt *avarodha*) and *vo* = the prefix *vyava-*, *vi-ava* (e.g. *vosita* 'fulfilled' Dhp 423 = Skt *vyavarita*). Cf. *uposatha* (Pkt *posaha*) = Skt *upavasatha*. But *ava* is retained in *lavāṇa* 'harvest', *savāṇa* 'hearing', etc.

¹Pischel (§§ 153 foll.).

²In the same way may be explained also *bhāyāmi* 'I fear' and *palāyati* 'he flies' beside which are found also *bhēmi* and *paleti*. Cf. §§ 138 and 139.1.

§ 27. Further cases of contraction are:

1. *aya* becomes *ā*: *pati-sallāna* 'meditation' D II 9,10 = Skt *pratisamlayana*; *sotthāna* 'welfare' Sn 258 = Skt *svastyayana* (§ 25.2).¹

2. *āya* becomes *ā*: *vehāsa* 'atmosphere' D I 95,10 = Skt *vaihāyasa*; *upaṭṭhāka* 'attendant' Vin I 72,17 = Skt *upasthāyaka* (but fem. *upaṭṭhayikā* Dhp-a III 8,3); *Kaccāna* (beside *Kaccāyana*), *Moggallāna* = Skt *Katyāyana*, *Maudgalyāyana*, etc.² Very frequently at the end of a word -*āya* is contracted into -*ā*,³ such as *sayam abhiññā* 'knowing for oneself' instead of -*ññāya* = Skt *abhiññāya*, absol.; *apatipucchā* 'without hearing' Vin II 3,3 instead of -*pucchāya*, instr. sg. fem.; *esanā* '(goes) in search of' Ja II 34,16 instead of *esanaya*, dat. sg. masc.; *chama* 'on the earth' instead of *chamāya*, loc. sg. fem.⁴ In the first syllable of words *aya* is especially likely to be retained: *vāyasa*, *jayati*, etc.

3. āva becomes o in *atidhona(cārin)* 'committing) transgressions' Dhp 240 = *atidhāvana.⁵ But āva is retained in the first syllable of words: *pāvaka*, *sāvaka*.

4. avā becomes ā in *yagu* 'rice-gruel' A III 250,12 = Skt *yavāgū*; ava remains uncontracted in *kavaṭa*, *pavala*, as does ayā in *dayālu*, etc.

5. ayi and avi become e: *acchera* 'miraculous' Vv 84,12 through **acchayira* (beside *acchariya*) = Skt *āścarya*; similarly ācera 'teacher' Ja IV 248,9* (beside ācariya) = Skt *ācārya*; *macchera* 'envy' Dhp 242 = Skt *mātsarya*;⁶ *thera* 'venerable elder' = Skt *sthavira*; *hessati* 'will be' (§ 154,2) = Skt *bhavisyati*.⁷

6. āyi becomes e in the technical term *acceka* (*cīvara*) 'garment given at an unusual hour' Vin III 260,33 beside *accāyika* 'pressing' M II 112,17 = **atyāyika*. Beside e there occurs ī in *pātihura* 'sign of miracle' D I 193,3 through **pātihayira* (beside *pātihāriya*) = Skt *prātihārya*; similarly (*a)samhīra* '(not) to be won' A IV 141,11 = Skt (*a)samhārya*.

7. iya becomes ī (i) in *kittaka* 'how much?' Sp 304,1 = **kiyataka*; *ettaka* 'so much' = **iyattaka*⁸ is to be explained according to § 10.2.

8. Isolated cases of contraction are also found in *kōṭha* in the names of birds *rukkhakoṭhasakuna* Ja III 25,29 if it is = Skt *koyasti*⁹ and *mora* 'peacock' (the same form also in Pkt; in Pāli also *mayūra* D III 201,22) = Skt *mayūra*.¹⁰

Lüders (1954, § 101) sees this as an Eastern development

²Also *pācittiya* 'transgression requiring penance' Vin IV 1 foll., if it is related to *prāyaścittika*. S. Lévi, 1912, pp. 506 foll., derives it from a **prāk-cutta*

³Perhaps 'truncated' is a better term.

⁴In analogy with these cases an inorganic ya has sometimes been added to a final ā: *senāya caturangini* Ja V 322,18

⁵D. Andersen, Pāli G1, s.v.

⁶Thus through metathesis in the intermediate step. Cf. E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 55. E. Müller, PGr., pp. 41 foll.; V. Henry, Précis de Gramm. Pālié, § 88.4. Pischel (§ 176), however suggests epenthesis.

⁷On *hohiti*, *hotabba*, *hotum* see §§ 151, 206.

⁸Not so Pischel (§ 153). It may be analogical: *ki ttaka* : *e-ttaka*, with the e- of the demonstrative pronoun.

⁹Fausböll, Five Jāt., p. 38.

¹⁰Uncontracted *mayukha* 'beam of light' as opposed to Pkt *Māh moha*.

§ 28. As in Pkt,¹ the prepositions *upa-* and *apa-* (through **uva-*, **ava-*) may become ī- and o- in Pāli also:

1. *upa-* becomes ī- in *ūhadeti* 'besmears with dung' = Skt *upahadati* and *ūhasana* 'smiling at somebody' Mil 127,21. Cf. Pkt *ūhasia* in Hem. = Skt *upahasita*.²

2. *apa-* becomes o- in *ovaraka* 'inner apartment (of a house)' Vin I 217,17 = Skt *apavaraka*; *ottappati* 'feels shame' A III 2,16 (*ottappa* 'shame', *ottappin* or *ottāpin* 'shameful') from the root *trap* with *apa*.³ Presumably also in (*pacc*)osakkati (AMg *paccosakkai*) 'falls back' D I 230,21 from the root *svask* with (*prati*)*apa*.⁴

¹Hem. I.173; see Pischel (§ 155).

²It may be thought that also *āhananti* in the meaning 'defiles' is derived from *han* with *upa*. Yet this is rendered improbable by Vin I 78,12 where *umnuhati* stands parallel to it. It is certain that *āhananti* = *han* with *ud* and it means 'conquers, annihilates'. Instead of *āhananti* M I 243,23 we have in fact *upahananti* (with v.l. *uh-*) in the parallel passage S IV 56,19. See Lüders, 1954, § 110, Alsdorf, 1975, pp. 110–16 and Turner, CP, pp. 426–27.

³E. Müller, PGr., p. 43.

⁴In Ja III 83,6* we have *avasakkati*, but with the variant reading *apa-* in the Burmese MSS. The word *oggata* in Th 477 (used about the sun) may be = *apagata* or *avagata*.

9. INCREASE OF SYLLABLES THROUGH SVARABHAKTI

§ 29. Only the consonant groups containing r, l, y, v or a nasal are resolved by svarabhakti.¹ An exception is *kasata* 'bad, false' A I 72,8 = Skt *kaṣṭa*. This is perhaps a dialectal form. In Pkt there occurs the Pāliacī form *kasata*.² The added vowel appears mostly inside words. In initial position it is found in *itthī* 'woman' = Skt *strī* and in *umhayati*, *umhayate* 'smiles'³ Ja II 131,22* = Skt *smaryate*. Beside forms with the svarabhakti vowel there are often others showing assimilation of the

consonant groups. The latter are archaic and are found particularly in the gāthās. In the cty they are explained by the forms with the added vowel, which must therefore have been the current forms. Thus there is in Ja III 151.5* *asi tikkho va mamsamhi*; the cty replaces *tikkha* 'sharp' = Skt *tikṣṇa* by *tikhina*. Regarding the action of the law of morae on the quantity of a long vowel preceding a consonant group separated by svarabhakti, see above § 8. In verse svarabhakti vowels have often to be ignored for scansion purposes as in Pkt.⁴ Cf. Dhp 10 *arahati* = *arhati*; Dhp 25 *kayiratha* = *kayrātha*; Th 477 *suriyasmīm* = *suryasmīm*; Th 49 *puriso* = *purso*. The *i*- of *itthi* is always metrically justified; beside it, however, the form *thī* occurs in verse: Sn 769.

¹ For Pkt cf. Jacobi, KZ, 23, p. 594; Pischel (§ 131).

² Vararuci X.6, Hemacandra IV.314; Grierson, ZDMG, 66, p. 52,21; Pischel (§ 132); S. Konow, ZDMG, 64, p. 114,36.

³ Wenzel, Academy, 1890, II, p. 177.

⁴ It is, however, not right to change the orthography for the sake of the metre, as Fausbøl did in his 2nd (1900) edition of Dhp.

§ 30. Of all the added vowels the most frequent is *i* (both prothetic and anaptyctic):

1. In the group *ry*: *iri�ati* 'moves' M I 74.6 (substantive *iri�ā*) = **iryate*, Skt *iryā*; *mari�ādā* 'frontier' Mhv 34.70 = Skt *maryādā*. In the same way are formed passives like *kari�ati* from *karoti* (also *kari�ati* D I 52,27), *vāri�ati* 'is held back' = Skt *vāryate*.

2. In other combinations with *y*: *kālu�iya* 'darkening' Sv 95,10 = Skt *kdluṣya*; *jiyā* 'bow-string' D II 334,20 = Skt *jyā*. In the same category are to be included also the passives like *pucchi�ati* 'is asked' = Skt *prēchhyate*. In *hiyyo* (AMg *hijo*) 'yesterday' = Skt *hyas* there is svarabhakti with secondary reduplication of *y*.

3. In other combinations with *r*: *vajira* 'thunder, diamond' (AMg *vařra*) Dhp 161 = Skt *vajra*. On *siri*, *hiri*, see § 8. Svarabhakti by *i* occurs also in *purisa* 'man' (cf. § 29). The basic form is **pūrṣa*. In the popular dialects the form with the svarabhakti vowel *i* was preferred to the Skt form *puruṣa* with *u*.¹ From **pūrṣa* through **pussa*, **possa* is derived also Pali *posa* Sn 110 (and elsewhere in verse).

4. In consonant groups with *l*: *pilakkhu* (name of a tree) Ja III 24,26* = Skt *plakṣa*; *hilāda* 'joy' Att 1.11 (= 2,32) = Skt *hlāda*. But *sukka* 'white' = Skt *śukla* invariably occurs.

5. In consonant groups with nasals: *sineha* 'affection' = Skt *sneha*; *tasiŋā* 'thirst' Dhp 342 (beside *tanha*) = Skt *trṣṇā*. On the other hand there occur only *kanha* 'black' = Skt *kṛṣṇa* (Pkt *karha*, *kasina*, *kasana*) and *nagga* 'naked' = *nagna* (AMg *nagina*, *nigina*). In inflection there occur *rājinā*, *rājino* beside *raññā*, *rañño* = Skt *rājnā*, *rājñas*. On *gini* from **agini*, Skt *agni* see § 66.1. On *muhuta* see § 50.6.

¹ Wackernagel, Ai.Gr., I, § 51; Pischel (§ 124); Michelson, IF, 23, p. 254. See Bailey, 1960, p. 80, and Brough, 1962, § 51.

§ 31. 1. The svarabhakti vowel *a* is found particularly in those cases where the *a*-vowel occurs before and after: *garahā* 'abuse' Ja I 372,31, 'dishonesty' D I 135,14, *garahati* 'abuses' = Skt *garhā*, *garhati*; *palavati* 'swims' Dhp 334 (beside *pilavati* Th 104) = Skt *plavati*; *harā�ati* 'is ashamed' (§ 186.2) beside *huri�ati* from *hrī*. Cf. *nahā�ati* in § 50.5. As a link in a compound: *antaradhā�ati* 'disappears' from the root *dhā* with *antar*.

2. The svarabhakti vowel *u* is found before *m* and *v*: *usumā* 'heat' Ja III 71,18 = Skt *uṣman*; *sukhuma* 'fine' = Skt *sūkṣma*; *duve* 'two' (more frequently *dve*) metri causa Sn 48 = Skt *dve*; *maruvā* (v.l. *muruवā*) (a kind of hemp) M I 429,23 = Skt *mūrvā*. Sometimes *u* is induced by *u* in the following syllable: *kurūra* 'cruel' A III 383,24, = Skt *krūra*. In the same way originated also the form *sunisā* 'daughter-in-law' through **sunusā* (as in *Paiśāci*) from Skt *snusā*. The *i* in this form¹ is to be explained according to § 19.3. The svarabhakti vowel *u* also occurs in *sukkunāti* 'is able' and *pāpuṇati* 'obtains' from Skt *śaknoti*, *prapnoti*, via **śaknāti* and **prāpnāti* respectively. Cf. § 148.

¹ The *n* in *sunisā* is perhaps derived from the side-form *sunhā* (see § 50.3).

10. QUANTITATIVE CHANGES IN COMPOSITION AND UNDER THE STRESS OF METRE

§ 32. On account of the metre very often:

1. Short vowels are lengthened¹: *satimatī* Thī 35; *turiyām* Mhv 25.74; *tatiyām* Dhp 309; *anūdake* Ja VI 499.5*. Frequently also in final syllables: *sīho va nadati vane* Th 832. Due to the Law of Morae, the lengthening of the preceding vowel is to be regarded as equivalent to the reduplication of the following consonant; *paribbasano* for **parīvasano* Sn 796; *sarati bbayo* ‘life flies’ (cf. § 51.3) for *sarati vayo* Ja III 95.18*. The forms *kummiga* Mil 346.18, *kussobbhu* Sn 720 may be metri causa. According to § 24, they may, however, occur even where there is no metrical influence.

2. Shortening of long vowels metri causa² is likewise very frequent: (*bhūtāni*) *bhummāni vā yāni va* (instead of *vā*) *antalikkhe* Sn 222 (cf. Dhp 138); *paccanikā* instead of *-nīkā* Cp II 8:4; *o* is shortened into *a* in *okumokata* (instead of *-to*) Dnp 34; *e* is shortened into *i* in *°gimhisu* (instead of *-esu*) Dhp 286. Not infrequently the endings *-inam*, *-unam*, *-ihi*, *-uhi*, *-isu*, *-usu* remain short in verse as opposed to *-īnam*, etc., in prose, e.g. *pāñinam* Th 1258. Nasal vowels are denasalised: *dighām addhāna* (instead of *-nam*) *socati* Dhp 207. In Thī 91 *pāpuṇi* should be read instead of *-ṇim*. In sandhi there are frequently cases like *aññā samatimaññi 'ham* (instead of *-ññim aham*) Thī 72. Also inside words the nasal may be dropped metri causa. Thus *jivato* Ja III 539.2* instead of *jīvanto*. Simplification of double consonants is again equivalent to shortening of vowels. Thus there is, metri causa, *dukhām* for *dukkham* Th 734; *dakkhisām* for *-issam*³ Thī 84 (cf. *dakkhisāma* Jā III 99.7*) and many similar cases.

¹Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 73).

²Pischel (§ 99).

³Different explanation by Mrs Rhys Davids, Psalms of the Sisters, p. 56, f.n. 2.

§ 33. At the end of the first member of a compound :

1. A short vowel is often lengthened¹: *sakhībhāva* Ja III 493.6 (*sakhībh-* Ja VI 424.20); *abbhamaitta* S I 205.4* (in a verse, but not metri causa); *rajapatha* (see Childers, PD, s.v.), for which there is *rajapatha* in Pp 57.12. Equivalent to this lengthening there is also the gemination of the initial consonant of the second member of the compound: *jātassara* ‘natural lake’ Vin I 111.4; *navakkhattum* ‘nine times’ Dhp a III 377.12 and likewise in all compounds with *-khattum* = *-kr̥tas*.²

Lengthening of vowels or gemination of consonants is found very frequently in combinations with prepositions: *pāvacana* (AMg *pāvayaṇa*) ‘word’ Thī 457 = Skt *pravacana*; *pakāta* (AMg *pagaṭa*) ‘apparent’ Th 109 = Skt *prakāṭa*.³ This may be partially due also to the effect of the stress accent (§ 24). Gemination of the consonant is found also in *abhikkanta* ‘glorious’ D I 85.7: it belongs rather to the root *kam* (not to *kram*⁴); further in *paṭikkūla* ‘contrary’ M III 301.11 beside *paṭukula* Vin I 29.28 = Skt *pratikula*. Some of the compounds of the type *phalāphala* ‘fruits of every sort’ are perhaps also to be explained in this way.⁵ In many cases, however, e.g. *maggāmagga* ‘paths of every description (good and evil ways),’ it is not unnatural to think of the type *subhāsubha* (*subha* + *asubha*).

2. Shortening of the vowel often takes place when stems in *ā*, *ī*, *ū* form the first member of the compound⁶: *upāhanadāna* ‘gift of shoes’ Ja IV 20.18 from *upāhanā* + *dāna*; *dāsigāna* ‘troop of maid-servants’ Ja II 127.26 from *dāsi* + *gāna*; *sassudevā* ‘worshipping the mother-in-law as god’ S I 86.14 = Ja IV 322.15* (but not metri causa) from *sassū* + *deva*.

¹Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 70).

²The group *-kkh-* is perhaps generalised from *caturkhatta* = Skt *catuskr̥tvah*. See § 40 below.

³In *pāheti* ‘sends’ beside *pahinati*) the *ā* is perhaps due to forms like *pāhesi* ‘he sent’.

⁴The forms *upakkiliṭṭha* ‘defiled’, *upakkilesa* ‘defilement’ are perhaps contaminations of **upakkīṭṭha*, **upakkesa* = *upakliṭṭa*, *upaklesa* with **upakiliṭṭha* and **upakilesa* (with svarabhakti vowel according to § 30.4). Probably a contamination of the root-forms *sraj* and *sary* is at the root of *ossajjati* ‘gives up’, *vissajjati* ‘gives away’ (beside *osvajjati*, *visvajjati*), *oggata* ‘gone down’ (see p. 76, f.n. 7) and *okkasati* ‘takes away’ D II 74.29 from root *karṣ* with *ava* (intermediate steps: **ōgata*, **okasati*) are cases of § 6.2.

⁵Fausböll, Dasaratha-jātaka, p. 26; Trenckner, Notes, p. 127; E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 31; Andersen, PGL., s.v. *a-*. Such forms are probably to be explained as rhythmic lengthening, whereby a succession of short syllables is avoided. See CPD I, Epilog p. 31*, s.v. “rhythm. length.”, and Caillat, 1970, pp. 8–9.

⁶Cf. Pischel (§ 97).

11. IRREGULARITIES OF VOCALISM

§ 34. There remain a number of "sporadic cases" to deal with. Thus from Skt *punar* the double forms *puna* and *pana* have been developed with different meanings: *puna* means 'again, once more', *pana* means 'but, on the contrary'.¹ In many cases the vocalism of Pāli is more archaic than that of Skt. Thus in *garu* 'heavy' as opposed to Skt *guru*,² and also in *agaru*, *agalu* 'aloe' Ja VI 510,14* as opposed to Skt *aguru* (beside *agaru*). Perhaps also in *kilañja* 'mat' M I 228,33 as opposed to Skt *kiliñja*; *mucalinda* (name of a tree) Vin I 3,12 as opposed to Skt *mucilinda*; *jhallikā* 'beetle' Abh 646 as opposed to Skt *jhullikā*. Sometimes the Pāli word is derived from a form which differs from that of the Skt word: thus *tipu* 'tin' D II 351,9 is not = Skt *trapu*, but = **t̪ipu*; *papphaśa* 'lung' D II 293,15 is not = Skt *pupphusa*; *simbala*, *simbali* 'cotton-tree' (AMg *simbali*) is not = Skt *śalmali* (AMg *sāmali*) but = Ved. *śimbala* 'cotton-flower';³ *tekičchā* 'healing', *atekičchā* 'incurable' (AMg *teičchā*) A III 146,32 not = Skt *cikitsā*, but = **cekičtsā*.⁴ The forms *kissa* gen. sg. and *kismim*, *kimhi* loc. sg. of the interr. pron. do not belong to the stem *ka*, but to the stem *ki* which appears in Skt *kim*.⁵ Not infrequently, parallels to the Pāli forms are found in Pkt, e.g. *pārepata* 'dove' Ja VI 539,15* = AMg *pārevaya* as opposed to Skt *pārapata* = Māh. *pdrāvaa*;⁶ *milakka* 'barbarian' S V 466,29, *milakkhu* Th 965 = AMg *milakkhu* as opposed to Skt *mleccha* = AMg *mēccha*, *mečcha*;⁷ *timbaru* (name of a tree) Att 21,25 = Pkt *timbaru*, *timbaruya* as opposed to Skt *tumburu* = Pkt *tumburu*.⁸ The verb *dhovati* 'washes' as opposed to Skt *dhāvati* owes its *o* to forms like *dhota* 'washed' = *dhauta*.⁹

Michelson, IF, 23, p. 258, f.n. 1. But see Brough, 1962, § 69.

²The possibility of analogy with the Skt comparative and superlative forms *gariyas* and *gariytha* cannot be ruled out.

³Pischel (§ 109); Geldner in Pischel and Geldner, Ved. Studien II, p. 159.

⁴Pischel (§ 215).

⁵Cf. Māg. *kiśa*, etc. and Pischel (§§ 103, 428). Not so R.O. Franke, GN. 1895, p. 529, f.n. 1.

⁶Pischel (§ 112).

⁷Pischel (§§ 105, 238); E. Kuhn, KZ, 25, p. 327.

⁸Pischel (§ 124).

⁹Johansson, IF, 3, pp. 223 foll. Not so Pischel (§ 482).

12. CONSONANTS IN FREE POSITION

§ 35. On the whole, the free consonants are well preserved in Pāli. Unlike Pkt,¹ it retains intervocalic mutes. As a rule, *n* and *y* remain unchanged.² The sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* (see § 3) have all developed > *s*.

It may be said as a general rule (see § 2) that in intervocalic position *ḍ* and *ḍh* change into *l* and *lh*: *āvelā* 'garland' (§ 11) = Skt *apidā*; *peļa* 'basket' Pv IV.1.42 = Skt *pedā*; *hīleti* 'neglects' (JPTS, 1907, p. 167) from the root *hīḍ*; *mīha* Vv 52,11 = Skt *mīda* from the root *mīh*; *vūlha* 'carried away' Vin I 32,13 = Skt *ūḍha*. The *ḍ* is retained in *kuḍumala* 'opening bud' (*kudumalakajāta* A IV 117,21). Here the *ḍ* originally stood in a consonant group (Skt *kuḍmala*) which was separated by svarabhakti. In Abh 482 appears also *kuḍuba* (a certain measure) = Skt *kuḍava*. The form *sahodha* 'together with what has been plundered' from *saha* + *ūḍha*⁴ is remarkable.

¹Pischel (§§ 186 foll.).

²In contrast to Pkt; cf. Pischel (§§ 224, 252).

³The *ḍh* is retained in Pkt; see Pischel (§§ 240, 242).

⁴JPTS, 1909, p. 137.

§ 36. Various phenomena of Pkt are met with sporadically in Pāli. The words and forms concerned are probably borrowings from other dialects.¹ For corresponding phenomena in sound groups, see §§ 60 foll.

One of these sporadic phenomena is the occasional elision of an intervocalic mute which is replaced by a hiatus-bridge *y* or *v*: *suva* 'parrot' (beside *suka*) = Skt *śuka*; *khāyita* 'eaten' Ja VI 498,19* = Skt *khaduta*;² *niya* 'own' Sn 149 (beside *nija*) = Skt *nija*;³ *sāyati* 'tastes' D III 85,20 (beside *sādiyati*, *sādita*) = Skt *svādate*. Cf. the names *Aparagoyāna* Mhbv 74,2 = Skt *Aparagodāna*⁴ and *Kusināra* through **nayara* (see § 27.1) = Skt *Kuśinagara*. The Pāli forms in these cases very probably reflect the local dialectal pronunciation. Interchange between the endings *-ikā* and *-iyā* is very frequent⁵: *āvenika* 'particular, separate' S IV 239,10 and *āveniya* Vin I 71,30; *Kosiya* (name of Indra) Ja II 252,8* = Skt *Kauśika*; *posāvanika* 'developed to maturity' Ja III 134,20 and *-niya* Dhp-a III 35,2 from *posati*. Not all of these, however, are cases of Prākritism; alternative forms like *lokika* 'worldly' = Skt *laukika* and *lokiya* = Skt *laukya* have led to the confusion of the two

suffixes. In this way originated also *sotthika* 'brahman' Mhv 5.105 as a variant reading of *sotthiya* = Skt *śrotriya*. Perhaps *veyyattikā* 'lucidity' Sp 323.28 is to be regarded as a side-form of *veyyattiya* M 182.25, which has been derived from *viyatta* (with svarabhakti) = Skt *vyakta* in the same way as *veyyāvaca* from **vīyāvata* (§3).

¹ See Norman, 1989B.

² E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 56.

³ Minayeff, PGr. §41.

⁴ BR, s.v. *aparagadāni*.

⁵ Sometimes the place of origin of the MSS is responsible for these discrepancies. The Siamese MSS have, e.g. -*ika*, where the other MSS have -*ya*. See Mrs Rhys Davids, Vibhāga, preface, p. xiv.

§37. It is another Pkt feature when sporadically a voiced aspirate in intervocalic position is represented by *h*; ¹ *lahu*, *lahuka* 'light' Dhp 35 = Skt *laghu*; *ruhira* 'red, blood' Th 568 (beside *rudhira* Dhp-a I 140.14) = Skt *rudhira*; *sāhu* 'good' Th 43 (beside the more frequent *sādhu*) = Skt *sādhu*; *āyūhati* 'struggles' Sn 210, if, as H. Kern suggests,² it is derived from a basic form **āyodhate*; *nūṭhuhati* 'spits out' (beside *nūṭhubhali*, § 16.1 a) from the root *stuh* with *ni*; *pahamsati* 'rubs' Ja II 102.6 through **paghamsati*³ = Skt *praharsati*; *momūha* 'mad' S I 133.32* (*momūhatta* A III 119.9) = Skt *momugha*.⁴ The instr. pl. ending -*bhis* has become -*hi*; -*bhi* is archaic. The present form *dahati* 'sets, places' is to be derived from **dadhati* as Pischel has suggested.⁵ Similarly *dahāsi* Sn 841 and *dahāti* Sn 888 represent *dadhāsi*, *dadhāti*. In initial position *h* represents *bh* in *hoti* 'becomes' beside *bhavati* (also Pkt *hol*); to the same category belong also *pahoti* 'is able', *pahonaka* 'sufficient' *pahū* 'able' Sn 98, *pahuta* 'much' = *prabhavati*, etc. In secondary initial there is *h* for *dh* in *heṭṭhā* 'under' = **adheṣṭāt* (§ 9). It should be noticed here that in Pāli, as in Pkt,⁶ an old aspirate is sometimes preserved where the Skt form shows only *h*: *idha* 'here' as opposed to Skt *iha* = Av. *iθa*; *ghammati* 'goes' as opposed to Skt *hammati*, Pkt *hammai*; *Vebhara* (name of a hill) (AMg *Vebhāra*, *Vēbbhāra*, *Vibbhāra*) as opposed to Skt *Vaihāra* (but *Vaibhāra* with the Jainas).⁷ Also in *pilandhati* 'decorates', *pilandhana* 'decoration' from the Skt root *nah*, Pāli has retained the older *dh*.

An unvoiced aspirate has been replaced by *h* in *suhatā* 'happiness' Ja III 158.24* from *sukha*⁸ and in *samihati* 'moves away' Vv 5.1, which

is perhaps connected with Skt *īkhate* (beside *īkh* of the Dhātupātha⁹).

¹ For Pkt see Pischel (§ 188). On the *h* instead of an aspirate in sound-groups, see below § 60.

² H. Kern, IF, 25, p. 238.

³ Trenckner, Notes, p. 111, f.n. 14. Not so Johansson, Monde Oriental, 1907–8, pp. 85 foll.

⁴ E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 42; E. Müller, PGr., p. 37.

⁵ Pischel, BB, 15, p. 121; (§ 507).

⁶ Pischel (§ 266).

⁷ The case of *saṃgharati* (JPTS, 1909, p. 34) beside *saṃharatt* is doubtful.

⁸ On the other hand *suhita* 'contented' is certainly not = *sukhita* (Minayeff, PGr., § 43), but = *su-hita* (E. Müller, PGr., p. 37).

⁹ BR, s.v. *īkh*.

§38. The voicing of mutes in intervocalic position is another feature of Pāli which is to be attributed to dialect influence.¹

1. voicing of *k* into *g*: *eḍamūga* 'deaf and dumb' M I 20.9 = Skt *eḍamūka*; *patigacca* 'earlier' D II 118.27 (in S I 57.19 v.l. *paṭikacca*) = Skt *pratikṛtya*.² Further, in the proper names *Sāgala* (a city) Mil 1.3 = Skt *Sākala* and *Māgandīya* (a brahman; JPTS, 1888, p. 71) = Skt *Mākandīka*.

1.a. *kh* is voiced to *gh* in *nighāññasi* 'you will dig' Ja VI 13.18*.

2. voicing of *c* into *j*: *sujā* 'sacrificial ladle' from Skt *sruc*.³

3. voicing of *t* into *d*: *udāhu* 'or' = Skt *utaho*; *niyyādetti* 'hands over' Ja I 507.2 (also *niyyāteti* D II 331.2) and *pattiyateti* 'prepares' D I 226.7 = Skt *yātayati*; *pasada* 'spotted antelope' (§ 12.1) = Skt *pr̥ṣata*; *ruda* 'voice' Ja I 207.20* (beside *rūta* Ja II 38.23) = Skt *ruta*; *vidatthi* 'span' Dhp-a III 172.4 = Skt *vitasti*. S. Lévi explains also *saṃghādisesa* (designation of a particular kind of transgression) from *saṃgha* + *utiṣeṣa* and *ekodi* 'spiritually united' (**bhava*, **bhuta*) from *eka* + *uti* 'consisting of a single (woven) chain'.⁴

4. voicing of *th* into *dh*: *pavedhati* 'shivers' (§ 25.1) = Skt *vyathate*, *gadhitā* 'greedy' Ud 75.10 beside *gathita* D I 245.24 = Skt *grathita*.

5. voicing of *p* to *v*⁵ is very frequent: *avanga* 'corner of the eye' Vin II 267.6 = Skt *apāṅga*;⁶ *avāpurana* 'key' Ja I 501.25 (avāpurati,

avāpurāpeti Ja I 263,30 beside *apāp-* Vv 64.27) from the root *var* with *apā* (cf. § 39.6);⁷ *āvelā* (§ 11) = Skt *āpiḍā*; *ubbillavita* ‘unduly elated’ D I 3,24 beside *ubbillāpita* Ja II 10,8; *kavi* ‘monkey’ Abh 1105 (beside the usual *kapi* Cp III.7.1) = Skt *kapi*; *kavittha* (name of a tree) Ja V 132,4,7 (beside *kapittha* Ja VI 529,20) = Skt *kapittha*; *theva* ‘drop’ Vin I 50,11 from the root *stip*, *step*, of the Dhātupatha; *puva* ‘cake’ A III 76,14 = Skt *pūpa*; *bhindivāla* (a kind of weapon) Abh 394 = Skt *bhindipala*; *vyāvata* (Pkt *vāvāda*) ‘engaged on something’ D II 141,20 = Skt *vyāprta*;⁸ *visīveti* (§ 25.1) = Skt *viśyāpayati*.

6. The change of *t* into *l* presupposes an intermediate *ḍ*: *kakkhaṭa*; ‘cruel’ = Skt *kakkhaṭa*; *kheṭa* ‘village’ = Skt *kheṭa* (or from the root *kyvid* of the Dhātupāṭha); *cakkavāṭa* ‘horizon’ Ja II 37,19 through **cakkavāṭa* from **cakravarta* (Skt *cakravāṭa*, -*vāṭa*); *phaṭika* ‘crystal’ = Skt *sphaṭika*. To this category also belong the proper names: *Ālavī*, (a city) = Skt *Āṭavī*, *Lāṭa* (a country and a people) Dīp 9,5 (cf. *Lāṭudāyitthera* Ja I 123,12) = Skt *Lāṭa*.

¹ According to Hem. IV. 396, this is characteristic also of Apabhramṣa. See Pischel (§§ 192, 202).

² Trenckner, Mil, p. 421 (f.n. ad p. 48,32); E. Müller, PkGr., p. 37. S. Lévi, 1912, pp. 508 foll. connects *jalogi* Vin II 301,11 with *jalauka* ‘leech’.

³ Lévi, ibid., pp. 505 foll. derives *pārājika*, a particular kind of transgression, from **pārāciṇa* (AMg *pārañciya*).

⁴ Lévi, ibid., pp. 503, 502. See also R.O. Franke, D. p. 39 note 6 with p. lviii. It is quite doubtful whether *dandha* ‘slow, dull’ is to be classed here. Weber, ZDMG, 14, p. 48 connects it with Skt *tandra*. He is followed by Childers, Fausböll, E. Kuhn. A different, but wrong, explanation is given by Trenckner, Notes, p. 115, f.n. 20, and E. Müller. On the other hand Johansson, Monde Oriental, 1907–8, p. 103 connects the word with IE **dhendro*.

⁵ Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 192).

⁶ VT III p. 342, f.n. 6

⁷ This may be due to the metathesis of *p* ... *v*.

⁸ Trenckner, Notes, p. 114, f.n.

§ 39. It is also due to dialectal variation that sporadically voiced consonants are represented by unvoiced consonants.¹

1. *k* appears for *g* in: *akula* (a perfume) Mil 338,13 = Skt *aguru* (§ 34); *chakala* ‘goat’ Abh 1111 = Skt *chagala*; *thaketi* ‘closes’ Vin I

48,35, *thakana* Mhv 6,13 = Skt *sthagayati*, *sthagana*; *palikunṭhita* ‘veiled’ Ja II 92,24 (beside *palig-* Dhp-a I 144,11*) from the root *gunṭh* with *pari*; *laketi* ‘clings’, *lakanaka*, ‘anchor’ Mil 377,19,23 = Skt *lagati*, *lagnaka*; *vākurā* ‘snare’ Th 775 (*vākarā* M H 6,5,5) = Skt *vāgurā*. Unvoicing of consonants in initial position is found in: *kilāsu* ‘indolent’ Vin III 8,5 (*akilāsu* Vin III 9,2), which is to be connected with *glāsnu* ‘loose’ (root *glā*) according to Trenckner.

2. *kh* appears for *gh* in: *palikha* Ja VI 276,3* (beside the frequent *paligha*) = Skt *parigha*.

3. *c* appears for *j* in: *pāceti* ‘drives’ Dhp 135 (*pācanayaṭṭhi* S I 115,6) beside *pajeti* Ja II 122,5 from the root *aj* with *pra*.

4. *t* appears for *d* in: *kusīta* ‘slow’ Th 101 = Skt *kusīda* (but *kosajja*, § 17, note 1 from **kausadya*); *patara* ‘crack’ Ja IV 32,21* = Skt *pradara*; *mutīṅga* ‘drum’ (§ 23) = Skt *mṛdanga*; *pātu* ‘apparent’ = Skt *prādur*; *samsati* loc. sg. ‘at the assembly’ Ja III 493,1* = Skt *samsadi*. To this category belong also the names of peoples *Ceti*, *Ceta*, *Cetiya* (metri causa *Cecca*) S V 436,19 = Skt *Cedi*, *Cedika*.

5. *th* appears for *dh* in: *upatheyya* ‘pillow’ Ja VI 490,13* = Skt *upadheya* (cf. *upadhāna*); *pithīyati* ‘is covered’ Th 872 (beside *pidhanti*, *pidhāna*) = Skt *pidhīyate*.

6. *p* appears for *b* or *v* in: *avāpurāṇa* etc. (§ 38.5), *apāpurati* ‘discloses’ Vv 64,27 from the root, *var* with *apā*; *chāpa(ka)* ‘young animal’ Vin I 193,5 = Skt *śāva*; *pabbaja* (a kind of grass) Th 27 (beside *babbaja* Vin I 190,3) = Skt *balbaja*; *palāpa* ‘chaff’ Ja I 467,6 = Skt *palāva*; *pāpurāṇa* (§ 19,2) = Skt *prāvaraṇa*;² *opilāpeti* ‘drowns’ M I 13,6 = Skt *plāvayati*; *lāpa* (a bird) Ja II 59,6 = Skt *lāba*, *lāva*; *lāpu* Ja I 341,2 and *alāpu* Dhp 149 ‘cucumber’ (beside *lābu*, *alābu*) = Skt *lābu*, *alābu*; *hāpeti* ‘extinguishes (fire)’ Ja IV 221,20* = Skt *hāvayati*. Also 3 sg. opt. *hupeyya* Vin I 8,30 from *bhavati* beside *huveyya* (M I 171,16).

¹ See Trenckner, Notes, pp. 112 foll. For analogous phenomena in Pkt cf. Pischel (§§ 27, 191); Grierson, ZDMG, 66, pp. 49 foll.; S. Konow, ZDMG, 64, pp. 108 foll.; p. 114. For similar phenomena in sound-combinations in Pali see below § 61.2.

² Not so Johansson, IF, 25, pp. 209 foll.

§ 40. The sporadic appearance and disappearance of aspiration also have parallels in Pkt.¹

1. Unetymological aspiration:

(a) In initial position: *khila* (as in AMg) 'post' A I 141,2 = Skt *kīla*; *-khattum*² = Skt *kṛtvāś*; *khujja* 'humped' D II 333,21 = Skt *kubja*; *thusa* 'husk' D I 9,5 = Skt *tusa*; *pharasu* 'axe' A III 162,19 (beside *parasu*) Ja III 179,1 = Skt *paraśu*; *pharusa* 'harsh, cruel' = Skt *paruṣa*; *phala* (a certain measure) Ja VI 510,4* (beside *pata* Th 97) = Skt *pala*; *phalaganda* 'carpenters' S III 154,29 (beside *pal-* M I 119,14) = Skt *phalaganda*; *phalu* 'knot (of a branch)' D I 5,31 = Skt *parus*; *phārusaka* (a flower) Dhp-a III 316,1 = Skt *pāruṣaka*; *phālibhaddaka* (name of a tree) Ja II 163,5 = Skt *pāribhadra*; *phāsukā* 'rib' Dhp 154 = Skt *pārṣuka*; *phulaka* (a precious stone) Vv-a 111,25 = Skt *pulaka*; *phusita* (AMg *phusiya*) 'drop' M III 300,32 = Skt *prysta*; *phussa* (a lunar mansion, name of a month) Vv 53,4 = Skt *puṣya* (*phussaratha*) Ja III 238,28 = Skt *puṣyaratha*; *phussarāga* 'topaz' Mil 118,22); *bhasta* 'goat' Ja III 278,11* = Skt *basta*; *bhisa* 'lotus-sprout' Ja VI 516,3* = Skt *bisa*; *bhisī* 'mattress' Vin I 47,35 = Skt *bṛṣī*; *bhusa* 'chaff' Dhp 252 = Skt *busa*.

According to Pischel³ this unetymological aspiration of the initial consonant also occurs in words like *cha* 'six'⁴ = *ṣaṭ*; *chaka*, *chakana* 'dung' Vin I 202,25 = Skt *śakṛt*; *chāpa(ka)* (AMg *chāva*) = Skt *śāva* (§ 39,6); *cheppā* (AMg *chēppa*, *chippa*) 'tail' Vin I 191,2 = Skt *śepa*; the aspirated *śh*, *śh* is said to have developed into *ch* in these cases. Johansson assumes Indo-European doublets with *sk* and *k*; *ch* in his opinion is derived from *sk*.⁵

(b) Unetymological aspiration in the middle of a word; *sunakha*⁶ (Pkt *suṇaha*) 'dog' = Skt *śunaka*; *sukhumāla*⁷ 'tender' = Skt *sukumāra*; *kakudha* (Māh. *kauha*) 'hump' Ja VI 340,3* = Skt *kakuda*.

2. Loss of aspiration is rare:

(a) initially: 'jalla' 'dirt' Sn 249, *jallikā* Sn 198 = Skt *jhallikā*.

(b) medially: *kaponi* 'elbow' Abh 265 = Skt *kaphoni*; *khuda* 'hunger' Sn 52 = Skt *ksudhā*;⁸ cf. also *katukā* 'agreement' M I 171,28 beside *kathika*, a v.l. in Ja I 450,16 = **kathikā*.

¹Pischel (§§ 206 foll.). For similar phenomena in sound-combinations see below § 62.

²*kh-* generalised <*catukkhattam*, acc. Berger, p. 51, f.n. 98. See § 37 above.

³See Pischel (§ 211).

⁴Beside it also *sa-*, *sal-*, *so-* 'without aspiration'. For an alternative explanation of *cha* see Turner, CDIAL, 12803.

⁵Johansson, IF, 3, pp. 212 foll.

⁶There is probably some influence here of a folk-etymology 'with good nails'.

⁷There is probably some influence of *sukhuma* < *sūkṣma*. See Berger, p. 14, f.n. 4.

⁸Here dissimilation of aspirates is possible.

§ 41. Dialectal influence is also responsible for sporadic changes of the place of articulation of the consonants:

1. A palatal appears for a guttural in: *cunda* 'turner's lathe' *cundakāra* 'turner' Ja VI 339,12 = Skt *kunda*; the root *iñj* D I 56,22 (beside *ing* Ja II 408,12) = Skt *ing*.

2. A dental appears for a palatal¹ in: *dighañña* 'situated behind, to the west' Ja V 402,9* (from *jaghana*); *daddallati* 'glistens' (§ 185) = Skt *jājvalyate*;² *tikicchatī* 'cures' (§ 184) = Skt *cikitsati* (§ 34); *digucchati* 'feels abhorrence' in Childers PD (AMg *dugucchai*) beside *jigucchati* = Skt *jugupsate*.³ The last two are probably examples of dissimilation.

3. A dental appears for a retroflex in: *dendima* (a drum) D I 79,14 (beside *dindima*) = Skt *dindima*, which is clearly derived from popular speech.⁴

¹Also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 215).

²It is possible that there was a root *dval* unconnected with Skt *jval*. See Brough, 1962, p. 186 on *dvar* and *jvar*. CDIAL 6654 gives forms from *dvalati*.

³*daddara* 'deep-sounding' A IV 171,10 = *jarjara* and *dardara*. In Sinhalese the change of *j* into *d* is phonological.

⁴For changes in the place of articulation of consonants in sound-groups see § 63. Here dissimilation of retroflexes is possible.

§ 42. Quite frequently retroflexes appear in place of dentals, mostly under the influence of a preceding *r* or *g*, even though they may have disappeared in Pāli.¹ Thus there is:

1. *t̪* for *t* in *ambāṭaka* (a tree) Abh 554 = Skt *āmrātaka*.² Also *vatamsa(ka)* (§ 66.1) as opposed to *avatamsa* and *patamga* ‘insect’ Ja VI 506,^{30*} as opposed to *patamga*.³ Moreover sometimes in the participles of *g*-roots there is *t̪* for *t*: *haṭa* (AMg, JMāh. *hada*) ‘taken away’ = Skt *hṛta*; *vyavāṭa* (§ 38. 5) = Skt *vyāpṛta*. On the other hand there is only *mata* ‘dead’, *ābhata* ‘brought in’, *samvuta* ‘restrained’; mostly also *kata* ‘done’ (*dukkāṭa* technical term for a particular kind of transgression). Instead of *prati-*, there appears sometimes *pati-* and sometimes *paṭi-*, the former particularly (but not exclusively) in those cases where other retroflexes occur in the word concerned; thus *patiṭṭhāti* ‘stands firm’; but also *patimanteti* ‘disputes’ D I 93.23. On the other hand there occurs *paṭi-* in *paṭima* ‘image’ = Skt *pratimā*. Michelson⁴ would connect *paṭi-* with Skt *prati-* but *pati-* with Av. *paiti-*, O. Pers. *patiy-*.

2. *th̪* for *th* in *paṭhama* ‘the first’ = Skt *prathama*; *sathila* ‘careless’ Dhp 312 = Skt *śrthila* (but *sithila* Th 277). Orthography is uncertain in the case of *pathavi*, *pathavī* (§ 12.4). Cf. further *kathita* (AMg *kadhiya*, Māh. *kadhia*) ‘made hot’, *pakkathita* Thūp 48.33 as against *kvathita*.⁵

3. *d̪* for *d* in the two roots *damś* ‘to bite’ and *dah* ‘to burn’⁶ and their derivatives. Thus *dasati*; *samḍāsa* ‘pincers’ Ja III 138,^{12*} = Skt *samḍamśa*; *damśa* ‘gnat’ Th 31 = Skt *damśa*. But there is invariably *daṭṭha* ‘bitten’ = Skt *daṣṭa* and *daṭṭhā* (Pkt *dāḍhā*) ‘tooth’, obviously because of the retroflex in these words. Further *daṭhati*; *daha* ‘glow’ M I 306,¹¹ = Skt *dāha*. On the other hand there is *daḍḍha* ‘burnt’ = Skt *dagdha*. Intervocally, *d̪* is then further changed into *ʃ*: *ālāhāna* ‘pyre’ D I 55.26 and *pariṭṭaha* ‘sorrow’ Dhp 90 from *dah*. Similarly *uṭṭara* ‘great’ Th 65 = Skt *udāra*; *ulunka* (§ 17.2a) = Skt *udanika*; *koviṭṭara* (a kind of tree) Ja VI 530,^{2*} = Skt *kovidāra*; *dohāṭa* ‘desire during pregnancy’ Ja III 28.3, *dohalini* = Skt *dohada*, *dohadini*;⁷ *bubbuṭa(ka)* ‘bubble’ Dhp 170 = Skt *budbuda*.

4. *jh̪* (through *dh̪*) for *dh* in: *dveṭṭhaka* ‘doubt’ Sp 309,²¹ from *dvaidha* via **dvaizdha*.⁸

5. *n̪* for *n* in: *sakuna* ‘bird’ = Skt *śakuna*; *sana* ‘hemp’ = Skt *śana*, *sāṇum*, *sanikāṇ* (§ 22) = **śanam*. A peculiar case is offered by *ñāna* ‘knowledge’ (also *abhiññāna*, etc.) = Skt *jñāna*.⁹ The orthography is sometimes uncertain in Pāli; thus *sanati*, *sanati* ‘sounds’ from the root *svan*.

¹Retroflexion is much more widespread in Pkt; see Pischel (§§ 218 foll.). For retroflexion in sound-combinations see below § 64.

²For *apphoṭā* (a kind of jasmine) Ja VI 536,^{32*} the proper reading with retroflex is found also in Skt *āsphoṭa*.

³On the other hand *patamga* signifies ‘bird’ according to Abh 624. For examples of spontaneous retroflexion see Burrow, 1971.

⁴IF 23, p. 240. Cf. Greek ποτί.

⁵There occurs also *pakkathita* (variant reading *pakkujjhita*) Dhp-a I 126.8, III 310.9 beside *pakkuthita* Thī-a 292.5, and *pakkathāpeti* ‘cause to boil’ Ja I 472.7. How is *ṭṭh* to be explained here? On *kuthita* see § 25, f.n. 3. See also von Hinüber, 1979.

⁶As also in Māh, AMg, JMāh; see Pischel (§ 222).

⁷Lüders, GN, 1908, p. 3. Here *l* < *d̪* arises after *g* in an original -*hyda*.

⁸See Norman, 1992A, p. 237.

⁹Perhaps because of the palatals *ś* and *ñ*. See Norman, 1992B, pp. 169–70.

§ 43. Related to the phenomenon of retroflexion is the sporadic representation of *d* by *r*, of *n* by *l* or *r*, and also of *n* by *l*.

1. *d* appears (through *d̪*) for *r̪* quite commonly in the compound numerals with *dasa* ‘ten’ such as *ekārasa* (beside *ekādasa*) ‘eleven’, etc., as well as in the compounds with -*disa*, -*dikkha* = Skt -*dr̪śa*, *dr̪ksa*: *erisa*, *erikkha* (beside *edisa*, *edikkha*) = Skt *īdr̪śa*, *īdr̪ksa*, etc., according to Kacc. IV.6.19 (Senart, p. 525). *t* becomes *r* (through *d* and *d̪*) in *sattari* ‘seventy’ = Skt *saptati* S II 59.34. Cf. § 112.3.

2. *l* appears for *n* in: *eta* ‘fault’ (*anelaka* ‘faultless’ D III 85.17) = Skt *enās*; *pilandhati*, *pilandhana* (§ 37) from the root *nah*; *Milinda* (proper name) = μενάνδρος (in the last two cases *l* is perhaps due to dissimilation).² For *n* appears *r* in *Nerañjarā* (name of a river) Vin I 1.6 Skt *Nairāñjanā*.

3. *n̪* appears for *β̪* in: *velu* (also AMg *velu* beside *venu*) ‘bamboo’ = Skt *venu*; *muṭala* (§ 12.3) = Skt *mṛṇala*.

¹For Pkt see Pischel (§ 245).

²Schulze, KZ, 33, p. 226, f.n. Cf. Wackernagel, GN, 1906, p. 165, f.n. 1.

³Fausbøll, Five Jātī, p. 20.

§44. Representation of *r* by *l* is very common in Pāli, and in Pkt it is the rule for Mag., although this substitution occurs sporadically also in other dialects.¹ Thus, initially, in *lujjati* 'falls apart', Th 929 (*palujjati* D II 118,31) = Skt *rujyate*; *ludda* (§ 15.4) = Skt *raudra*.² Sometimes double forms with *l* and *r* occur in Skt: *lukha* (AMg *luha* beside *lukkha* 'gross, bad') Th 923 = Skt *tukṣa*, *rukṣa*; *lodda* (name of a tree) Ja VI 497,25* = Skt *lodhra*, *rodhra*. In Pāli there is *loma*, *roma* (the latter in Abh 259, 175) 'hair' and *lohitā*, *rohitā* (the latter in certain compounds) 'red, blood' as in Skt. Medially *l* stands for *r* in *elāñña* 'Ricinus' M I 124,30 = Skt *erāñña*; *talūṇa* 'tender' A IV 129,6 (beside *taruṇa* D I 114,15) = Skt *taruṇa*; *tipukkhala* (technical term) Neit 2,9 = Skt *tripuṣkara*; *daddula* (a kind of rice) D I 166,20 = Skt *dardura*; *sajjulasa* (§ 19.2) = Skt *sarjarasa*, etc. In the case of *kumbhila* 'crocodile' there is also in Skt *kumbhila* beside *-īra*. Not infrequently there appears *pali-* for *pari-*: *palikhanati* 'exterminates' S I 123,6* from the root *khan* with *pari*, *palissujati* 'embraces' D II 266,10* from the root *svaj* with *puri*. For other examples see § 39.1.2 and PED. A secondary *r* originating from *d* (§ 43.1) alternates with *l* in *telasa*, *terasa* 'thirteen'.³

¹Pischel (§ 256).

²In Ja IV 416,25 we have *ruddarūpa* with the variant reading *luddarūpa*.

³In place of *r d* appears in *Purimdada* (a name of Indra) D II 260,1* = Skt *Puramda*, perhaps through folk-etymology. E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 43.

§45. Skt *l* is more rarely represented by Pāli *r*: *arañjara* (§ 17.2b) = Skt *alīñjara*; *ārammaṇa* 'basis, object' Sn 474 = Skt *ālambana*; *kira* (particle) = Skt *kila*; *bilāla* 'cat' Abh 461 (beside the usual *bilāra* Ja I 461,8*, *nilārikā* Ja III 265,10) = Skt *bidāra*. For *l* appears *n* (perhaps through dissimilation) in *naṅgata* (also in AMg) 'plough' Th 16 = Skt *lāngala*; *naṅgula* 'tail' in *gonangula* (a kind of ape) Th 113 = Skt *lāngula*;¹ *nalāta* 'forehead' D I 106,13 = Skt *lalāta*. Medially there appears *n* for *l* in *dehanī* 'threshold' Abh 219 = Skt *dehalī*.²

¹Cf. also *naṅguttha* A II 245,2, Ja I 370,23, etc., which stands to *naṅgula* as *angutīha* 'thumb' to *angula*.

²In Abh 562 there is also *tintinī* 'tamarisk' instead of *tintilikā*, *tintidikā*.

§46. Not infrequent is the alternation between *y* and *v*.¹

1. Pāli *v* appears for Skt *y*: *āvudha* 'weapon' Dhp 40 (*āyudha* Mhv 7,16) = Skt *āyudha*; *āvuso* voc. from *āyuṣmant*; *ussāva* (§ 15.4) = Skt *avaśyāya*; *kasāva* 'dirt, sin' Sn 328 (*kasāyuta* Att 4,24) = Skt *kasāya*; *kasava* 'yellow robe of monks' = Skt *kāśāya*; *tāvattīmsā* (AMg *tavattisā*) 'the 33 gods' = Skt *trayastrīmśat*; *pindadāvika* 'provision-carrier' D I 51,9 for *pindadāyika*; *migavā* 'chase' Ja I 149,28 = Skt *mrgayā*. The form *kiva(m)* 'how much? how far?' (*kiva-dūram*, etc.) is to be compared with Ved. *kīvant* as opposed to Skt *kīyant*. Beside *kaṇḍuvati* 'scratches' Vin III 117,14 = Skt *kaṇḍuyati*, there is *kaṇḍuyana* Att 2,3 (= 5,13). After the svarabhakti vowel *i* there appears *v* instead of *y* in *paṭivimśa*, *paṭivisa* Vin I 28,9 = **pratyamśa*.² There is *tivāngika* Dhs 161 from **tiy-* = **tryāngika*. Childers also cites *divaddha* 'one and a half' = **dvyardha* (but in Sp 285,35 there is *diyaddha*). In cases of the gemination of *v* there appears (cf. § 51.3) *bb*: *pubba* 'pus' Sn 671 through **puvva*, **pūva* = Skt *pūya*; *vanibbaka* 'begging' D I 137,25 = Skt *vanīyaka*. Just as *b* occasionally appears in Pāli for Skt *v* (*kabala* 'morsel' = Skt *kavala*, *kabalikā* 'compress' Vin I 205,35 = Skt *kavalikā*, *buddha* 'old' D II 162,26 beside *vuddha* = Skt *vriddha*), so it appears also for *y* (through the intermediate stage of *v*) *jalābu* 'uterus' M I 73,4 (see § 44) = Skt *jarāyu*.

2. Pāli *y* appears for Skt *v* in: *dāya* 'park' D II 40,19 (beside *dāva* Ja I 212,11) = Skt *dāva*. The absol. *lāyitvā* Ja III 226,24*, and the part. *lāvita* Ja III 130,2 seem to stand for **lāvitvā*, **lāvita* (*lāveti* 'tears out, mows', from the root *lū*); E. Kuhn³ has derived *caccara* 'crossing of roads' Mil 1,18 through **catyara* from *catvara*, but it is more likely to be a formation from the intens. of *car*, cf. Skt *carcarī*.⁴

3. Occasionally *l* appears for *y* as in *lañthi(kā)* 'sprout, stick' Ja III 161,13*, beside *yañthu(ka)* Ja II 37,4 = Skt *yaṣṭi*.⁵ The change of *y* into *r* is however doubtful. The form *antarārati* 'runs risk' cannot be quoted from texts. For the forms *sakhāram*, *sakhāro* instead of *sakhāyam*, *sakhāyas* see § 84 below. In *vedhavera* 'son of a widow' Ja IV 124,22* and *sāmanera* 'novice' the suffix is *-era*, against *-eya* in *vaidhaveya* and *vramaneyā*. Nor can *naharu* 'ligament, string' (§ 50.5) be directly equated with *snāyu*, for it is derived from a by-form with *r* as is shown by Av. *snāvar* and Goth. *snorjo*.⁶

4. *v* and *m* alternate in the people's name Pāli *Damila* = Skt *Dravida*. Cf. also *sami* 'porcupine' Ja V 489.32 = Skt *śvāvidh*.⁷ The forms *vimamsati* 'tests', *vimamsā*, *vimamsana*, *vimamsin* as opposed to Skt *mīmāmsate*, etc., are to be explained through dissimilation.⁸

⁷For Pkt see Pischel (§ 254). Cf. *papovā* = *prāpnuyāt* in the language of Aśoka's inscriptions, Michelson, IF 23, p. 229.

⁸With the palatalisation of *a* to *i* before *y* was changed to *v*.

³Beitr., p. 45.

⁴See Norman, 1960A, p. 268.

⁵Pischel (§ 255).

⁶Johansson, IF, 3, pp. 204 foll.

⁷Lüders, ZDMG, 61, p. 643. See also von Hinüber, 1986, § 209.

⁸The length of *ī* goes against the derivation from the root *mr̥s* with *vi* given by Fausböll, Five Jāt., p. 37 (cf. also Andersen, Pāli Glossary, s.v.), as Senart, Kacc. p. 434 rightly pointed out.

13. DISSIMILATION AND METATHESIS

§ 47. Some examples of dissimilation have been already mentioned in §§ 41.2, 43.2, 45, 46.4.

1. To them can be added the following isolated cases: *kipilla*, *kipillikā* 'ant' Sn 602 = Skt *piplā*, *piplikā*;¹ *takkola* 'bdellium' Abh 304 = Skt *kakkola*, but also Skt *takkola*, Sgh. *takui*. The people's name *Takkola* Mil 359.28 is perhaps = Skt *Karkoṭa*.²

2. The liquid *r* is particularly susceptible to metathesis: *ālārika* 'cook' D I 51.10 = Skt *ārālika*; *kañeru(kā)* 'young elephant' Ja VI 497.1* = Skt *kareṇu*; *pārupati* 'covers, dresses' D I 246.10, *pārupaṇa*³ 'mantle' Ja I 378.8 beside *pāpurāṇa* (§§ 19.2 and 39.6). Metathesis may take place after the insertion of a svarabhakti vowel: *kayirā* through **karyā* = **karyāt* from the root *kar*;⁴ *kayirati* (§ 175) = **karyate*; *payirudaharati* 'utters' D II 222.11 and *payirupāsati* 'sits at the feet (of the teacher)' Th 1236 through **pariyud-*, **pariyupa-* = Skt *paryud-*, *paryupa-*; *rahada* 'tank' through **harada* (§ 31.1) = Skt *hrada*. Also *daha* (AMg *daha*, *draha*) Vin I 28.3 is to be explained through **draha* derived from *hrada*. Forms like *acchera* 'wonderful' (§ 27.5) are also cases of metathesis: *āścarya* > **acchariya* > **acchayira* > *acchera*. Finally *makasa* 'mosquito' Sn 20 through **masaka* = Skt *maśaka*⁵

should be mentioned. On *-hīrati*, *-bhīrati* see § 175.

¹Similarly Sgh. *kubudinu* 'awake' instead of **pubudinu*

²On these and other doubtful cases see Trenckner, Notes, pp. 108 foll.; E. Müller, PGr. p. 39; JPTS, 1888, pp. 18, 37, 50.

³Johansson (IF, 25, pp. 222 foll.) is inclined to derive *pārupati* from an extended root *varp* (IE *verp*)

⁴On *acchera*, *ācera*, *macchera*, where the same metathesis is in evidence, see § 27.5.

⁵Fausböll, Five Jāt., p. 29 derives *makasa* from *maksa* with svarabhakti; but separation of *ks* does not occur anywhere else.

14. CONSONANT GROUPS

Combinations of two consonant

§ 48. Consonant-groups may be divided by svarabhakti vowels according to § 29. They remain undivided, however,

1. if they consist of similar consonants or of a mute with the corresponding aspirate, or

2. if they consist of a nasal with a homorganic mute. In the derivatives from *pañca*, however, forms with *nn*, *nñ* and *ññ* are also found: *pannarasa* 'fifteen, fifteenth' (rarely *pañña-*), *pañnuvíṣa* 'twenty-five' Ja III 138.20* beside *pañcadasa* Sn 402 and *pañcavíṣa* Dīp 3.29, but only *paññāsa(m)* Dhp-a III 207.12 or *paññāsa(m)* 'fifty' = Skt *pañcāśat*.¹ Assimilation of a mute to a preceding nasal is to be found in *ārammana* (§ 45) = Skt *ālambana*; *Channa* = *Chanda*.²

¹Cf. Pkt AMg JMāh. *pañnarasa*, *paññāsam*, etc. Pischel (§ 273). E. Kuhn, KZ, 33, p. 478 tried to explain this phenomena through dissimilation.

²See Lüders, 1954, § 166.

§ 49. Consonant groups containing *h* have to be dealt with separately:

1. Metathesis takes place in the case of groups *h* + nasal, *y* or *v*.¹ Thus *hn*, *hm*, *hy*, *hv* become respectively *nh*, *nh*, *mh*, *yh*, *vh*. Examples: *pubbañha* 'forenoon' D I 109.29 = Skt *pūrvāhna*. Similarly *aparañha* 'afternoon' = Skt *aparāhna*, and following them also *sāyanha* 'evening' = Skt *sāyāhna*; *cinha* 'sign' Abh 55 (beside *cihana* with

svarabbakti Abh 879) = Skt *cihna*; *jimha* 'crooked, false' Ja III 111,17* = Skt *jihma*; *vayhā* 'movable chair' Ja VI 500,13* from *vāhya*. Similarly in future passive participles: *sayha* 'that which is to be endured' Sn 253 = Skt *sahya*; in absolutives: *āruyha* from the root *ruh* with *ā* 'to mount' = Skt *āruhya*; in passives: *duyhati* 'is milked' Mil 41,1 = Skt *duhyate*.² Also *jivha* 'tongue' D I 21,19 = Skt *jihvā*. In compounds there occur *bavhabadha* 'ill' M II 94,20 = Skt *bahvābadha*; *bavhodaka* 'containing much water' Th 390.

2. The combination *hr* undergoes various changes.³ Initially there is *h* in *hesati* 'neighs' Dāth 44, *hesā*, *hesita* 'neighing' Mhv 23,72 = Skt *hresate*, *hresā*, *hresita*; but there is *r* in *rassa* (as opposed to Māg *hassa*) 'short' Dhp 409 = Skt *hrasva*. Both svarabbakti and metathesis are in evidence in *rahada* = Skt *hrada* (§ 47.2).

¹ As in Pkt; see Pischel (§§ 330, 332).

² In Pkt *hy* becomes *jhh*, initially *jh*, see Pischel (§ 331).

³ For *hl* may be quoted only *kallahāra* 'white water-lily' Dip 16,19 = *kahlāra*: cf. § 30,4.

§ 50. In the groups consisting of a sibilant followed by a nasal, as a rule there takes place in Pāli, as in Pkt,¹ metathesis with the concomitant change of the sibilant into *h*. Frequently there are found parallel forms with svarabbakti which took place sometimes already in the original sound-group and sometimes after metathesis and the change of *s* into *h*.

1. *śn* becomes *nh* (Pkt *nh*): *pañha* (AMg *pañha*) 'question' = Skt *praśna*; *pañhipaññī* (sic! not *pañhi-*) (name of a plant) Abh 584 = Skt *prśniparṇī*.

2. *śm* becomes *mh*: *amhanā* 'with a stone' Sn 443 = Skt *aśmanā*; *amhamaya* 'stony' Dhp 161, beside *asmā* Ja III 29,17*. Sometimes *sm* = Skt *śm* is retained in Pāli: *Kasmīra* Mil 82,30 = Skt *Kāśmīra*; *rasmi* (Pkt *rassi*) 'ray, rein' Dhp 222 (beside *ramsi* Sn 1016) = Skt *raśmi*; *vesma* 'house' Abh 206 = Skt *veśman*. In initial position *ś* is assimilated to *m* (<*mm*) in *massu* (AMg *mamsu*) 'beard' D I 60,17 = Skt *śmaśru*.

3. *śn* becomes *nh*: *unha*, 'hot, heat' = Skt *usna*; *unhīsa* 'diadem' D II 179,1 = Skt *uṣṇīṣa*; *kanha* 'black, demoniac' Th 140 = Skt *kṛṣṇa*; *tanha* 'thirst' (beside rare *tasinā* § 30,5) = Skt *trṣṇa*; *tunhu* 'silent' = Skt

tūṣṇīm; *Venhu* (§ 10) = Skt *Viṣṇu*; *sunha* 'daughter-in-law' through **susnā* from *snusā*,² beside *sunisa* (§ 31,2).

4. *śm* becomes *mh*: *gimha* 'summer' Dhp 286 = Skt *grīṣma*; *semha* (AMg *sembha*, *simbha*) 'phlegm' = Skt *śleṣman*; *tumhe*, *tumhākam*, etc. = Skt *yuṣme*, *yuṣmākam*, etc. (§ 104); *sm* = Skt *śm* is retained in *usmā* 'warinθ' D II 335,15 (beside *usumā* § 31,2) = Skt *uṣman*; *āyasmant* 'venerable' = Skt *āyusmant*; *bhesma* (sic!) 'horrible' Abh 167 = Skt *bhaismā*.

5. *sn* becomes *nh* in: *nhāyati* 'bathes', *nhāna* 'bath', etc., mostly in verses, beside the forms appearing in prose such as *nahāyati*, *nahāna* (*sunhāta*, *sunahāta* 'well-bathed' D I 104,27) = Skt *snāyati*, *snāna*; *nhāru* Vin I 25,1 beside the more frequent *nahāru* Sn 194, a side-form of *snāyu* (§ 46,3).

6. *sm* becomes *mh* in: *vimhaya* 'astonishment' Mhv 5,92, *vimhita* Mhv 6,19 = Skt *vismaya*, *vismita*; *amhe*, *amhākam*, etc. (§ 104) = Skt *asmān*, *asmākam*, etc. There are also the Pāli forms *asme* Ja III 359,21*, *asmākam* Sn 102 in which *sm* has been retained. It is also retained in *usmi* (beside *amhi*) 'I am', in the endings -*smā* of abl. sg. (beside -*mhā*) and -*smim* of loc. sg. (beside -*mhī*), in *bhasma* 'ash' Dhp 71 = Skt *bhasman*. There is svarabbakti in initial *sm* in the case of *sumarati* 'remembers' Dhp 324 = Skt *smarate*; beside it there is also *sarati* with assimilation. Similarly *sita* 'smile' M II 45,4 beside *mihita* Ja VI 504,30 = Skt *smita*.

¹ Pischel (§§ 312 foll.).

² H. Jacobi, Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, p. XXXII.3 explains Pkt *sunha* by metathesis from **ṇhusā*. Not so Pischel (§ 148).

§ 51. Moreover, in so far as no svarabbakti intervenes, the assimilation of consonants is characterised by the rule that the consonants of lesser power of resistance are assimilated to those of greater resisting power. The power of resistance diminishes in the order: mutes — sibilants — nasals — *l*, *v*, *y*, *r*. Thus *r* is assimilated to a mute or a sibilant, both when it precedes or follows it. Where a mute is combined with a mute, or a nasal with a nasal, the first consonant is assimilated to the second.

The following details should also be noticed:

1. If the consonant-group contains an aspirate, the aspiration appears at the end of the new group after assimilation is completed: *kh* + *y* becomes *kkh*, *k* + *th* becomes *tth*. Aspiration of the resultant group is normally caused also by the presence of a sibilant in the original group: *s* + *t* becomes *tth*.

2. In initial position, there remains only one of the assimilated consonants, which is normally the second one: thus *yth* becomes *th*. In compounds, however, the double consonant normally re-appears, and occasionally also in external sandhi. Cf. §§ 67, 74, 1.

3. Wherever according to the laws of assimilation the sound-group *vv* would originate, there appears in Pāli, in contrast to the other Middle Indian dialects, always *bb*¹: initially however only *v*.

4. Certain other qualitative changes are also concomitant with assimilation: dentals, as well as *n*, are palatalised by a following *y* before assimilation takes place. Sometimes *k* is also palatalised in the combination *k* + *g*.

5. Between *m* and a following liquid there is introduced in the first instance the glide-sound *b*.² Only after that does assimilation or separation through the svarabhakti vowel take place. Examples: *amba* 'mango' Vv 8.16, through **ambra* = Skt *āmra*; *ambātaka* (§ 42.1) = Skt *āmrātaka*; *tamba* 'red, copper' M III 186,15 through **tambla* = Skt *tāmra*; *Tambapanī* (Ceylon) Ja I 85,11 = Skt *Tāmrāparṇī*. Svarabhakti in *ambila* 'sour, acid' Ja I 349,30, through **ambla* = Skt *amlā*. In this way is to be explained also *gumba* 'mass, bush' D I 84,16 = Skt *gulma*, with metathesis, from **gumla*, **gumbla*.³

¹ Similarly, according to § 6.2, *yobbana* (Pkt *jorvāna*) 'youth' Dhp 155 foll., D I 115,16 = *yauvana*.

² Also in Pkt; Pischel (§ 295).

³ No metathesis has taken place in Pkt *gumma*; here assimilation has been direct.

§ 52. Progressive assimilation takes place:

1. In the combination of mute with mute: *chakka* 'collection of six' M III 280,33 = Skt *ṣaṭka*; *satthi* 'thigh' Th 151 = Skt *sakthi*; *mugga*

'bean' Ja III 55.4* = Skt *mudga*; *ugghata* 'blow' Vin I 192,2 = Skt *udghāta*.

2. In the combination of sibilant with mute (with aspiration of the resultant group): *acchera* (§ 27.5) = Skt *āścarya*; *nikkha*, *nekkha* (§ 10) = Skt *niska*;¹ *apphojeti* 'claps the hands' Ja VI 486,17 (*apphojana*, *apphojita*) = Skt *āśphoṭayati*. In initial position: *khalati* 'stumbles' Th 45 = Skt *skhalati*; *thaneti* 'thunders' D II 260,25*, *thanita*, Ja I 470,12 = Skt *stanayati*, *stanita*; *phassa* 'touch' = Skt *sparsa*. There is no assimilation in *bhasta* (§ 40.1a) = Skt *basta* (cf. *bhastā* 'bellows' M I 128,21 = Skt *bhastrā*); *vanaspati* 'tree' Ja I 329,6* = Skt *vanaspati*.

3. In the combination of liquid with mute, sibilant or nasal: *kakka* (a precious stone) Vv-a 111,25 = Skt *karka* (*karketana*); *kibbisa* 'sin' Ja III 34,13* = Skt *kilbiṣa*; *vāku* (§ 6.1) = Skt *valka*; *kassaka* 'farmer' D I 61,16 = Skt *karṣaka*;² *ūmi* 'wave' Ja I 498,6 (§ 5b) = Skt *ūrmi*; *kammāsa* 'spotted' D II 80,24 = Skt *kalmāṣa*.

4. In the combination of nasal with nasal: *ninna* 'deep, low' Dhp 98 = Skt *nimna*; *ummūleti* 'uproots' Ja I 328,9 = Skt *unmūlayati*.

5. In the combination of *r* with *l*, *y*, *v*: *dullabha* 'difficult to attain' = Skt *durlabha*; *ayya* 'venerable' Vin II 290,28 (beside *ariya* with svarabhakti according to § 30.1) = Skt *ārya*;³ *udiyyati* 'is heard, resounds' Th 1232 = Skt *udīryate*;⁴ *niyyāti* 'goes away' D I 49,31 (*niyyāna*, *niyyānika*) = Skt *niryāti*, etc.; *niyyāma* 'sailor' Ja IV 137,10 = Skt *niryāma*; *niyyāsa* 'resin' Mhv 29,11 = Skt *niryāsa*; *sumkiyati* 'is mixed up, defiled' S III 71,16 (§ 5b) through **kiyyati* = Skt *saṃkīryate*; *kubbanti* 'they make' Ja III 118,10* (§ 51.3) = Skt *kurvanti*; *sabba* 'all' = Skt *sarva*; *dubbuṭhi(kā)* 'drought' D I 11,7 = Skt *durvṛṣṭi*.⁵ In verbs of the type *jīryati*, *pūryate* there is mostly *r* (instead of *yy*, *y*) as the result of the regressive assimilation of *ry*. Thus (*pari*) *pūrati* 'is filled' Dhp 121 = Skt *pūryate*, beside the analogically formed passives *-hurati*, *bhurati* (§ 175). Cf. the doublets *jīyati* 'is digested, becomes old' and *pirati* = Skt *jīryati*, *jīryate* (§ 137).

6. In the combination of anusvāra with *r*, *l*: *sārambha* Dhp 133 (with the resultant *rr* simplified to *r* with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel⁶ [see § 6.3]) beside *saṃrambha* Daṭh 4.34 = Skt

samrambha; *saraga* M I 17,34 = Skt *samrāga*; *sallapa* D I 89,28 = Skt *samlāpa*; *sallekha* M I 40,31 = Skt *samlekha*.

¹Similarly *dukkha* ‘sorrow’ = *duhkha*

²Cf. *ghamsati* ‘rubs’ (§ 6.3) – *gharsati*.

³In Pkt *ry* becomes *yy* only in Mag., otherwise *jj*; see Pischel (§ 287).

⁴The similar form *mīyati* (and *mīyatī*) ‘dies’, which cannot be connected with Skt *mīyate*, is derived from **mīryate*

⁵By analogy with it there also appears *bb* in *subbutṭhikā*.

⁶As in Skt. See Turner, CP, p. 425

§ 53. Regressive assimilation takes place:

1. In the combination of mutes with nasal: *ubbigga* ‘anxious’ Ja I 486,10* = Skt *udvigna*; *soppa* (§ 25.2) = Skt *svapna*; *abhimatthati* ‘rubs, grinds’ Dhp 161 = Skt *abhimatnāti*; *chaddan* ‘veil, cover’¹ in *vivattacchadda* (of a Buddha) D I 89,9 = Skt *chadman*. On the other hand *jñ* becomes *ññ*² through progressive assimilation: *paññā*, *paññāṇa* ‘knowledge’ Sn 1136 = Skt *prajñā*, *prajñāṇa*; *raññā*, *rañño* instr. and gen. sg. of *rājan* = Skt *rājñā*, *rājñas*. In initial position *jñ* becomes *ñ*: *ñatti* ‘request’ Vin I 56,14 = Skt *jñapti*. For *ñā* ‘order’ see § 63.2. The assimilation observed in the form *rummavatī* = Skt *rukmaṇī*³ quoted by E. Kuhn from Vutt⁴ would also be progressive.

2. In the combination of mutes with liquids: *takka* ‘whey’ Ja II 363,10 = *takra*; *udda* ‘otter’ Vin I 186,21 = Skt *udra*; *sobbha* (§ 25.2) = Skt *śvabhra*; *sukka* ‘white’ = Skt *śukla*. In initial position there appears in these cases only a single mute: *kayavikkaya* ‘purchase and sale’ D I 5,10 = Skt *krayavikraya*; *tāṇa* ‘protection’ Dhp 288 = Skt *trāṇa*; *bhatar* ‘brother’ = Skt *bhrātar*. Sometimes the combination mute + *r* remains unchanged: *nigrodhā* (§ 21) = Skt *nyagrodha*; *tatra* ‘there’ Th 31 (beside *tattha* Th 183) = Skt *tatra*; *citra* ‘multicoloured’ Ja VI 497,16* (beside *citta* Dhp 151) = Skt *citra*; *bhadra* ‘happy’ S I 117,24 (beside *bhadda* D II 95..7) = Skt *bhadra*; *udrīyati* ‘is split’ S I 113,15 (*udraya* ‘fruit, reward’ S II 29,12) from **uddriyate* for *uddīryate*.⁵ The part. pres. *atricchām* Ja I 414,6* is explained in the commentary by *atra*, *atra icchānto* ‘desiring this and that’; cf. *atriccha* ‘desirous’ Ja III 206,16, *atricchatā* ‘covetousness’ Ja III 222,6. In *atrajā* ‘son, daughter’ Ja III 181,4* through **attajā* = Skt *atmajā* the *tr* originated through folk-etymology.

3. In the combination of mutes with semi-vowels (dental + *y* will be discussed in § 55): *sakka* ‘capable’ – Skt *śakya*; *vuccati* ‘is said’ – Skt *ucyate*; *kudda* ‘wall’ D I 78,3 = Skt *kudya*; *pajjalati* ‘burns’ D II 163,20

Skt *prajvalati*; *labbha* ‘attainable’ Ja III 204,27* = Skt *labhya*, *cattaro* ‘four’ = Skt *catvāras*; *addhan* ‘way’ = Skt *adhvan*; *saddala* ‘grassy’ Th 211 = Skt *sādvala*. In initial position there appears only the single mute: *kathita* (§ 42.2) – Skt *kvathita*; *dija* (poetic term) ‘bird’ D II 258,22* = Skt *dvija*; *dhanuta* ‘resounding’ Sv 177,1 (JPTS, 1887, p. 26,18) = Skt *dhvanita*.⁶ But there occurs initially *b* for *dv* in *bārava* ‘twelve’, *bāvīsati*, *battimṣa* (§ 116.2). Sometimes the combination mute + semi-vowel remains unchanged: *vakya* (poetic term) ‘word, speech’ D II 166,5* = Skt *vākyā*;⁷ *ārogya* ‘good health’ D I 11,9 = Skt *ārogya*; *kvām* ‘where, how’, *kvaci* ‘somewhere’ = Skt *kva*, *kvacit*; the absol. suffixes -*tvā*, -*tvāna*; *dve* ‘two’ (beside *duve*), *dvidhā* D II 341,3, *dvedhā* Vin I 97,5, etc. = Skt *dve*, *dvidhā*, *dvedhā*, etc. In compositional combination *dv* and *dv* become *bb*⁸ through *vv* by progressive assimilation (cf. §§ 55, 57); *ubbigga* (see § 53.1) = Skt *udvigna*; *ubbillā* (§ 15,1) from the root *vell* with *ud*; *ubbāsiyati* ‘becomes depopulated’ Mhv 6,22 (pass. of the caus. of the root *vas* with *ud*); *ubbattei* ‘anoints’ Thūp 39,11 = Skt *udvartayati*; *ubbinaya* ‘against the Vinaya’ Vin II 306,20 = **udvinaya*; *ubbejitar* ‘one who causes excitement’ Pp 47,17 from the root *vij* with *ud*; *tabbaṇīsika* ‘descended from this family’ Mhv 37,89 from *tadvāṇī-*. Similarly *chabbanna* ‘six-coloured’ Mhv 17,48 = Skt *śaḍvarna*; *chabbīsati* ‘twenty-six’ = Skt *saṭhīṇīṣati*.

¹Or perhaps ‘deceit’; see Norman, 1992B, p. 218.

²In Pkt *jñ* usually becomes *gn*; see Pischel (§ 276).

³Another *rumma* is to be found in *rummavastī* ‘irregularly dressed’ Ja IV 380,1*, 384,1*; cf. also *rummu* Ja IV 322,1* (cty *anañjuāmaṇḍita*).

⁴E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 46

⁵The verb *udrabhatti*, *udrabheti* ‘tears off’ M I 306,2, 5 (in 307,2 we have *udraheyyum*) is derived from a root **drabh* or **drah* (Skt *darh*) w.th *ud*. See now von Hinüber, 1980, pp. 28–29.

⁶Munayeff, PG, p. 49, § 3; Morris, Transactions Cong. of Or., London 1892, I, pp. 482 foll.

⁷For the proper name *Śākyā* cf. § 7 note 1

⁸In Pkt too *dv* becomes *vv* in combinations with *ud*, Pischel (§ 298 (towards the end)).

§ 54. Regressive assimilation takes place:

4. In the combination of sibilants with liquids or semi-vowels: *missa* 'mixed' Th 143 = Skt *misra*; *avassam* 'necessary' Dhp-a III 170,23 = Skt *avaśyam*; *vayassa* 'friend' Ja II 31,9 = Skt *vayasya*; *assa* 'horse' = Skt *aśva*; *palissajati* (§ 44) = Skt *pariśvajate*.¹ In initial position there is only *s*: *sota* 'stream' = Skt *srotas*; *semha* (§ 5) = Skt *śleśman*; *sandana* 'chariot' Ja VI 511,3* = Skt *syandana*; *seta* 'white' = Skt *śveta*. In initial position *sv* is retained in *sve* 'tomorrow' (beside *suve*) = Skt *śvas*, *svātanāya* 'for next day'² and in forms like *svākkhāta* 'well-proclaimed' from *su-ākhyāta*, *svāgata* 'welcome' D I 179,16 (variant reading *sāg-*) = Skt *svāgata*. The combination *sy* becomes *h* in future forms like *ehisi* 'you will go', *ehiti* (beside *essasi*, *essati*) = Skt *esyasi*, *esyati*. Similarly *kāhāmi* 'I shall do', *kāhasi*, *kāhati* through **kassāmi*, **kāsāmi* from **karṣyāmi*. See § 153.1.

5. In the combination of nasal or liquid *l* with semi-vowels (*n*, *ṇ* + *y* will be discussed in § 55): *sammannati* 'agrees' Vin I 106,4, from the root *man* (*manve*, not = *manye*³) + *sam*; *samannesati* 'seeks' D I 105,25 from the root *iṣ* with *sam-anu* and similar compounds with *anu*; *kuṇja* 'ferment' Abh 533 = Skt *kuṇya*; *ramma* 'graceful' Th 63 = Skt *ramya*; *kalla* 'ready, possible' Vin I 16,1 = Skt *kalya*; *billa* (a kind of fruit) A V 170,26 = Skt *bilva*; *bella* (the same fruit) Ja III 77,24* (beside *beluva* M II 6,35) = Skt *bailva*; *khallāṭa* 'bald' (in *Khallāṭanāga* Mhv 33,29) = Skt *khallvāṭa*; *pallanka* 'sitting with crossed legs' = Skt *paryanka* presupposes **palyanka* just as *pallattha* = Skt *paryasta* presupposes **palyattha*. The combination *nv* is retained in *anvadeva* 'afterwards' D II 172,25; *anveti* 'follows' = Skt *anvetti*; *anvaya* 'progeny' D II 261,9* (beside *durannaya* 'difficult to follow' Dhp 92) = Skt *anvaya*, etc. Similarly *my* in °*kamya*, °*kamyatā* 'wishing something, desire for something' Vin IV 12,24 = Skt °*kāmya*, °*kāmyatā*; *ly* in *malya* 'flower' Vv 1,1 = Skt *mālyā*. In inflection there occurs, e.g. *piṇḍhalyā* (Gāthā-language) Vv 43,6 (instr. sg. of) *piṇḍhalī* 'pepper'.

6. In the combinations *vy* and *vr* which become *bb* (through *vv*): *paribbaya* 'expenditure' Ja I 433,18 = Skt *parivyaya*; *udayabbaya* (in composition) 'origin and decay' Th 10 = Skt *udaya* + *vyaya*; *tibba* 'sharp' Dhp 349 = Skt *tivra*; *panbbatā* (in composition) 'devoted to the husband' Ja VI 533,7* = Skt *pativrata*. Initially there is *v* in: *vapayanti* 'they go away, disappear' Vin I 2,5 from the root *i* with *vi-apā*; *vāṭa* 'beast of prey, snake' Ja VI 497,13* = Skt *vyāṭa*; *vata* 'religious

observance' S I 201,29 = Skt *vrata*;⁴ *vo-* (§ 26.2) = Skt *vyava-*. Also in composition as in *udayavaya* A II 45,26 beside *udayabbaya* (see above). Frequently however *vy* is retained as in: *vyaseka* 'mixing up' Sv 183,24, *vyasiñcati* 'is mixed' S IV 78,7 from the root *sic* with *vi-ā*; *vyagā* 'departs' Th 170 = Skt *vyagāt*; *vyavata* (§ 38,5) = Skt *vyapṛta*, etc. In manuscripts from hinter-India *by-* is written for *vy-* in these forms. Medially there is *vy* in *paṭhavyā* Dip 5,2. (loc. sg.) beside *paṭhaviyām* and in the composition of *udayavyaya* D II 35,15 (v.l. -*bb-*).

¹The verbs *ossakkati*, *paccosakkati* (§ 28,2) are to be explained through **ōssakkati*.

²Johansson, Monde Oriental 1907–8, pp. 106 foll.

³This may, however, be a borrowing from a dialect where palatalisation of *ny* > *ññ* did not occur. See Luders, 1954, § 169.

⁴The word *sorata* 'kind' and its abstract noun *soracca* should not be derived from *svrata* which has become *subbata* in Pāli, but from *saurata*, *sauratya*, (the opposite view is expressed in JPTS, 1909, p. 233).

§ 55. Palatalisation takes place in the combination of dentals (including *n*) with *y*: *sacca* 'true' = Skt *satya*; *racchā* 'street' Ja I 425,12 (beside *rathiyā* D I 83,6) = Skt *rathyā*; *chijjati* 'is split' = Skt *chidyate*; *dvejjha* 'salsity, uncertainty' A III 403,10 = Skt *dvaidhya*; *añña* 'another' = Skt *anya*.¹ Initially: *cajati* 'leaves' = Skt *tyajati*; *jotati* 'lightens up' Ja I 53,4 = Skt *dyotate*; *ñāya* 'method' D II 21,2 = Skt *nyāya*. In inflection: *uppacca* 'flying up' = Skt *utpatya* (cty: *uppatitvā*) S I 209,6*; *jaccā* Ja III 395,6* (beside *jatiyā*) instr. sg. from *jāti* 'birth'; *najjā* Vin I 1,6 (beside *nadiyā*) gen. sg. from *nadī*. The rule seems to apply also in the case of the combination of retroflex + *y* (including *ṇ* with *y* [cf. § 51,4]): *vekurañjā* < **vaikurāñya* from *vikurāñda* 'without testicle' (Skt *kurañda*); *kammañña* 'ready for use' Vin I 182,31 (beside *kammaniya* D I 76,14) = Skt *karmanyā*; *piññāka* 'oil-cake' D I 166,22 = Skt *pinyāka*, etc. But *addha* 'rich' = Skt *ādhya*. When *ud* precedes a word beginning with *y*, the combination *dy* becomes *yy* through progressive assimilation (cf. §§ 53,3, 57): *uyyana* 'garden' = Skt *udyāna*; *uyyutta* 'alert' Dhp-a III 451,15 = Skt *udyukta*, etc.²

¹In Pkt *ny* becomes *nn*, which is written as *nn* in the Jaina works; see Pischel (§ 282).

²In Pkt we get *jj*, which however (by analogy with *vv* from *dv*) is not directly derived from *dy*, but from *yy*.

§ 56. The Skt sound-group *ks* requires special treatment:

1. Where Skt *ks* = Indo-Iranian *ks* or *śś*, it is represented as in Pkt by *kkh* or *cch*. Pischel's hypothesis, according to which Pkt *kkh* should be derived from Indo-Iranian *ks* = Av. *χš*, and Pkt *cch* from Indo-Iranian *śś* = Av. *ś*, although both have coincided in *ks* in Skt,¹ can be as little proved from the actual state of things in Pali as from that in Pkt. From the Aśokan inscriptions it appears that this is a dialect difference in Pkt, with *kkh* in the east and *cch* (< *ks* through *ts*, with the change of *k* to *t*;² for *ts* > *cch* see § 57) in the west. The situation was already becoming confused by the time of Aśoka, and in the Pāli canon *kkh* and *cch* appear quite indiscriminately, sometimes in accordance with, but just as often in opposition to, the indication of the Av. language. Sometimes Pāli and Pkt do not agree with each other, and not infrequently both forms are found side by side in Pāli as well as in Pkt.

(a) There is *kkh* in Pāli *dakkhīṇa* (similarly Pkt, but Av. *daśina*) = Skt *dakṣīṇa*; *makkhikā* 'fly' (Av. *maχši*, but Pkt *macchiā*³) = Skt *makṣikā*. In initial position: *khudā* (§ 40.2b) = Skt *kṣudhā* (Av. *śuða*, Pkt *kuhā* and *chuhā*), etc.

(b) There is *cch* in *kaccha* (similarly in Māh, *kakkha* in AMg JMāh: Av. *kaša*) 'axis, arm' Sn 449 = Skt *kakṣa*; *tacchati* (Pkt *takkhai* and *tacchai*, Av. *tašan*) 'to shape' D II 341,1 = Skt *takṣati*, etc. In initial position: *chārika* 'ash' Ud 93,3, D II 164,6 = Skt *kṣārikā*, etc.

(c) Sometimes in Pāli *kkh* and *cch* alternate in one and the same word: *acchi* 'eye' Abh 149 beside the usual *akkhi* = Skt *akṣi* (Pkt *akkhi* and *acchi*, Av. *aši*); *ucchu* (§ 16. 1a) = Skt *ikṣu* (Pkt *ucchu*, in AMg also *ukkhu*) beside *Okkaka* (§ 10, f.n. 3) through **Ukk-*, **Ukkh-* = Skt *Ikṣvāku*; *accha* (§ 12.1) beside *ikka* (for **ikkha*, §§ 12.2 and § 62.2) = Skt *ṛkṣa* (AMg *accha* and *riccha*, Av. *arša*). A differentiation in meaning has come about in *chana* 'festival' Ja I 423,9 and *khana* 'moment' Th 231 = Skt *kṣana*, as well as in *chamā* 'earth' Sn 401 and *khamā* 'forgiveness' Abh 161 (also *khamā* 'earth' Abh 994) = Skt *ksamā*.⁴

2. Where Skt *ks* corresponds to the Indo-Iranian voiced group *žž* = Av. *γž*, there appears in Pāli *ggh*, *jjh* and in Pkt *jjh*.⁵ Cf. *paggharati* 'drips' Th 394 = Skt *prakṣarati*. Similarly *uggharati* Th 394. Initially there occurs *jh*: *jhama* (so also in AMg) 'burnt' S IV 193,17 = Skt

kṣama; *jhāyati* (AMg. *jhiyāi*) 'burns (intrans.)' Ud 93,3 = Skt *kṣāyati*; *jhāpeti* 'burns (transitive)' D II 159,26 = Skt *kṣāpayati*.

¹Pischel, GGA, 1881, p. 1322; §§ 316 foll.

²For this change see Norman, 1986, p. 391.

³Only Š. *ṇummakha* = *nirmaksika*.

⁴*kuuddha* 'small' Th 43, Vin II 287,31 and *chuddha* 'despised' Dhp 41, are of course not both = *kṣudra* as Childers explains them in his dictionary; the latter rather = *kṣubdhā*. We have moreover Pāli *khubbhati* Ja VI 489,13* and *khobheti* Ja I 501,31.

⁵Pischel (§ 326).

§ 57. The Skt sound-groups *ts* and *ps* both become *cch* in Pāli: *kucchuta* 'despicable' Vv-a 215,1 = Skt *kutsita*; *maccharin* 'jealous' Dhp 262 = Skt *matsarin*; *vacchatara* 'ox' D I 127,12 = Skt *vatsatara*; *accharā* 'nymph' = Skt *apsaras*; *jigucchā*, *jigucchati* (§ 18.2) = Skt *jugupsā*, *jugupsate*. Skt *icchati* and *ipsate* have coincided in *icchati* 'wishes'. Through dialectal influence *ts* appears as *th* initially in *tharu* (also AMg *tharu*, beside *charu*) 'handle, sword' A III 152,32, = Skt *tsaru*. The representation of *ps* by *ch* in initial position is quite regular: *chāta* 'hungry' Ja III 199,2* = Skt *psāta*. In composition, when *t(d)* at the end of a word combines with an initial Skt *s* or *ś*, the resulting sound-groups **ts* (= Skt *cch*) and *ts* become *ss* through progressive assimilation. In rare cases there appears *cch*,¹ mostly in combinations with *ud*. Cf. §§ 53-3, 55.

Examples for *ts*: *ussada* 'friction' Dhp-a I 28,15* from Skt *utsādana* (*ucchādana*); *ussanna* 'increased' Vin I 71,34 = Skt *utsanna*; *ussava* 'festival' Ja III 87,3 = Skt *utsava*; *ussahati* 'exerts' D I 135,20, *ussāha* Vin I 58,19, *ussoḍhi* Dhs 13,22 = Skt *utsahate*, *utsāha*, **utsodhi*; *ussiñcati* 'exhausts' Ja I 450,11 = Skt *utsiñcati*; *ussuka* 'eager' Dhp 199, *ussukka* (§ 15.4) = Skt *utsuka*, *autsukya*; *ussūra* 'evening' Dhp-a III 305,12 = Skt *utsūra*. Also *tassāruppa* 'corresponding to that' M III 163,19 from *tat* + *sār*.

Examples for **ts* (Skt *cch*): *ussaṅkin* 'coward' Vin II 190,23 from the root *śaṅk* with *ud*; *ussisaka* (JMāh. *ūst̄saa*) 'head-end (of a bed)' Ja II 410,20 = Skt *ucchīrṣaka* (*ud* + *śīrṣa*); *ussussati* 'dries up' S I 126,2 = Skt *ucchūṣyati* (*śus* with *ud*).

On the other hand there is in Pali *cch* for *ts* in *ucchāṅga* 'lap' Ja I 308,5* = Skt *utsāṅga*; *ucchādāna* 'annihilation' D I 76,18 'friction' (beside *ussāda*, see above) D I 7,19 = Skt *utsādāna*; *cch* appears also for **ts* in *ucchittha* 'leaving' Ja VI 508,7* = Skt *ucchīṣṭa* (*śiṣṭa* with *ud*).

¹ So also in Pkt; Pischel (§ 327).

Combinations of more than two consonants

§ 58. Under the influence of the general laws of assimilation groups of more than two consonants are reduced to combinations of two.

1. Where a nasal preceding a mute stands at the beginning of a group, it remains according to § 48, and the following consonants are assimilated and simplified: *ānañca* 'infinity' is derived from *ānanya* through **ānañcca* (§ 55); *randha* 'hole' Ja III 192,29* is derived from *randhra* through **randdhā*; *kañkhā* 'doubt' from *kañksā* through **kañkkhā*.

2. When a heavy consonant (mute or sibilant) stands between light consonants (nasal, liquid, semi-vowel) the first light consonant is first assimilated to the heavy one: *macca* 'man' is derived from *martya* through **mattyā*, **matya*; *pāñhi(kā)* 'heel' D II 17,19 from *pārṣṇi* through **pāñṣni*, **pāñni*; *akamha* 'we did' (§ 159.III) is derived from *akārṣma*. Svarabhakti is in evidence in *vāṭuma* 'path' D II 8,5 through **vāṭma*, **vāṭma* = Skt *vartman*, as well as in *pāñani* (?) 'heel' Abh 277 beside *pāñhi*.

3. In the same manner, assimilation and simplification of the first two consonants first take place in those cases where a light consonant stands at the end of the group, and two heavy consonants or one light and one heavy consonant stand at the beginning of the group: *oñha* (§ 10) through **uñhra*, **uñhra* = Skt *uṣṭra*; *tikkha* 'sharp' Ja III 151,5* through **tikkhṇa*, **tikhṇa* = Skt *tikṣṇa*; *dāñha* 'tooth' beside *dāñhā* Mil 150,8 = Skt *damṣṭrā*. Svarabhakti, however, may take place, though mostly in the last stage: *tikhṇa* 'sharp' Ja II 18,21, beside *tikkha*; *pakhuma* 'eyelid' D II 18,28 = Skt *pakṣman*; *sukhuma* 'tender' = Skt *sūksma*. Taking into consideration also § 57, it is then possible to understand also *ussapeti* 'raises' Vin III 203,1 = Skt *ucchrapayati* (root

śri with *ud*), (*sam*)*ussita* = Skt (*sam*)*ucchrīta*, (*sam*)*ussaya* = Skt (*sam*)*ucchraya*. The *v* is retained in absol.s like *mutvā* = Skt *muktvā*, *patvā* = Skt *aptva* with *pra*, *vatva* = Skt *uktva*. Similarly *y* is retained in forms like *ratya* 'at night' = Skt *ratryām*, *ratyo* 'the nights' = Skt *rātryas*,² as well as in *agyantaraya* 'hindrance through fire' Vin I 112,37, *agvāgāra* D I 101,22 from *aggi* + *antaraya* (*agara*).

4. Groups consisting only of heavy consonants are found in composition in forms like *uggharati* (§ 56.2) from the root *kṣar* with *ud* and *nicchubbati* 'thrusts out' Ja III 512,11* from the root *kṣubh* with *nis*.³ In these cases *kṣ* at the beginning of the root first became *gh* and *ch* respectively, to which the final consonant of the preposition was then assimilated.

¹ In *hammiya* 'hut' Vin I 58,20, II 146,29 = *harmya*, as well as in *abhikkhanām* 'repeatedly' M I 129,25 = *abhikṣṇām*, the svarabhakti has taken place in the first stage.

² The sentences *ratyā rucati cando*, *ratyo amoghā gacchanti* are quoted by Subhūti, Nām. p. 38.

³ Wrongly E. Müller, PGr. p. 9.

§ 59. Some details:

1. The sound-groups *kṣṇ*, *kṣm*, *tsn* may be treated as *ṣṇ*, *ṣm*, *sn*,¹ and thus according to § 50.3–5 they may be changed into *nh*, *mh*, *nh*: *sañha* 'tender' = Skt *ślakṣṇa*; *tīñha* 'sharp' D I 56,32 (beside *tikkha*, *tikhṇa*) = Skt *tikṣṇa*; *abhinham* 'repeatedly' Ja I 190,5* (beside *abhikkhanām*) = Skt *abhikṣṇām*; *abhiñhaso* 'continuously' Th 25 = Skt *abhikṣṇaśas*; *pamha* 'eyelid' Thī 383 (beside *pakhuma*) = Skt *pakṣman*; *jññhā* (with retroflexion, for **junhā*, as also Pkt *jōñhā*) 'moonlight' = Skt *jyotīnā* (cf. § 15.3).

2. *ts* is treated as in composition in *dosina* 'clear' D I 47,10 (beside *jññha*) through **dossna*, **dosna*, perhaps < **dvautsna*² = Skt *jyautsna* (cf. § 63.3) and in *kasina* 'whole' Abh 702 = Skt *kṛtsna*. In the same manner is treated *cch* in *kasira*³ 'difficult' (beside *kiccha*; cf. *kicchena*, *kasirena* 'with much labour' Vin I 195,6) = Skt *kṛcchra*.

3. Besides *uddham* 'upwards' = Skt *urdhvam* there is also *ubbham*⁴ Th 163. Here *dhv* is treated like *dv* in composition (§ 53.3).

4. Pāli *disvā*, and AMg *dissa*,⁵ are probably not to be derived from Skt *drśvā*, absol. of the root *drś* 'to see', but from the Skt epic form *drśya*, via **dissa*, with *v* due to Sanskritisation.⁶

⁵ Also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 312).

⁶ See Norman, 1983B, p. 237.

⁷ See Berger, 1955, p. 16.

⁸ Also in Pkt *ubbha* besides *uddha*; see Pischel (§ 300).

⁹ Pische, (§ 334a).

¹⁰ See von Hinüber, 1986, §§ 260, 499.

15. SPORADIC PHONOLOGICAL ABERRATIONS IN SOUND-GROUPS

§ 60. One of these sporadic phonological phenomena in sound-groups is the representation of a voiced aspirate (cf. § 37) by *h* in the group *bhy*, which became *yh* through metathesis in *tuyham* = Skt *tubhyam*. But it is perhaps formed by analogy with *mayham* = Skt *mahyam*. The group *dhv* became *vh* in the ending of the 2. pl. pres. mid. -*vhe* = Skt -*dhve*. Moreover, in some words *h* alternates with a voiced aspirate after a nasal. Thus in -*sumbhati* 'strikes' Ja VI 549.6* and -*sumhati* Ja III 185.2*; *vambheti* 'shames' *vambhanā* D I 90.25 and *vamheii*, *vamhanā* Ja I 454.20. The roots underlying these forms seem to have been *sumbh*, *vambh*.¹ Besides *rundhatti* 'encloses' Ja I 409.20, *samnirundhati* M I 115.32 there occur -*rumbhati* Ja I 62.31 and -*rumhati* Ja II 6.27. There was thus clearly a root *rugh* (*rumbh*) beside *rudh* (*rundh*).² Similarly, there are further (*sam*)*uhanti* 'removes' D II 254.18, (*sam*)*ūhata* Th 223, which stand for *(*sam*)*ūdhanti*, *(*sam*)*uddhanti*, *(*sam*)*uddhata* from the root *han* with *sam-ud* (see § 28 f.n. 2).

¹ Not so R O. Franke, WZKM, 8, p. 331.

² Cf. Māh, AMg *rumbhai* and *rundhai*; Fausböll, Ten Jät., p. 93; E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 42; Pischel (§ 507).

§ 61. 1. Voicing of unvoiced mutes (cf. § 38) sometimes occurs after a nasal: *nighantu* 'vocabulary' D I 88.5 = Skt *nighantu*; *gandha* 'book' Mhv 34.66 beside *gantha* Dhp-a I 7.18 = Skt *grantha*; the interjection *handa* = Skt *hanta*, but *pūñjati* 'rubs off' Ja I 318.5 for *pūñchati* Ja I 392... = Skt *proñchati* is perhaps merely a graphic error. Voicing of

double mutes is rare: *addhuḍḍha* 'three and a half' Vin I 34.10 instead of *-*utṭha*. The group *kkh* was voiced in *sagghasi* 'you will be able to' instead of *sakkhasi* Sn 834 = Skt *śakṣyasi*.¹ On *leḍdu* see § 62. 2.

2. Unvoicing of voiced mutes (cf. § 39) is found in *bhinkāra* 'jug' (frequently, however, with a v.l. with *g*) D II 172.21 = Skt *bhrngāra*; *tippa* 'sharp' Ja VI 507.7*, M I 10.29 beside *tibba* Dhp 349 = Skt *tīvra*;² *vilāka* 'slim' Ja IV 19.29* through **vilakka*, **vilagga* = Skt *vilagna*.

¹ But see Turner (CDIAL 13080) on this.

² On account of its meaning the form cannot be derived from *tptra*.

§ 62. Unetymological aspiration or de-aspiration of sound-groups (cf. § 40) is not rare.

1. Unetymological aspiration: *singhāṭaka* (also AMg *singhāḍaka*) 'road-crossing' = Skt *śringāṭaka*; *Khandhapura* (name of a city) Sās 81.25 from *Skanda* (name of the war-god); *pipphala* 'Ficus Religiosa' Abh 909 = Skt *pippala*; *pipphalī* 'pepper' Ja III 85.24* = Skt *pippalī*. Such aspiration is often caused by *r*: *acchi* 'light' S IV 290.17 beside *acci* = Skt *arcis*; *koccha* (§ 10) = Skt *kūrca*.¹ Sometimes the *r* occupies the second position in the original sound-group: *tattha* 'there' (beside *tatra*, § 53. 2) = Skt *tatra*; *sotthiya* 'Brahman' (beside *sottiya*) = Skt *śrotriya*; *paripphoseti* 'sprinkles' M III 243.17 from the root *pruṣ* with *pari* (*paripphosaka* 'besprinkled all around' D I 74.3). Initial aspiration: *khiddā* 'play' (beside *kīḍā*) through **khīḍā* = Skt *krīḍā*; *phāsu(ka)* 'comfortable', if it is connected with Vedic *prāsu*.²

2. De-aspiration: *lodda* (§ 44) = Skt *lodhra*, *rodhra*; *babbu(ka)* 'cat' Ja I 480.1* = Skt *babhru*; *bunda* 'root' Abh 549 (with concomitant metathesis) = Skt *budhna* (cf. *bondi* 'body' Pv IV.3.32); *muccati* 'coagulates' Dhp 71 = Skt *mūrchatī*.³ The form *milāca* 'forest-dweller' Ja IV 291.3* is perhaps a variant of *milakka* (§ 34) and derived from **milacca*, **milaccha*. The form *ludda(ka)* 'hunter' Dhp-a III 31.1 = Skt *lubdha(ka)* is perhaps due to contamination with *ludda* 'cruel' (§§ 15.4, 44). On *atta* = Skt *artha*, see § 64. 1.

Not infrequently the expected aspiration (according to § 51.1) does not take place in groups containing a sibilant. Thus, when the sibilant is

first in the group: *saccessati* ‘will interrupt (?)’ A IV 343,25 from the root *saśc*; *kukku* (§ 16.1a) = Skt *kiśku*; *catukka* ‘a collection of four, crossing of roads’ Ja III 44,6 = Skt *catuska*; *nippesika* ‘cheat’ (?) D I 8,30 = Skt *naispeśika*; *bappa* ‘tear’ Abh 260 = Skt *bāspa*; *maṭṭa* ‘polished’ D II 133,6 (beside *maṭṭha* Vv 84,17) = Skt *mṛṣṭa*; (*anhu*)*vatta* ‘he who has showered rain’ Ja I 487,28 (beside *vatīha*, *vutīha*) = Skt *vr̥ṣṭa*; (*pacc*)*osakkati* (§ 54 f.n. 1) from the root *svaśk*; *takkara* ‘thief’ Abn 522 = Skt *taskara*; *samtatta* ‘horrified’ = Skt *samṛasta*; as well as *Indapatta* (name of a city) (beside -*pattha*) = Skt *Indraprastha*.⁴ In *leddu* ‘clod of earth’ M I 123,32 through **leṭṭhu*, **leṭṭu* = Skt *lesṭu*⁵ there is concomitant voicing of the group (§ 61.6).

In composition, the expected aspiration is missing in: *niccalā* ‘immovable’ = Skt *niścala*; *duccarita* ‘bad deed’ = Skt *duścarita*; *duttara* ‘difficult to cross’ = Skt *dustara*; *namukkāra* ‘obeisance’ Ja II 35,1 = Skt *namaskāra*; also *majjhatta* ‘impartial’ Ja I 300,18 = Skt *madhyastha*.

Aspiration is missing in sound-groups with the sibilant in second position: *dhunka* ‘crane’ Th 151, ‘crow’ S I 207,29* through **dhaṅkha* = Skt *dhvāṅkṣa*;⁶ *ikka* (§ 12.2) = Skt *ṛkṣa*; *Okkāka* (§ 10, f.n. 3) from *Ikṣvāku*; *Takkasilā* (name of a city) = Skt *Takṣaśilā*.

The expected aspiration is missing in initial position: *kudḍa*⁷ ‘small’ D II 146,12 (cf. § 64.1) beside *khudda* = Skt *kṣudra*; *culla*, *cūla* (also AMg, JMāh. *culla*) ‘small’ (for *chulla*) = Skt *kṣulla*, which in itself is very probably a popular form of the word *kṣudra*.

¹ Similarly to be considered perhaps also *dubbhati* ‘injures’ Th 1129, S I 225,10, etc. (*dūbhīn* ‘malignant’ Ja III 73,28*, *mittadubbhika* ‘treacherous’ Mhv 4,1), which should perhaps not be connected with *druh* — from which is derived *mittaddu* S I 222,21*, Mhv 4,3 — but with *durv* *dūrvati* (*dhurv*).

² Not so Pischel (§ 208).

³ Beside it *muccheti* ‘sounds, plays (on the lyre)’ Ja III 188,22* = *mārchayati*.

⁴ E. Müller, JPTS, 1888, p. 12.

⁵ Also in Pkt *ledu*, etc., beside *leṭṭhu*; see Pischel (§ 304) and Norman, 1960A, p. 269.

⁶ Here dissimilation of the aspirates would be possible.

⁷ The reading of the MSS is however uncertain.

§ 63. Change of consonant-classes in sound-groups (cf. § 41) :

1. Guttural perhaps appears for palatal in *bhusakka* ‘physician’ M I 429,4, as against *bhesajja* ‘medicine’.

2. Retroflex appears for palatal in *ana* ‘order’ Ja I 369,23 (*āṇapeti*, *āṇatta*, *āṇatti*)¹ = Skt *ajña* (*ajñapayati*). But there are also *aññā* ‘highest knowledge’, *aññātar* ‘one who knows well’, *aññāya* absol. from the root *jñā* with ā. A similar explanation is to be given for *paññarasa*, *paññuvisa*, *paññasa* (§ 48.2).

3. Dental appears for palatal in *utuṭṭha* (Skt *ucchiṣṭa*) ‘remains of a meal’ Mil 213,6 (*uttuṭṭhapatta* ‘alms-bowl with grains of food attaching to it’²), a dialectal side-form of *ucchiṣṭha* (§ 57). For initial *jy* there is *d* instead of *j* in *dosina* (§ 59.2) = Skt *jyautsna*.³

4. Dental appears for the palatal expected from dental + *y* in *pattiya* Ja V 414,15 = *pratyaya*;⁴ *pattiyāyati* Ja V 403,22* = denom. from *pattiya*; *dūta* Ja IV 248,24 = *dyūta*⁵; *addhabhavi*⁶ S I 39,3* = Skt *adhy-*; *sammannati* = Skt *sammanyate* (§ 54.5).

¹ These are probably dialect borrowings in Pali. Cf. Pkt *āñā*, *āñāveti*.

² VT I (= SBE, XIII), p. 152, f.n. 1. Wrong interpretation in SBE, XXXV, p. 4.

³ Here the influence of *dosā* ‘evening’ = Skt *doṣā* may be suspected. See von Hinüber, 1986, § 167.

⁴ See Trenckner, Notes, p. 133, f.n. 3. Against this Pischel (§ 281).

⁵ Against this von Hinüber, 1986, § 248.

⁶ CPD (s.v. *addhabhavati*) explains *addha-* as an old error for *ajha-*, and compares Sinhalese *d* < *j*.

§ 64. Retroflexion of dental-groups is the most frequent case of the change of place of articulation (cf. § 42).

1. Under the influence of *r*: thus *rt*, *rd*, *rdh* become *ṭṭ*, *dd*, *ddh*: *atṭa* ‘pained’ Th 1106 = Skt *ārta*; *kevatta* ‘fisherman’ D I 45,29 = Skt *kevārta*; *chadḍeti* ‘throws away’ = Skt *chardayati*; *vaddhati* ‘increases’ (with numerous derivatives) = Skt *vardhate*. Besides *vuddha*, *vaddha* ‘grown up, old’ Ja I 177,1* there is *buddha*, *vuddha* (§ 16,1); beside *vuddhi* (§ 12.4) there is also *vaddhi*. In *atta* ‘law-suit’ (de-aspiration according to § 62.2) as opposed to *attha* ‘property, etc.’

Skt *artha*, the change in sound has been accompanied by a change in meaning.² Forms with both *ṭṭ* and *tt* are to be found side by side among

the derivatives of the root *vart*: always *vaiṭati* when it signifies 'it is proper', but *vattati* signifies 'becomes, originates, etc.'; similarly *vaiṭa* 'round, circle', but *vatta* 'duty, responsibility', both = Skt *vṛtta*. The spelling with *ṭt* is preferred also in *vattati* in composition, when the sense of rolling is emphasised: *āvaiṭati pavattati* 'rolls hither and thither' D II 140,1 hence also *āvaiṭta* 'turn, whirl', *samvaiṭta* 'overturning, annihilation', *vivaiṭta* 'renewal (of an aeon)' D I 14,26. The group *nt* became *ṇt* under the influence of an original *r* in *vaiṭa* 'stalk' Ja VI 537,22*, *tālavaṇṭa* 'fan' Vin II 137,7 = Skt *vṛṇta*, *talavṛṇta*. Cf. also *alla* 'damp' D II 332,26 through **addra*, **adda* = Skt *ārdra*.³

2. Analogically in derivatives from the root *sthā*, with *ṭh* from *ṣṭh* in the pres. ind. *tiṭṭhati* = Skt *tiṣṭhati*; *ṭhāti*, *ṭhahati* 'stands', *ṭhāna* 'place' = *sthāna*, *saṃṭhāna* 'figure' = *saṃstāna*, *paṭṭhāya* 'beginning from' = *prasthāya*, *kūṭṭha* 'standing firm as a rock' = *kūṭṭha*, etc.

3. Irregular retroflexion is found in *janṭuka* 'knee' (perhaps this form should be corrected) Ja VI 332,16 beside *jannu(ka)* = Skt *jānu*, as well as *kaviṭṭha* (§ 38.5) beside *kapittha*. Cf. also the retroflexes in *daddha* (§ 42.3) = Skt *dagdha*.

¹On the other hand the usual spelling is *aṭṭhakathā* 'commentary'.

²For the suggestion that *atta* is a Dravidian loanword see D'Onza Chiodo and Panattoni, 1977.

³Against this Turner (CDIAL 1340) assumes a derivation < **alla* < **ārdla*.

16. METATHESIS IN SOUND-GROUPS AND LOSS OF SYLLABLES THROUGH HAPLOLOGY

§ 65. 1. Metathesis in sound-groups takes place in combinations of *h* with nasal or semi-vowel (§§ 49, 60), and also in combinations of sibilant with nasal, which become nasal + *h* (§ 50). The sibilant is retained, in spite of the metathesis, in *ramsi* 'ray' = Skt *raśmi*. On the metathesis of *ry* into *yr* with concomitant insertion of svarabhakti see § 47.2; for *gumba* = Skt *gulma* see § 51.5; for *bunda* = Skt *budhna* see § 62.2. Unique is the case of *gadrabha* 'ass' D II 343,14 as opposed to *gardabha*.¹

2. Haplology and the loss of a syllable caused by it is in evidence in *addhatatiya* (for **addhatatiya*) 'three and a half' Ja II 93,4 (also *addhateyya* Vin I 39,24); *viññānañcāyatana* (for *viññānañcāyata-*)

'sphere of infinite knowledge' M III 106,13. As sporadic cases may be mentioned: *pavissami* (for *pavisassāmi*) 'I shall enter' Ja II 68,20, *sossi* (for *sossasi*) 'you will hear' Ja VI 423,8*, *vipassi* (for *vipassasi*) 'you apprehend' Thī 271, *gacchisi*² (for *gacchissasi*) 'you will go' Th 356. Cf. also *sakkhi* Ja V 116,5* for **sakkhusi* (cty: *sakkhissasi*), *āsādum* Ja V 154,19* (cty: *asāditum*). It is however impossible to decide whether the optatives of ī-roots such as *jeyyam* from *ji*, *neyyam* from *nī* should be regarded as "haploglossies" for **jayeeyam*, **nayeeyam*.

¹This might be taken as an incorrect 'Sanskritisation'

²For the view that this form and *gacchasi* at Ja VI 416,16* are genuine future forms, see Norman, 1969, p. 123.

17. SANDHI

§ 66. Initial and Final.

1. In Pāli the initial may be only one vowel or (as a rule) only one consonant (§ 51.2). In a number of cases in Pāli the initial sound shows peculiar variations which should be regarded as due to fossilised sandhi-forms. Thus an initial vowel has been lost in *va* = Skt *iva*¹ and *eva*, in *pi* = Skt *api*, *ti* = Skt *iti* (beside *iva*, *eva*, *api*, *iti*), *dāni* 'now' (beside *idāni*) = Skt *idānīm*,² *heṭṭhā* (§ 9) = **adheṭṭat*, and in the pronominal stem *na* = Skt *ena*.³ The following too are sandhi-forms which originated in position after a vocalic final: *posatha* 'holiday' (beside *uposatha*) = Skt *upavasatha*; *gini* 'fire' from **agini* = Skt *agni*; *vatañsa(ka)* 'ear-ornament' Ja VI 488,25 = Skt *avatamsa*; *valañja* 'use', *valañjeti* 'he uses' from the root *lañj* with *ava*. The doublets *daka*, *udaka* 'water' occur also in Skt. Similarly there are in Skt *ratni* and *aratni* 'a cubit' = Pāli *ratana*.⁴ Also one or the other of Skt *yūka* and Pāli *ūkā* 'louse' Ja I 453,29 is probably a sandhi-form. Similarly, words containing a prosthetic *y* before *i* (*e*) and *v* before *u* (*o*) should be regarded as fossilised sandhi-forms: *yūtha* 'sacrificed' = Skt *ista*; *vutta* 'spoken' = Skt *ukta*; *vutta* 'sown' = Skt *upta*; *vutta* 'shorn' = Skt *upta*; *vusita* 'inhabited' = Skt *uṣita*; *vūṭha* 'carried' = Skt *ūḍha* (cf. *saṃvūṭha* D II 267,19 beside *saṃvūṭha* Sv I 38,8 = Skt *saṃudha*); also *ubbūṭha-(vant)* 'firm' M I 414,30 = Skt *udūḍha*.⁵ In some cases the form varies. Thus there are both *vūṭhahitvā* D II 156,5 and *utṭhahitvā* M III 183,30 after a vowel. There is *vūṭhita* beside *utṭhita*, *vūṭhana* beside *utṭhāna*, *vonata* 'bent down' Th 562 beside *onata* Vin I 29,1 = Skt *avanata*. In a number

of cases it is doubtful whether *vo-* is derived from *ava-* through *o-*, or is derived from *vyava-*. There are moreover the fossilised sandhi-forms *yeva* = Skt *eva* and *viya* = Skt *iva*, the latter of which is possibly to be derived from **yiva* through metathesis.⁶ To the same category belong also the short-forms *va*, *pi*, *ti* mentioned above. All of them have become independent side-forms. In the case of *pi*, and *ti* this is proved by their occurrence after the *anusvāra*, which becomes *m* and *n* respectively before them: *yam pi ... tam pi* M I 48.33.34; *ālapitun ti* Ja III 453.11. As regards the use of *eva*, *yeva*, *va*,⁷ the state of things seems to be as follows:

i. *eva* occurs most frequently after a vowel which is itself elided (*tass' eva*), then after *-am*, *-im*, which become *-am*, *-im*, and after *-i* which is itself elided. It is ten to twelve times as frequent as

ii. *yeva*, which occurs after *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-e* as well as after a nasal vowel.

iii. *va* occurs about half as often as *yeva* and that after *-ā*, *-e*, *-o*. After a nasal vowel there occur not infrequently orthographic forms such as *tvam ñeva* or *tvan ñeva*⁸ Ja IV 155.17, which indicate a particularly close combination. Of the three forms corresponding to Skt *tva*, (a) *tva* occurs, particularly in verses, after *-a*, with which it coalesces into *-eva*; (b) *viya* occurs, mostly in prose, after *-a*, *-ā*, *-o* and a nasal vowel; (c) the short form *va* occurs, mostly in verses, after a long or nasal vowel.

2. In final position there can be only a vowel (also a nasal vowel). The consonants which originally occurred in final position are dropped; *n* and *m* become *anusvāra*. Final *m* is dropped in *tunhī* 'silent' = Skt *tusnim*. The following details should be noted:

(a) Final *-as* and *-ar* become *-o*: *tato* 'therefrom' = Skt *tatas*; *pāto* 'early in the morning' = Skt *prātar*. Both the forms *puno* and *puna* 'again' = Skt *punar* are found to occur. In verbal inflection there often appears *-ā* for Skt *-as* (§§ 157, 159.II). Sporadically there appears *-e* instead of *-o* (Magadhim): in *pure* 'former' (compar. *puretaram*) = Skt *puras*; cf. also *sve*, *suve* (§ 54.4) = Skt *śvas*. Similarly also in inflection, see §§ 80, 82.5, 98.3

(b) The vowel which becomes final after a consonant is dropped can

remain unchanged, but it may also be lengthened, *dhi* 'fie' Dhp 389 = Skt *dhik*; *papatā* 'fell down' Vin III 17.26 = Skt *prapatāt*; *madhuvā* 'honey-like' Dhp 69 (according to Fausböll) = Skt *madhuvat*; in this way a new stem *parisā* originated out of *parisat* 'retinue'.⁹ Or it may be shortened: *abravi* 'he spoke' = Skt *abrvit*. Or it may be nasalised: *manam* 'a little' Ja I 405.16*, Vin I 109.3, 'in short' Dhp-a III 147.22 = Skt *manāk*; *triyam* 'obliquely' = Skt *turyak*; *sakim* (beside *saki*) 'once' = Skt *sakṛt*; **khattum* (§ 22.1) = Skt **kr̥tvas*; *adum* 'that' (§ 109) = Skt *adas*. In verbal inflection there are endings in *-um* which are derived from *-us* (§§ 127, 159.I,III,IV).

¹For Vedic *va* = *iva* see Wackernagel, Ai.Gr., I, §§ 53, 268, 285.

²D. Andersen, PGI, s.v.

³Johansson, Le Monde Oriental 1907–8, pp. 89 foll. It is, however, possible that *na* bears the same relationship to *ena* as *sa* does to *esa*.

⁴Johansson, ibid., pp. 93 foll.

⁵These can also be taken as showing the 'restoration' of the initial consonants *y* and *v* from the *guna* grade of the roots.

⁶Not so Pischel (§ 336).

⁷Cf. also Windisch, Ber. d. K. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. W. 1893, pp. 230 foll.

⁸The development seems to be: *-am yeva* > *-āñ ñeva* > *-am ñeva*.

⁹The long vowel *-ā* is probably a result of the gender of *parisat* (fein.) being retained.

§ 67. Compositional Sandhi on the whole follows the rules of Skt, particularly in the case of compounds derived from an older period. Consonant-groups undergo assimilation according to §§ 49 foll.

Examples of vowel-sandhi are: *mahodadhi* 'ocean' (as in Skt); *kākolukā* 'crows and owls' Dhp-a I 50.13 (from *kāka* + *ul-*); *mahe-sakkha* 'powerful' from *mahā* + *īs-*; *accuggamma* Vin I 6.35 absol. from the root *gam* with *ati-ud* (Skt *atyud*). More like Skt forms are *agyantarāya* (§ 58.3), *anveti* (§ 54.5), etc.

Examples of consonant-sandhi are: *tammaya* (§ 52.4) 'consisting of that' = Skt *tanmaya* (from *tad* + *maya*); *tannissita* 'issued out of that' M III 243.28 = Skt *tad ni*; *jaraggava* 'old bull' Th 1154 (§ 52.1) = Skt *jaradgava*; *tabbiparita* 'opposite of that' Ja I 337.29 (§ 53.3) from *tadviparīta*, etc. The original final consonant of the first component often reappears in composition: *punabbhava* 'rebirth' = Skt

punarbhava; *chappañcavācahi* ‘with five or six words’ Vin IV 21,25 from *cha* = Skt *ṣaṭ* + *pañca* + *vacā*; *sakadagamin* ‘one destined to be born once more only’ = Skt *sakṛd* (Pāli *sakim*) + *āgamin*. Also the original double consonant at the beginning of the second component reappears in composition: *subbata* ‘virtuous’ from *su* + *vata* = Skt *vrata*.

Pāli is not always consistent. Quite often in vowel-sandhi one of the vowels is simply elided: *satipatṭhāna* ‘earnest meditation’ from *sati* + *upatṭhāna* = Skt *smṛtyupastana* (cf. *bhikkhunipassaye* A II 144,32). Hiatus too is allowed in composition: *patto sa-udako* ‘vessel with water’ Vin I 46,15; *ati-agginā odanam uttarati* ‘cooking food on a blazing fire’ Mil 277,29. Sometimes, however, one of the two coalescing vowels is lengthened: *hitūpacāra* ‘beneficial help’ Ja I 172,6 = *hita* + *upacāra*. Sometimes inorganic consonants are introduced to avoid hiatus: *nīśida puppha-m-āsane* ‘sit on the seat decorated with flowers’ Dhp-a I 108,20*; *su-h-uju* ‘quite straight’ Sn 143 (v.l.); *su-n-icchitam* Ap 570,23. In mixed sandhi the reintroduction of the initial double consonant of the second component is often omitted: *supatippanna* Pp 48,33 = Skt *supratippanna*. In consonant-sandhi the first component often appears in its peculiar Pāli form: *pātubhāva* ‘appearance’ (without assimilation into *bbh*) = Skt *prādurbhāva*; *antovana* ‘interior part of the jungle’ M I 124,33 = Skt *antarvana*.

§ 68. The external Sandhi of Pāli is fundamentally different from that of Skt.¹ It is always arbitrary, and does not apply equally to all the words of a sentence but only to those which are syntactically closely connected. Such a sandhi, as opposed to that of Sanskrit, appears to be older and more natural. The cases in which sandhi can take place are the following combinations:

1. subject and the verb of the predicate,
2. verb and the object,
3. substantive and attribute,
4. attribute and attribute,
5. adverb and verb,
6. noun of the predicate and copula,
7. adverb and object,
8. vocative and the word preceding it,
9. particles and pronouns may join in sandhi with preceding or following words.

In general, sandhi in Pāli is much more frequent in verses under the stress of metre than in prose.

¹F. Kuhn, Beitr., pp. 59 foll.; E. Müller, PGr., pp. 59 foll.; Windisch, “Über die Sandhi-konsonanten des Pāli”, Ber. d. K. Sachs. Gesellsch. d. W. 1893, pp. 228 foll.

§ 69. When two similar vowels meet:

1. ā + ā become ā by contraction when the second word begins with an open syllable: *duggatāham* Thī 122 = *duggatā ahām*. If the second word begins with a closed syllable, one ā is simply elided¹; *piyo c' assam* M I 33,9; *chāt' amha* = *chātā amha* Ja III 416,4. Frequently however in this case also contraction takes place, the length of the resulting vowel being retained against the general rule § 5 (cf. § 7): *gavāssā ca* = *gavā assā ca* Ja III 408,21*; *nācceti* = *na acceti* Ja IV 165,22*; *tussākkhibhedam* = *tassa akkhi-* Ja III 431,8.

2. The result is similar in the case of ī + ī, ū + ū; yet here elision can take place also when the initial syllable is an open one, and that not only — as demanded by Jacobi's law² — when the penultimate syllable of the preceding word is long. We have thus contraction in numerous cases such as *gacchatī ti* = *gacchatī iti*, beside elision as in *yam p' icchām na labhati* ‘what he longs to get, but cannot’ M I 48,33; but elision may take place also when the initial syllable is open, e.g., *cattār' imāni* M I 66,1 and even *pañcas'* *upādānakkhandhesu* M I 61,1.

¹In the case of the most frequent sandhi combinations handed down from the older period of the language (e.g. *n' atti* = *nasti*), it is possible that the contraction was followed by the shortening of the vowel according to the Law of Morae. But those cases of sandhi which took place only in the Pāli period, as well as the undoubtedly cases of elision such as *pañcas'* *upādānakkhandhesu*, and finally the analogy of the treatment of confronting dissimilar vowels (§§ 70 foll.), speak rather for elision.

²Jacobi, “Über eine neue Sandhiregel in Pāli und in Prākrit der Jainas”, IF, 31, pp. 211 foll.

§ 70. Confrontation of dissimilar vowels :

1. When a is followed by i or u:

(a) There is contraction of *a + i* into *e* and *a + u* into *o*. This form of sandhi applies mainly to the Gāthā-language. Example: *maechassevodake* (§ 3). From later poetic literature: *ceme = ca ime* Mhv I.10; *mam' nōpeti = na up-* Mhv 32.13. We even have *mamedam = mama idam* Ja III 446.12.

(b) The ā is elided: *satt' imāni ca suttani* It 22.12*; *Bodhisattass' upaṭṭhako* Ja III 463.20; *manas' icchasi = manasā icchasi* Ja III 493.4*. Elision may take place also when the penultimate syllable of the preceding word is short: *iminā pan' upāyena* Ja III 420.1. This form of sandhi (elision) is met with in all periods of the language. The elision may take place also before *e* and *o*: *dhuttā mūlen' ekam' bhutapātum āharāpesum* Ja III 287.22.

(c) Finally, after the elision of *a*, the remaining vowel may be lengthened: *idh' ūpapanno* It 99.11. Frequently however, when *iti* follows a word ending with *a*, the initial *i* is elided with accompanying lengthening of the preceding *a*: *bhavissāmā 'ti¹* M I 424.

2. Confrontation of *i* or *u* with dissimilar vowels:

(a) *i* and *u* become *y* and *v*, respectively, particularly in the Gāthā language, but occasionally also in the later period of the language: *manussesv etam na vijjati* Sn 611; *na te dukkhā pamuty atthi* (from *pamutti atthi*) Thī 248. In *icc eva (iti eva)* Ja III 481.22* the sandhi is accompanied by consonantal assimilation. In canonical and post-canonical prose: *app ekacce (<api ek-)* Vin I 6.27, etc.; *Brahmāyyāham* (from *Brahmāyu aham* with lengthening of the initial vowel) M II 144.26; *pātv-ākāsi* Ja III 405.25.

(b) Either of the two vowels may be elided (in every period of the language): *karom' aham* Thī 114; *karissas' eko* Thī 231; *panduteh' attadassibhi* Th 4; *gacchant' eva* Ja IV 149.23; *yam' hi 'ssa* M I 9.26; *saddahissat' eva* Ja III 499.2; *anabhijjhālu 'ham asmi* M I 17.37. The remaining vowel may be lengthened: *labhimsū 'ti²* Ja III 403.22; *ās' ūpasampadā* (dsi *upasampadā*) Thī 109; *udan' aham* M I 13.5.

¹It is to be transliterated like this. Where on the other hand the long vowel is original, the elision-sign ' should preferably be omitted in view of the independent existence of *ti*, *pi*.

²See previous note

§ 71. Confrontation of *e* and *o* and nasal vowels with vowels.

1. *e* and *o* before vowels:

(a) The initial vowel is elided: *sutto 'smi* Ja III 404.18*; *tato 'gacchi* (from *āgacchi*) Thī 129; *cattāro 'me puggala* M I 24.17.

(b) Sometimes *e* and *o* are elided with accompanying lengthening of a following short vowel in an open syllable: *y' āham* (from *yo aham*) Ja III 364.24; *y' āhu* (from *yo ahu*) Th 632; *y' assa* (from *ye assa*) M I 7.26; *sac' āham* (from *sace aham*) Ja III 475.21.

(c) In monosyllabic words such as *te, me, so, yo, kho* the vowels *e* and *o* are changed into the semi-vowels *y* and *v*, respectively, in which case a following short vowel is always lengthened in an open syllable, but is optionally so in a closed one¹: *namo ty-atthu* Thī 157; *ty-āham* (from *te aham*) M I 13.1; *ty-āssa* (from *te assa*) Dhp-a I 116.20; *sv-āyam* (from *so ayam*) Vin I 29.26; *yv-āssa* (from *yo assa*) M I 137.17; *khv-āssa* (from *kho assa*) M I 68.12. Like these monosyllabic words is treated *ito* in *itv-eva* Th 869

2. Nasal vowel before a vowel. In such cases:

(a) All the phenomena of vowel-sandhi may appear. Thus contraction: *nandeyyāham* (from *nandeyyam aham*) Ja III 495.20*; *yesāham* (from *yesam aham*) M I 33.17. Elision: *paripucch' aham* (from *-pucchim aham*) Thī 170; *catunn' etam* (from *-nnam etam*) S IV 174.23. Elision with compensatory lengthening: *tes' ūpasammati* (from *tesam upa-*) Ja III 488.8*. Transformation into semi-vowel after denasalisation is in evidence in *ky-āham* (from *kim aham*; cty *so*) Ja III 206.21*.

(b) The retrograde change of anusvāra into *m* is very frequent: *bandhitum icchatī* Thī 299; *atītam addhānam* M I 8.4; *saddam akasi* Ja III 287.25; also *antalikkhasmīm eliki* Ja III 481.16*. An original long vowel shortened before anusvāra sometimes regains its original quantity in this process: *āloko passatam-iva* (from *-tam + iva*) Sn 763; *pappoti mām iva* (from *mām + iva*) Ja III 468.4*. It should be noted that in *n' etam ajjatanām iva* Dhp 227 the lengthening is merely for metrical reasons. The same may also be true of the two previous examples.

¹ See Michelson, IF, 23, p. 260.

§ 72. The hiatus due to the confrontation of vowels in a sentence is often filled:

1. By restoring at the end of the first word a consonant which originally formed part of it. Thus, e.g., by restoring *r*: *punar ehisi* Thī 166; *patur ahosi* Vin I 5.21, etc. (as opposed to *patu bhavati*). This restoration is in evidence also in inflectional forms¹: *ramcir iva* Vv 52.5; *pathavīdhātur ev' esā* M III 240.29 (analogically also *vijur iva* Vv I.1); *bhattur atthe* (Skt *bhartur arthe*) Ja II 398.15*; *sabbhir eva* (Skt *sadbhir eva*) Th 4.

Restoration of *d* to avoid hiatus: *etad-avoca* (*passim*), *yad-idam* (*passim*), *yad icchitam* Thī 46; *ahud eva bhayam* D I 49.35; *sakid eva* 'once only' Pp 16.17.

Restoration of *g*: *pag eva* (Skt *prāg eva*) Ja I 354.20; *puthag eva* (Skt *prthag eva*) from *puthu* Kacc. I.5.1 (Senart, p. 221).

Restoration of *m*: *tūṇhīm āśīne* D II 212.21* from *tūṇhī* = Skt *tūṣṇīm*.

Finally, */* is restored at the end of the numeral *cha* 'six': *chal ete* (Skt *sud ete*) Ja I 366.27*.

2. By prothesis of *y* before *i* or *e* and of *v* before *u* or *o*. For fossilised sandhi-forms of this type see § 66.1. In numerous cases a prothetic *y* precedes the pronominal stem *ima*: *na-y-idam* Thī 166; *cha-y-ime* M I 51.16; also *na-y-ito* Ja III 466.28*. Further *adicco-v-udayam* 'the rising sun' It 85.4*; *ubhaya-v-okinno* 'scattered in both directions'² D III 83.6 beside *okirati* Ja I 88.20; *kati-v-uttari*, *pañca-v-uttari* S I 3.15 (in Windisch).

¹ Cf. AMg *sihir-iva*, *vāyur-iva*, etc; see Pischel (§ 353).

² R.O. Franke, D., p. 275.

§ 73. The phenomena described above have led — particularly in the Gāthā language — to the introduction of inorganic sandhi-consonants for the purpose of avoiding hiatus. Thus there is:

1. *y* occasionally also before *a*: *khāñi-y-asmanu* Ja III 433.1*; *yā-y-aññam* Ja I 429.27*.

2. Frequently *m* serves as a sandhi-consonant: *Sattukā-m-iva* Ja III 438.16*, *isi-m-avoca* Sn 692, *saki-m-eva* Mil 10.12. According to § 72.1 one would rather expect instead: *Sattukad-iva*, *isir-avoca*, *sakid-eva* (so A IV 380.20). Other examples are: *nīcakula-m-iva* Sn 411, *puno-m-aham* Thī 292; *ekañ ca jeyya-m-attānam* 'one should conquer one's own self' Dhp 103; *nayanti-m-etam* Ja V 445.19*. With characteristic shortening: *hitva-m-aññam* (from *hitva aññam*) Sn 1071.

3. Further *r* occurs as a sandhi-consonant: *bhavanti-r-assa* Ja VI 206.5*; *dhi-r-atthu* Th 1134, as against *dhig atthu* (Skt *dhig astu*) according to § 72.1; *jalanta-r-iva* (from *jalantam iva*) Ja VI 181.6*; *jīva-r-eva* (from *jīvam eva*; cty *jīvanto yeva*) Ja III 464.17*. According to § 71.2b these two forms should rather have been *jalantam-iva*, *jīvam-eva*. Very frequently there is *r* before *iva*, particularly after *ā*, *e* and *o*: *turivā-r-iva* Thī 381; *janamajhe-r-iva* Thī 394; *thambo-r-iva* Sn 214; *so-r-iva sumsumāro* Ja II 228.21*. Shortening is in evidence in *hamsa-r-iva* Sn 1134 (there is however the variant reading *hamso-r-iva*); *suriyan tapantam sarada-r-iva* from *sarado* (gen. sg.) *iva* Sn 687.

4. Sometimes *d* occurs as a sandhi-consonant: *puna-d-eva* Vv 53.22; *samma-d-eva* D II 126.11 (against Skt *samyag eva*); *bahu-d-eva rattim* Th 366.

5. Occasionally *t* serves as a sandhi-consonant: *ajja-t-agge* 'from today' M I 24.2.¹ But it is uncertain whether *yasmātiha* (*tasmātiha*) is to be explained as *yasmā-t-tha*. It should perhaps rather be divided into *yasmā tī ha* as Windisch suggests (p. 244).²

6. There is a sandhi-consonant *n*: *vehāsā-n-upasamkamun* Th 564.³ Kacc. I.4.6 (Senart, p. 218) gives the examples *ciran-n-āyati* 'since long' and *ito-n-āyati* 'from now on'.

7. It is uncertain whether *h* too should be regarded as a sandhi-consonant⁴ in cases like *mā-h-evam avaca* S I 150.7 or *na-h-eva* M II 223.8;⁵ *Kokanadāhasmīm* S I 30.1 may be explained as *Kokanadā ahām avamīm*.

¹It is possible that *aya-t-agge* is rather to be derived from *ajato agge*

²Not so E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 62.

³Some oriental editions read *vehāsā d-*.

⁴As in compounds; cf. *su-h-uju* §67.

⁵It may stand for *h(i)*, but these are probably Eastern forms *heva*, *hevam*. See Norman, 1992C, p. 85

§74. Confrontation of vowels and consonants (mixed sandhi):

1. Frequently an original initial consonant-group at the beginning of the second word reappears in sandhi. Often this is metri causa, as in *sarati-bbayo* (from *vayo* = Skt *vyaya*) Ja III 95,18*; but sometimes it occurs without the constraint of metre, or in prose: *muni ppakāsayi* Sn 251; *tatra ssu* (from *su* = Skt *svid*) M I 77,28; *na ppajahanti* M I 14,15; *na ppamajjasi* Ja III 424,4. This is probably to be regarded as the proclitic use of *na*.

2. The ending *o* is sometimes retained in its original form as before *s*: *tayas su dhammā* Sn 231; *lukhas sudam homi* M I 77,25. In the same way *-us* occurs in *Sōrena Suhanus sahā* Ja II 31,24*, *pitus sutam* Ja III 484,24*. Here, however, a different explanation is possible, such as the doubling of initial *s* metri causa.

3. When a nasal vowel is followed by a consonant, the anusvāra before mutes and nasals is very frequently changed into the corresponding nasal: *karissañ ca* Ja III 437,25*; *bheriñ carāpetvā* Ja III 410,11; *āsabhañ thānam* M I 69,32; *man tāta* Thī 274; *kahan no māta* Ja III 427,20; *cittuppādam pi* M I 43,26; *dītham me* Ja III 449,26. The anusvāra may be changed into *ñ* before *h*: *cittañ hi 'ssa padusitam* It 13,8.

For this use of *na* see Brough, 1962, p. 178.

B. WORD-FORMATION

I. Nouns (Substantives and Adjectives)

I. Generalities

§75. In Pali the nominal stems have undergone many changes. Because of the phonetic law entailing the elision of final consonants, the consonant stems have become vowel ones and are inflected like the latter. Thus occurs *sumedha* 'wise' Dhp 208 from Skt *sumedhas*; *āpā* 'misfortune' (loc. pl. *āpāsu* Ja II 317,13*) from Skt *āpad*. Similarly *sappi* 'butter' (abl. sg. *sappimhā* D I 201,26) from Skt *sarpis*; *acci* or *accī* (the latter form in M III 273,17) 'brightness' from Skt *arcis*; *tādi* 'like this' from Skt *tādṛś*; *vijju* 'lightning' (nom. pl. *vijjū* Mhv 12,13) from Skt *vidyut*; *maru* 'god' from Skt *marut* Sn 681. Very often the transfer to the vowel-inflection is made by adding *-ā* to the consonantal stem. The *a*-inflection has supplied most of the new formations.¹ Besides *sumedha* there is *sumedhasa* (nom. sg. *sumedhaso* Dhp 29; tent. *sumedhasā* Mhv 22,36). Similarly *āpadā* Th 371 beside *āpā* (*āpasu* Ja II 317,13* is explained by *āpadāsu*); *vijjutā* (loc. pl. *vijjutāsu* D II 131,20) beside *vijju*. Analogous stems are *sarada* 'autumn' = Skt *varad*; *barihisa* 'sacrificial grass' D I 141,29 = Skt *barhis*; *sarita* 'flowing stream' D III 196,26 = Skt *sarit*. In this way consonantal inflection is reduced more and more, and by the side of older consonantal forms new forms following the vowel inflection appear in the language and gradually come to be regarded as the only possible correct forms.

¹R.O. Franke, "Die Sucht nach a-Stämmen im Pali", BB, 22, pp. 202 foll.

§76. Gender is distinguished on the whole according to the rules of Sanskrit. Syntactical irregularities, however, often show that the feeling for grammatical gender had already become hazy. Thus the masc. neut. loc. sg. *asati* in Ud 81,7,8 is connected with both the fem. forms *pariuddhiyā*, *ratiyā*, *āgatigatiyā* as well as *calite*, *cutupapate*. In Dhp 104 there is *attā jitam* instead of *jito*;¹ in Thī 518 *sakhiyo tīni janiyo* 'we three women friends' instead of *tisso*; in Ud 79,21 the subject *upāvikkavo* is connected with the predicate *anupphalani kalamkatani*. In particular the neut. forms in *-as* are occasionally treated as masc.²: *yuttā me nirato mano* (instead of *niratam*) Ja III 91,15*; *tapo sukho* (instead of *sukham*) Dhp 194; *sukhumo rajo paṭivatam* va *khitto*

(instead of *sukhumam*, *khittam*) Sn 662; *mahāvegena āgato nadīsoto* ‘the current of the stream coming with great force’ Dhp-a IV 45.17. Neut. forms in -a are not infrequently treated as masc. and vice versa, e.g. *je keci rūpā ... sabbe vat’ ete* S I 67.8; *sabbe te rūpā* M III 217.31; *ime diṭṭhitthānā* D I 16.34. In Ja I 289,29* there is *sabbe kaṭṭhamaya vanā*, although *vana* is neut., and in M I 67.15 *cattāro upadānā* beside the regular *cattāri upadānāni*. Cf. § 80.4. On the other hand, masc. forms too show the inflectional forms of the neut. Thus there is *dhammant* from masc. *dhamma* Ja V 221,27*; *vandati pādāni* Vv 51.1 is explained by *pāde* at Vv-a 218.14; *petāni puttāni* (acc.) Thī 312 stands for *pete putte* (cty: *lingavipallāsenā*). There is *bhujāni poṭhenti* Bv 1.36 beside *poṭhayam bhuje* Ras II 92.4, and the acc. *tālataruṇe* immediately before the nom. pl. *tālataruṇāni* Vin I 189,10,11. Nom. and acc. forms like *puttāni* should be regarded as Ardha-Māgadhisms.³ There are also cases of confusion between feminines in -ā and neut. forms in -a: Thus pl. *sabhāni* Ja IV 223,7* from fem. *sabhā* (cty: *sabhāyo*). The stem *kucchi* ‘womb’ = Skt *kukṣi*, which was originally masc., has beside the forms *kucchismā*, *kucchimhā*, *kucchismū*, *kucchimhi* also *kucchiyā*, *kucchiyam* Ja I 52.8, 293.18, like the fem. stems of § 86. From *sāli* ‘rice’ = Skt *sāli* (masc.) there is the acc. pl. *sāliyo*. Also *dhātu* ‘element’, although originally masc., has forms like nom.acc. pl. *dhātuyo* Thī 14, inst. sg. *dhātuyā* D II 109.1, but gen. sg. *dhātussa* Mhv 20.19. The usually neut. stem *massu* ‘beard’ has in the gen. sg. *massuyā* Ja III 315,22*. Examples of confusion in gender have been discussed in connection with changes of word-stem in § 75.

¹Cf. SBE XI, 1, p. 31.

²Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 356).

³See Pischel (§ 358) and Norman, 1992B, p. 149.

§ 77.1. Of the numbers Pāli has lost the dual.¹ Its place has been taken by the plural. Of the dual there have been preserved only *dve*, *duve* ‘two’ = Skt *dve*, and *ubho* ‘both’ = Skt *ubhau*. It is therefore usual to say *dve cakkhuni* ‘the two eyes’ Ja IV 137.16, *dve antā* nom. pl. and *ubho ante* acc. pl. ‘the two extremes’ Vin I 10,10,11,15. The same use of the pl. is found also in dvandva compounds: acc. pl. *ime candimasuriye* M I 69.16, gen. pl. *candimasuriyānam* D I 10.14.

2. As for the cases,² Pāli uses the gen. in both numbers in place of the dat.³ Only the a-stems have retained in the sg. a dative in -āya.⁴ It

serves to express time, direction and purpose, e.g. *cirāya* ‘for a long time’ Dhp 342; *saggaya gacchati* ‘goes to heaven’ Dhp 174; *jahassu rūpam apunabbhavaya* ‘give up the body in order not to be born again’ Sn 1121. It is also used quite frequently as the equivalent of the inf., as in *na ca mayam labhama bhagavantam dassanaya* ‘we do not get permission to see the Blessed One’ Vin I 253.11. This dat. is used particularly to express longing after something (cf. *icchā lābhāya*, A IV 293.20) and exertion for something (*ghātati vāyamati lābhāya*, ibid.). It is also used in the sense of ‘it suffices to, it serves to’ (*sallekhāya subharataya viriyārambhāya samvattissati* M I 13.30), with *hetu*, *paccaya* ‘reason for’ (*ko paccayo mahato bhūmicālassa pātubhāvāya* D II 107.11), and in connection with *alam* ‘enough’ (*alam vacanāya* A III 5.27), etc. Frequently the abl. sg. is formed with the suffix -to = Skt -tas. Examples are: *gharato* ‘from the house’ Ja I 290.26, *mukhato* Ud 78.10, *dūrato* ‘from afar’ Vin I 15.25. Forms with lengthening are probably double forms, with -to added to the abl. -ā: *cāpāto* (from *cāpa* ‘bow’) Dhp 320 (see §§ 78–80).⁵ The suffix -to is also added to other stems, both masc. and fem.: *Nalāto* Thī 204, *cūjāto* Ja II 410.19, *nāvāto* Dhp-a III 39.14, *jihvāto* S IV 178.15 beside *jihvato* S IV 175.1 with shortening as in *sīmato* Ja II 3.1 (see § 81); *aggito* D II 88.2, *apphito* Ja II 409.3*, *dadhito* Mil 41.1; *bhikkhuto* Th 1024, *kāmaṇḍaluto* Dhp-a III 448.3, *cakkhuto* S IV 174.33 (see §§ 82, 85); *kucchito* Ja I 52.31, *ungulito* Dhp-a I 164.7, *Bāraṇasūto* Thī 335 beside -sito (with shortening) Ja II 47.18, *pokkharanīto* Ja II 38.4 beside -nīto Vv-a 217.21; *dhātuto* Ja I 253.29, *jambuto* Bv 17.9 (see § 86); *abhibhūto* D I 18.7 (see § 87.2); *pītito* ‘from father’, *mātuto* ‘from mother’ D I 113.25 = Skt *pitṛtas*, *matṛtas*; *rājato* Dhp 139; *attato* S III 46.16; *hatthito* (from *hatthin* ‘elephant’) Ja IV 257.20; *Himavantato* Ja I 140.24 (see § 96); *manato* S IV 175.2 (see § 99). In the pl., the suffix -bhyas of the dat.abl. has been lost. The abl. formally coincides with the instr., as the dat. with the gen. In the sg., forms of the instr. ending in -ā are often used as the abl. (§§ 82.3, 90.1, 91, 92, 95, 96).

¹The two examples given by E. Müller, PG pp. 65 foll., as instances of the retained dual are unconvincing. One of them *pathamāto idhāgato* Dip 9.32, even if the reading is not corrupt, goes back only to the author of Dip whose knowledge of Pāli was very imperfect. The second form *mātāpitū (ca vandtvā)* Cp II.9.7 is certainly not a dual.

²Cf. R.O. Franke, BB, 16, pp. 64 foll.

³ As in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 361).

⁴ Cf R.O. Franke, BB, 16, p. 82.

⁵ See Callat, 1970, p. 22.

2. *a*-declension

§ 78. A. Masculine stems in *-a*; stem: *dhamma* 'law'.

Singular	Plural
nom. <i>dhammo</i>	<i>dhammā</i>
acc. <i>dhammam</i>	<i>dhamme</i>
instr. <i>dhammena</i> , <i>-ā</i>	<i>dhammehi</i>
gen.dat. <i>dhammassa</i>	<i>dhammānam</i>
dat. <i>dhammāya</i> (see § 77.2)	
abl. <i>dhammā</i> , <i>-asmā</i> , <i>-amhā</i>	<i>dhammehi</i>
loc. <i>dhamme</i> , <i>-asmū</i> , <i>-amhi</i>	<i>dhammesu</i>
voc. <i>dhamma</i>	<i>dhammā</i>

B. Neuter stems in *-a*; stem: *rūpa* 'figure'.

Singular	Plural
nom. <i>rūpam</i>	<i>rūpāni</i> , <i>rūpā</i>
acc. <i>rūpam</i>	<i>rūpāni</i> , <i>rūpe</i>
voc. <i>rūpa</i>	<i>rūpāni</i> , <i>rūpā</i>

The other cases are as in the masc. On the dat. of *a*-stems in *-āya* cf. § 77 (with § 27.2).

On inflection:

1. The instr. sg. in *-ā* corresponds to the same form in the Ved. language. It is found not infrequently in the Gāthā-language and in canonical prose. An example is the frequent *sahatthā*² 'with one's own hand' D I 109,33, beside *sahatthena* Ja VI 305,3. Also *yogā* Dhp-a III 233,21*, explained by *yogena* in the word-analysis; *pādā* 'with the foot' Ja III 269,16*; *saha vacanā* 'along with the word, at the moment he spoke the word' Ud 16,3; *mā sokā* (= *sokena*) *pahato bhava* Th 82; *bhikkhusamgha* (in parallel with the instr. *bhagavatā*) Vin II 198,23. That these forms were later felt to be archaisms is clear from the fact that as *yogā* is explained by *yogena*, so also is *pāda* explained by *padena* in the commentary (Ja III 269,28'). The cty ad Th 564 (*vehasa-*

*n-upasarakamīm*³) explains the form as an abl. used as an instr.: *karaṇe nissakka-vacanam* (Th-a II 241,15).

2. The suffixes *-asmā*, *-amhā* of the abl. sg. and *-asmīm*, *-amhi* of the loc. sg. are taken from the pronominal declension.

2.a. There is an abl. sg. in *-am*,⁴ with the *-t* of *-āt* becoming *-m* and the consequent shortening of *ā* > *a* before *m*.

3. The suffix *-e* of the acc. pl. is taken from the pronominal declension,⁵ where the forms *te*, *ime*, *sabbe* are used in both nom. and acc. From *te* **dhamman* gradually developed *te dhamme*.

3.a. There is an acc. pl. in *-am*,⁶ with the *-n* of *-ān* becoming *-m* and the consequent shortening of *ā* > *a* before *m*.

4. The instr. pl. in *-ehi* is either derived from Ved. *-ebhis*, or taken over from the pronominal declension.

5. For the voc. sg. of the neuter declension, cf. *citta* 'O soul' Th 1108.

6. The nom. pl. in *-ādī* of neut. stems is not rare in the first two periods of the language: *rūpā* Th 455; *sotā* 'ears' Sn 345; *nettā* 'eyes' Th 1 257; *phalā* 'fruits' Ja IV 203,22*. These forms were still felt to be neut., e.g. *tin'* *assa lakkhaṇā gatte* Sn 1019; *moghā* (cty: *moghāni*) *te assū pariphanditāni* Ja III 24,25*. They correspond to the Ved. pl. forms in *-ā*, e.g. *yugā* 'yokes'.

7. As, however, these forms formally coincided with masc. pl. forms, acc. pl. forms in *-e* occurred by analogy with the masc.: *rupe* M III 281,8 (in Th 1099 it occurs by the side of masc. acc. forms); *sarīre* Dhp-a III 208,9; *puppe* Vv-a 184,14; *te chidde* S I 43,20*, where *chiddani* as nom. occurs immediately before. Confusion of gender is thus in evidence.

¹R.O. Franke, ZDMG, 46, pp. 316 foll. See also von Hinüber, 1968, §§ 156 foll.

²Sten Konow and D. Andersen, however, consider it to be abl., JPTS, 1909, p. 134.

³Th-a II 239,12* reads, and explains, sandhi-consonant *-d*.

⁴See Lüders, 1954, §§ 188–95.

⁵E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 72. Cf. Pischel, ZDMG, 35, pp. 715 foll. Scepticism about this interpretation has been expressed by V. Henry, Préc. de Gramm. Pālie, § 153, note 3.

⁶See Lüders, 1954, §§ 196–219.

⁷Frequently also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 367).

§ 79. Individual forms:

1. Not rare are sg. instrumentals in *-asā*,¹ formed on the analogy of *as*-stems on the basis of the equation *mano* : *manasā* = *dhammo* : x. Examples are found especially in the first two periods of the language, and again in the artificial poetry; they are rare in post-canonical prose. Cf. *balasā* ‘with force’ (instead of *balena*) Th 1141; *damasā* Sn 463 beside *damena* Sn 655; *vāhasā* (instead of *vāhena*) Th 218; *padasā* ‘on foot’ (instead of *padena*) Ja III 300,29. Moreover *mukhasā* ‘with the mouth’ Pv. I.2.3 is explained by *mukhena* in Pv-a and *vegasā* ‘with speed’ Ja III 185,2* is explained by *vegena* in the cty.²

2. According to Mogg II.108 foll., loc. sg. forms in *-asi* are formed on the analogy of instrumentals in *-asā*.³

3. In the voc. sg. the final is sometimes extended.⁴ The voc. *ayyo* is used in respectful address for both numbers and genders (beside *ayya*, *ayyā*; *ayye*, *ayyā*), e.g. in Vin I 75,8 in the voc. pl. masc.

4. In the nom. pl., forms in *-ase* are quite common in the Gāthā-language. They correspond to the Ved. forms in *-āsas*, and the ending *-e* instead of *-o* suggests the influence of Māgadhi⁵: *upāsakāse* Sn 376; *pañṭitāse* Sn 875; *dhammāse* Sn 1038; *brāhmaṇāse* Sn 1079 foll.; *vañcītāse* Th 102; *gadhitāse* Th 1216; *ussitāse* Vv 84,15; *rukkhāse* Ja III 399,2*; *ariyāse* Ja IV 222,21*; *duṭṭhāse* (and a number of other forms) It 1,10 foll.; *Gotamasāvakāse* D II 272,26*; *gatāse* D II 255,3*; *upapannāse* S I 60,4*; *nivitthāse* S I 67,4*. The expected form *-āso* occurs in *samuppilavāso* Sn 670.

5. In Th 564 *vehāsān-upasamkamim* is probably neither an acc. pl. in *-an* nor an acc. pl. in *-āni*, with *-i* elided before *u-*, but an instr. sg. in *-ā* (see § 78, 1), with a sandhi-consonant following it (see § 73, 6).

6. Besides the ending *-ehi* in the instr. pl. there is also the archaic form *-ebhi*: *ariyebhi* Ud 61,2. To the Skt ending *-ais* corresponds *-e*⁶ in *gune dasah' upāgatam* Bv 2,32. It may, however, be a shortened form of *gunehi dasahi*.⁷

¹Such forms occur also in Pkt “through the influence of preceding instrumentals of *s*-stems”; see Pischel (§ 364).

²The same form is used also by secondarily originated *s*-stems. Cf. § 94.

³Cf. R.O. Franke, PGr., p. 35.

⁴Also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 71, 366b).

⁵Oldenberg, KZ, 25, p. 315.

⁶E. Müller, PGr. p. 69. I consider the other forms quoted here to be loc. sg.

⁷Cf. similar phenomenon in Skt; R. Roth, “Über gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes im Veda”, Vhdl. des Wiener Or. Kongr., Ar. Seet., pp. 1 foll. (Vienna 1888). See Norman, 1992B, p. 253.

§ 80. Māgadhisms. Forms of the Māgadhi language are used in isolated passages of the canon. Such forms are:

1. The nom. sg. forms in *-e* in the masc. instead of *-o*, and in the neut. instead of *-am*; (a) masc.¹: *attakāre*, *parakāre*, *purisakāre* (instead of *-kāro*) D I 53,29; *bāle ca paññe ca* ‘the fool and the wise man’ D I 55,29,30; *ke chave sigāle ke sīhanāde* (instead of *ko*, etc.) D III 24,19; *bahuke Jane pāsapāṇike* (cty *bahuko janō -ṇiko*) Ja III 288,15*. (b) neut.: *sukhe dukkhe jīvasattame* D I 56,26 instead of *sukham*; *ye avitakke avicāre se paññatare* D II 278,16,30 instead of *yam avitakkam* *avicāram tam paññataram*; *navachandake dāni* (metri causa, v.l. *dane*) *diyyati* Ja III 288,13* has been replaced in the cty by *-kam dānam* *diyyati*. The passage *ye lokāmisasamyojane se vante* M II 254,25 instead of *yam -yojanam tam vantam* has been discussed by Trenckner.²

2. The voc. sg. in *-e* of *a*-stems is probably a “Māgadhim”: *Bhesike* D I 225,7 from the proper name *Bhesika*; *Takkāriye* Ja IV 247,24* from *Takkāriya*. Cf. Mag *puttake*, *cede*, *bhaṭṭake*, etc. These are nominatives used as vocatives.³ In a passage containing Magadhisms in D I 54,12 there occur gen. pl. forms in *-uno*: *cullasiti mahākappuno* *satasahassāni* (Sv 164,12 = *mahākappānam*). Also *pañca kammuno* (= *kammānam*) *satāni* D I 54,2.⁴

3. The loc. pl. in *-ehi* is an Eastern form⁵: *virūpakkhehi* Ja II 145,19* = Skt *virūpākṣesu*.

¹R.O Franke, D. übersetzung, p. 56, note 5.

²Trenckner, Notes, p. 128.

³Cf Pischel (§ 366b)

⁴See Norman, 1976C, pp. 121-24.

⁵See Lüders, 1954, §§ 220-25.

§ 81. Feminines in -ā; stem: *kaññā* 'girl'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>kaññā</i>	<i>kaññā, kaññāyo</i>
acc.	<i>kaññam</i>	<i>kaññā, kaññāyo</i>
instr.	<i>kaññāya</i>	<i>kaññāhi</i>
abl.	<i>kaññāya</i>	<i>kaññāhi</i>
gen.dat.	<i>kaññāya</i>	<i>kaññānam</i>
loc.	<i>kaññāya, -āyam</i>	<i>kaññāsu</i>
voc.	<i>kaññe</i>	<i>kaññā, kaññāyo</i>

On inflection:

1. The forms of the instr. sg. (as well as of the abl., gen., dat.) in -āya, like the Prākrit endings in -āa,¹ are derived from the old Skt abl.gen. ending -āyās; the old instr. in -ayā has disappeared. Beside -āya there is also -ā. This ending is probably not to be connected with the Ved. instr. forms like *dosā, barhānā*, but is rather the result of a phonetic process (§ 27.2). The ending -ā appears also in the loc.: *rathiya* 'in the street' Dip 6.34.

2. For the voc. sg. note the frequent *bhadde* Ja II 29.4 and *ayye* Ja I 405.5; *therike* Thī 1 (*i* lengthened metri causa); *devate* Vv 29.2; *lohitape* (scil. *bilārike*) Jā III 266,17*. According to Kacc. II.1.64 (Senart, p. 256), an exception is to be made of *ammā, annā, ambā, tātā* — all used in addressing the mother. The form *ammā* is well attested: Th 44.

3. The nom. acc. and voc. pl. *kaññāyo* is analogically formed after the corresponding forms *rattiyo, kumāriyo*, etc. of the ī-declension.² The form is written with ī, for instance, in *pokharanīyo* A I 145,10.

¹Pische, (§ 375).

²Oldenberg, KZ, 25, p. 317.

3. ī- and u-declension

§ 82. Masculine stems in -i and -u; stems: *aggi* 'fire', *bhikkhu* 'monk'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>aggi</i>	<i>bhikkhu</i>
acc.	<i>aggim</i>	<i>bhikkhuṇ</i>
instr.	<i>agginā</i>	<i>bhikkhunā</i>
abl.	<i>aggismā, -imhā, bhikkhusmā,</i> <i>agginā</i>	<i>-umhā, bhikkhunā</i>
gen.dat.	<i>aggissa, -ino</i>	<i>bhikkhussa, -uno</i>
loc.	<i>aggismim, -imhi</i>	<i>bhikkhusmim, -umhi</i>
voc.	<i>aggi</i>	<i>bhikkhu</i>
		<i>aggayo, aggī</i>
		<i>bhikkhavo, -ave, bhikkhū</i>

On inflection:

1. The forms in -ismā, -imhā, -usmā, -umhā in the abl. sg. are analogical formations after the a-declension, as also are those in -ismim, -imhi, -usmim, -umhi in the loc. sg., those in -issa, -ussa in the gen. sg., and those in -ī, -ū in the nom. and voc. pl.¹

2. The forms in -ino, -uno of the gen.dat. sg. are either modelled on the neuter n-declension of Skt, or are derived from the declension of in-stems.²

3. The forms of the abl. sg. in -inā, -unā are transfers from the instr.³ The forms of the acc. pl. in -ayo, -avo, like those in -ī, -ū, are transfers from the nom.; cf. acc. pl. *isayo* S I 226,19, *sattavo* Ja V 95.26*, *aggi* Vin I 31,6, *bhikkhū* M I 84.9.

4. The lengthening of the stem-vowel in -īhi, -ūhi of the instr.abl. pl. and in -īsu, -ūsu of the loc. pl. is probably by analogy with the form in the gen. pl.

5. The form *bhikkhave* in the voc. pl. is a Māgadhism which has penetrated into the literary language from the popular speech in this word of address which was so often used by the Buddha towards his

followers. In the sg. the nom. form is used as the voc.

¹The same forms also in Pkt; see Pischel (§§ 377 foll.)

²Similarly Pkt *aggino*, *vāuno* beside *aggissa*, *vāussa*.

³The grammarians (E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 82) give also *kasmā hetuna* in the ab..

§ 83. Isolated forms:

1. In the acc. sg. there are sometimes found the forms *bhikkhunam* Sn 87, *ādiccabandhunam* D II 287.21*, by analogy with *in*-stems. A form *agginam* would also be expected.

2. The form corresponding to the old Skt gen.abl. in *-os* is to be found in the postposition *hetu* 'on account of, for the sake of' (§ 22).¹

3. To the Skt ending *-au* in the loc. sg. corresponds *-o* in *ādo* Mhv 37.62.² Cf. § 86.5. A form corresponding to *-o* is to be seen in *bhikkhu* < **bhikkho* (agreeing with *nisinne*) Vin III 189.6.

4. The old ending of the voc. sg. is to be found in *ise* 'O wise one!' Sn 1052. E. Müller cites³ an analogous voc. sg. *Sutano* (as if < *Sutanu*) Ja III 329.8*, but this is treated as nom. in Ja III 325.2, 329.28.

5. The mixing up of *in*- and *i*-inflections (§ 95) has also led in the case of original *i*-stems to the construction of forms according to the *in*-decl.⁴ Thus *aggino* Saddh 584; *dummatino* Mhv 4.3 (with the analogous form *mittadduno*); *sāramatino* Dhp 11; *vajjamatino* Dhp 318; instr. sg. *nivātavuttinā* Th 71 (in Skt too ^o*vṛttīn* occasionally occurs for ^o*vṛtti*).

6. An isolated acc. pl. with transfer to the *a*-decl. is to be found in *ise* Ja V 92.24* in a context with *samane*, *brāhmaṇe*.

7. Archaic forms in *-bhi* instead of *-hi* in the instr. pl. are *isibhi* Th I 1065 (with lengthening in *isibhi* Th 206); *ñatibhi* Ja III 329.19*.

8. Forms with shortened stem-vowel in the instr. (dat.abl.), loc. and gen. pl. are not rare. The shortening takes place mostly metri causa. Cf. *panīhi* Ja VI 579.29*; *kimīhi* Th 315; *akkīhi* (neut.) Sn 608; *sādhūhi* Dīp 4.6; *ādīsu* Ja I 61.35; *asīsu* M I 86.31; *bhikkhusu* Th 241, 1207;

usūsu M I 86.30; *appabuddhīnam* Th 667; *ñātīnam* Th 240; *sādhūnam* Mhv 37.232; *bhikkhūnam* Th 1231, *bandhūnam* Th 240.

¹Which has always to be scanned as *hetu* in metrical texts.

²This word is attested only in later Pāli texts, and is probably a Sanskritism.

³Müller, PGr. p. 73.

⁴E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 80; E. Müller, PGr., p. 41.

§ 84. The stem *sakhi* 'friend',¹ which belongs to the poetic language and is replaced by *sahayaka* in prose, has the two supplementary stems *sakha* and *sakhāra*. The latter originated from the acc. sg. *sakhāram*, which is itself an analogical formation after the inflection of agent nouns (*satthā*: *satthāram* = *sakhā*: *x*). The inflection is as follows: — sg. nom. *sakhā* (as in Skt) Sn 253 and (*sabha*)*sakho* Th 648. — acc. *sakhāram*² Ja II 348.20*. — instr. *sakhinā* (on the analogy of *agginā*) Ja IV 41.29*. — abl. *sakhārasmā* Ja III 534.2*. — gen. *sakhino* Ja IV 426.23* (and *sakhissa* according to Kacc. II.3.34, in Senart, p. 288). — loc. (*sakhe* Kacc. II.3.32, in Senart, p. 288). — voc. *sakhā* (= nom.) Ja III 295.20*. — pl. nom. *sakhā* Ja III 323.10* and *sakhāro* Ja III 492.14* (cf. the statement above about *sakhāram*), (moreover according to Kacc. II.3.30: *sakhāno* after the *n*-inflection, as well as 31: *sakhāyo* and *sakhino*). — instr. (*sakhehi* and *sakhārehi* according to Kacc. II.3.34) — gen.dat. *sakhīnam* Ja III 492.14* and *sakhānam* Sn 123 (and *sakhārānam* Kacc. II.3.36). — loc. (*sakhesu* and *sakhāresu* Kacc. II.3.36).

¹Cf. JPTS 1909, pp. 18 foll., where all the forms quoted from "J.A." i.e. *Jātakāṭṭhakathā*, are taken from verses.

²Instead of *sakham* (as acc. sg. of *sakhi*) Ja II 299.13* we should perhaps read *sakam* as in the Burmese MSS.

§ 85. Neuters in *-i*, *-u*; stems: *akkhi* 'eye' *assu* 'tear'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.acc.voc.	<i>akkhi</i> , <i>akkhim</i>	<i>akkhini</i> , <i>akkhu</i>
	<i>assu</i> , <i>assum</i>	<i>assūni</i> , <i>assū</i>

The rest are as in the masc. (§ 82). There occurs however a loc. sg. *ambuni* 'in the water' Ja V 6.5* like Skt *madhuni*.

On inflection:

1. Analogical formations after the *a*-decl. are: *-im*, *-um* of the sg. (after *rūpam*), as well as those in *-ī*, *-ū* of the pl. (after *rūpā*).
2. As nom. sg. forms are used, e.g. *dadhīm* Ja IV 140,6; *sucīm* (*sugandham salilam*) Ja VI 534,11*; *assūm* Ja III 163,25; *vatthūm* (= *vastu*) Ja III 39,8; *kusalam bahūm* Vv 18,15. On the other hand, *dadhi* Mil 48,17, *assu* Thī 220.
3. For the forms in *-ī*, *-ū* cf. nom. *akkī bhinnā* Ja I 483,29*, *madhu* Ja VI 537,20*; acc. *akkī* Dhp-a I 9,20.

§ 86. Feminines in *-i(i)* and *-u(ū)*; stems: *jāti* 'birth, existence' (*nādi* 'river') *dhenu* 'cow' (*sassū* 'mother-in-law').

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>jāti</i> (<i>nādi</i>)	<i>dhenu</i> (<i>sassū</i>)
acc.	<i>jātim</i>	<i>dhenum</i>
instr.abl.	<i>jātiyā</i> ¹	<i>dhenuyā</i>
gen.dat.	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>
loc.	<i>jātiyā, -yam</i>	<i>dhenuyā, -yam</i>
voc.	<i>jāti</i> (<i>nādi</i>)	<i>dhenu</i> (<i>sassū</i>)
		<i>jātiyo, -ī</i> <i>dhenuyo, -ū</i>
		<i>jātiyo, -ī</i> <i>dhenuyo, -ū</i>
		<i>jātīhi</i> <i>dhēnūhi</i>
		<i>jātīnam</i> <i>dhēnūnam</i>
		<i>jātīsu</i> <i>dhēnūsu</i>
		<i>jātīyo, -ī</i> <i>dhēnūyo, -ū</i>

On inflection:

1. The inflections of short-vowel and long-vowel stems coincide with each other in Pāli except in the nom. sg. Here the latter mostly retain their length. But shortening too is found in this position, e.g. *sassu* Vv 29,7, 8.

2. As a rule *ī* at the end of the stem is changed into *iy* before vowel-endings. The inflection is thus like that of monosyllabic *ī*-stems in Skt. By analogy with *ī*, *ū* is changed into *uy*. There are, however, numerous forms of the *ī*-stems in which *ī* is changed into *y*, particularly, metri causa, in the Gāthā-language; but analogous forms occur also in canonical prose. Cf. *ratiyā* Th 517 (instead of *rattiya*) 'of the night' = Skt *ratrīśas*; nom. pl. *ratiyā* Ja VI 26,16* (cty: *rattiyo*) and loc. sg. *rattimhi* Ja V 102,33*, instr. sg. *nikatyā* Ja III 88,14* (cty: *nikatiya*) 'through treachery' = Skt *nikṛtyā*; gen. sg. *pathavya* Dhp 178 (instead of *-viyā*) 'of the earth' = Skt *pṛthivyāś*; nom. pl. *nabhyo* (cty: *nābhiyo*) Vv 64,4. The laws of assimilation act in most of these cases when the

consonant is immediately followed by *y*: instr. sg. *jaccā* (§ 55) Ja III 395,6* (cty: *jātiya*); *sammuccā* (for *-tiyā*) Sn 648; loc. sg. *Nalīñlam* (for *-niyam*) Ja VI 313,9*; nom. pl. *pokkharañño* (for *-ṇiyo*) S I 233,1*; *dasso* (cty: *dāsiyo*) Ja IV 53,29*; *najjo* (for *nadiyo*) Vv 6,7. In prose: gen. sg. *najjā* Vin I 1,6; nom. pl. *najjo* S III 202,6. A remarkable form in nom. pl. is *najjāyo* 'rivers' Ja VI 278,1*, which presupposes a stem **najja*, abstracted out of an acc. sg. **najjam* = Ved. *nadyam*.²

2.a. The Ved. acc. in *-yam* is probably the origin of a number of acc. sg. forms in *-iyam*: *Aciravatiyam* Mp I 248,5*, *ajiyam*³ Ja V 241,24*, *Ujjeniyam* Mhv 5,39, *dahariyam* Ja VI 521,26*, *nadiyam* D II 135,3*, *Rohiniyam* Th 529, *bodhiyam* Ap 108,9.

3. The forms in the pl. with lengthened stem-vowel may undergo shortening: *naranārinam* 'of men and women' Cp I,6.2; *nārisu* Dhp 284; *jātisu* Th 346.

4. Examples of double-forms in the nom.acc. pl. are: nom. pl. *kumāriyo* Ja I 337,8, *pokkharanī* Vv 81,5, *jamhuyo* Th 309, (accharā) *puthū* Th 1190; acc. pl. *pokkharaniyo* D II 178,23, *ramsi* Vv 53,5, *dhenuyo* Vv 80,6.

5. A form corresponding to Skt loc. sg. in *-au* of *i*-stems has been retained in *ratto*: *divā ca ratto ca* 'day and night' Sn 223, Saddhamma-s 51,16 (prose); it is probably a Sanskritism in *ādo* Vin-vn 162, etc. A loc. sg. *bhuvi*⁴ is formed from *bhū* 'earth' according to Kacc. A case of transfer from the *ī*-inflection to the *ā*-inflection is presented by *addharatiyām* 'in the middle of the night' (cty: *-rattiya*) Vv 81,16.

¹In verse the stem vowel is frequently to be scanned as long. See Caillat, 1970, pp. 23–24, and cf. Pkt, *-ie*, *-io*, etc. (Pischel, §§ 384–87).

²Franke, PGr., p. 35, note 4. According to E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 82 the forms of gen. pl. in *-yānam* collected by Storck are to be explained in the same way.

³See CPD, s.v. *ajī*.

⁴E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 83; E. Müller, PGr., p. 74.

§ 87. 1. Inflection of the stems *sirī* 'prosperity, fortune' (*Sirī* goddess of prosperity) = Skt *śrī*; *hiri* 'modesty' = Skt *hrī*; *itthī* 'woman' = Skt *stri*.

(a) *siri*: sg. nom. *Sirī* Ja V 112,30* and *siri* S I 44,12*; — acc. *sirim* Ja II 410,9; — instr. *siriya* Sn 686; — voc. *Siri* Sv 97,18.

(b) *hirī*: sg. nom. *hirī* S I 33,11* and *hirī* It 36,6; — acc. *hirim* Sn 719; — instr. *hiriyā* Ja II 65,4*.

(c) *itthī* (*thī*, § 29): *itthī* Ja I 307,14* and *itthī* Th 151; — acc. *itthim* Th 315; — instr. *itthiyā* Vin I 23,15; — dat.gen. *itthiyā* S I 33,13* (*thiya* Ja V 81,16*). — pl. nom. *itthiyo* S I 185,26*; — acc. *itthiyo* Ja I 289,10 (*thiyo* Sn 769); — instr. *itthīhi*; — dat.gen. *itthīnam* Ja III 392,18 (*thīnam* Ja I 295,8*); — loc. *itthīsu* Th 137.

2. Inflection of masculines in -ū including, perhaps on the analogy of compounds formed with *bhū*, a number of words, usually monosyllabic, compounded with roots in -ā, -an and -am¹ which are transferred to the ū-flexion: sg. nom. *abhibhū* S I 88,5, *viññū* "wise" It 98,13 = Skt *vijñā*, *pāragū* 'reaching the other side' Th 66 (beside *pāraga*) = Skt *pāraga*, *mattaññū* S IV 175,29; — acc. *abhibhūm* Dhp 418, *sabbaññūm* 'omniscient' Ja I 335,31 = Skt *sarvajñā*; — instr. *sabbaññunā*, *sayañbhunā* Mil 214,29; — dat.gen. *amattaññūno* S IV 103,27 and *viññussa* A I 138,30, *abhibhussa* S I 157,10; — loc. *abhibhusmīm* M I 2,28; — pl. nom.acc. *mattaññūno* S IV 105,8, *gotrabhūno*² M III 256,7, *sahabhūno* Dhs 1197, *vedagūno*³ Ud 14,17*, and *sahabhū* D II 260,6*, *vadaññū*⁴ S I 34,21*, *addhagū* Thī 55 (neut. *sahabhuni* Nett 16,28); — instr. *viññūhi* D II 93,33, *lokavidūhi* Vv 44,25. — dat.gen. *viññūmāṇ* Th 667, *rattaññūnam*⁵ A I 25,18. — loc. *viññūsu* A III 153,24.

¹See Caillat, 1970, pp. 11–15.

²Probab.y < **gotra-han*. See von Hinüber, 1978, and cf. *vatrabhū* Ja V 153,2* = *Vitraha*, and *bhūnahu* Sn 664 = *bhrunahan*.

³-gū in *vedagū* is explained as coming from the root *gam-*, but the word is probably to be derived < *vedaka*, with the voicing of *k* to *g*. See BHSD, s.v. *vedaka*. Cf. *indagu* Nidd I 4,19 (beside *indaka*) = *Indraka*. See Caillat, 1970, p. 14.

⁴To be derived < Skt *vadānya*; see Norman, 1992B, pp. 240–41. Declension in -ū was doubtless due to the belief that the derivation was from *vada-* + *jñā*.

⁵Possibly *rattaññū* is to be derived < **rātña*; see Norman, 1987, pp. 165–67. Declension in -ū was doubtless due to the belief that the derivation was from *ratna* or *rātra* + *jñā*.

4. Diphthong-stems

§ 88. 1. The Skt stem *rai* 'wealth' is unknown in Pāli

2. From Skt *nau* a new stem *nāvā* 'ship' has been formed,¹ which is inflected according to § 81 (cf. *nāvāyo* Dhp-a III 184,19, *nāvāsu* Dhp-a III 185,1).

3. Of Skt *go* 'cattle' the following old forms have been preserved: sg. nom. *go* S I 221,34*, *go-r-iva* Ja V 15,27*; — pl. nom. *gāvo* Sn 20; — acc. (transferred from nom.) *gāvo* Ja VI 549,6*; — instr. *gohi* S I 6,9*; — dat.gen. *gavam* Jā III 111,17*, *gonam* (= Ved. *gonam*) Dip I 76 and its phonetic variant (according to § 15,3) *gunnam* S II 188,9. *Gava*² is a new stem which is the basis of sg. abl. *gavā* D I 201,25, dat.gen. *gavassa* M I 429,32, loc. *gave* Sn 310. From a third stem *gāva* is derived *gāvī* 'cow' which is quite common. Finally there is also a stem *goṇa*³: sg. nom. *goṇo* Vin IV 7,16; acc. *gonam* M I 10,36. pl. acc. *gone* Dhp-a III 302,18; gen. *gonānam* Dhp-a III 239,22.

4. Of the Skt stem *div*, *dyu* 'day, sky' only the form *divā* used as an adverb 'by day' has been preserved in Pāli.

¹Similarly in Pkt *nāvā*; see Pischel (§ 394).

²Cf. AMg sg. nom. *gave*, pl. nom. *gavā*; see Pischel (§ 393).

³AMg *goṇa*; beside it fem. *gāvī*.

5. Radical Stems

§ 89. Only meagre remains have been preserved of the inflection of radical stems, e.g. sg. instr. *vācā* 'with the word' Sn 232 from Skt *vāc* which otherwise appears as *vācā* in Pāli (§ 81); sg. instr. *padā* 'with the foot' Th 457 from Skt *pād* (cf. pl. gen. *khattiyo* *dvipadām* *seṭṭho* S I 6,22* = Skt *dvipadām*); pl. acc. *sarado satam* 'a hundred autumns' Ja II 16,15* from Skt *śarad*; pl. gen. *sāgaram saritam patiṇ* 'the ocean, the lord (husband) of the rivers' Ja II 442,8* from Skt *sarit*. All the quotable examples belong to the Gathā-language.¹ In Mhv 36 93 there is the sg loc. *pathi* 'on the road' as a v.l. in the Sinhalese MSS for *patham* (acc. sg.) of the Burmese MSS (§ 93,4).

¹ It seems unlikely that in *āpo ca paṭhavi ca* 'water and earth' Sn 307 *āpo* is the nom. pl. = Skt *āpas*. Beside the acc. sg. *āpam* Sn 391 there is also the loc. sg. *āpe* Sn 392. A stem *āpa* has therefore to be accepted. In the first member of a cpd there occurs *āpo*², e.g. D II 108,6.

6. *r*-declension

§90. Agent nouns. Stem: *satthar* 'teacher'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>satthā</i>	<i>sattharo</i>
acc.	<i>satthāram</i> ¹	<i>satthāro</i>
instr.	<i>sattharā, satthārā, satthunā</i>	<i>satthūhi, satthārehi</i>
abl.	<i>sattharā, satthārā</i>	<i>satthūhi, satthārehi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>satthu, satthuno, satthussa</i>	<i>satthūnam, satthārānam</i>
loc.	<i>satthari</i>	<i>satthūsu, satthāresu</i>
voc.	<i>satthā, sattha, satthe</i>	<i>satthāro</i>

On inflection:

1. The following are historical forms used in every period of the language: sg. nom. *satthā* Ja III 20,19, acc. *satthāram* Ja III 21,1, pl. nom.voc. *satthāro*. The last form was then used also as acc. The following forms are also historical: sg. gen. *satthu* It 79,8 = Skt *śāstur*; sg. loc. *satthari* Dhs 1004 = Skt *śāstari*; also sg. instr. *sattharā* = Skt *śāstrā* with svarabhakti. The instr. is then used as the abl.

2. In compounds the *r* of the stem appears in Pāli as *u*. Thus *satthukappa* 'like the master' Mhv 14,65, *bhattuvasānuvattinī* 'obedient to the will of the husband' Ja II 348,16*. A stem *satthu* was abstracted out of these *u*-forms, from which were made: sg. instr. *satthunā* Mhv 17,12, dat.gen. *satthuno* Sn 547, *bhattuno* Vv-a 110,11, *satthussa* Mhv 4,32; pl. instr.abl. *satthūhi*, gen. *satthūnam* Sv I 20,28, *sotūnam*, loc. *satthūsu*.

3. A stem *satthāra* was abstracted analogically from the equation *kammaram*, *kammāra* = *satthāram*: x. From it are derived the forms: pl. instr. *satthārehi*, gen. *satthārānam* Ja I 509,3, loc. *satthāresu*; perhaps also sg. instr. *satthārā* D I 163,8 and the form of the sg. abl. which is identical with it.²

4. Transfer to the *a*-declension through the elision of *r* also occurred. Thus *nahapita* 'barber' (sg. nom. -to D I 225,16, acc. -tam D I 225,6; pl. acc. -te Mhv 29,20) presupposes a stem **snāpitar* (cf. Skt *nāpitā*); *sallakatta* 'physician' (sg. nom. -tto Sn 560, acc. -ttam M I 429,4) is = Skt *śalyakartar*.³ From the stem *khattar* 'door-keeper' = Skt *ksattar* there is beside the sg. nom. *khattā* D I 112,29 the acc. *khattam* D I 112,8.

5. The voc. sg. *satthā* is taken from the nom. The form *sattha* is the shortening of the same on the analogy of *nadi* from *nadī*, *vadhu* Vin III 16,25 from *vadhi*. For *satthe*, cf. *khatte* from *khattar* D I 112,16, *katte* from *kattar* Ja V 220,24*. They arise on the analogy of the voc. *kaññe* of the nom. *kañña* (§81).

¹ Shortened metri causa: *sattharam* Bv 22,14.

² In Pkt also the stems *bhattu* and *bhattāra* mix up historical forms; see Pischel (§ 389).

³ Cf. E. Müller, PGr., p. 82.

§91. Words signifying personal relation. Stems: *pitar* 'father' masc., *mātar* 'mother' fem.

	Singular		Plural	
nom.	<i>pitā</i>	<i>matā</i>	<i>pitaro</i>	<i>mātarō</i>
acc.	<i>pitaranī</i>	<i>mātaranī</i>	<i>pitaro, -tare</i>	<i>mātarō</i>
instr.	<i>pitarā</i>	<i>mātarā</i>	<i>pitūhi, pitarehi</i>	<i>mātūhi</i>
abl.	<i>pitarā</i>	<i>mātarā, mātūyā</i>	<i>pitūhi, pitarehi</i>	<i>mātūhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>pitu, pituno</i> , <i>pitussa</i>	<i>matu, mātuyā</i>	<i>pitūnam,</i> <i>pitunnām, pitarānam</i>	<i>mātūnam</i>
loc.	<i>pitari</i>	<i>mātari, mātuyā, pitūsu, pitaresu</i>	<i>mātūsu</i> <i>matuyām</i>	

On inflection:

1. The stems *pitar* (with short stem-vowels in the strong cases) and *pitu*, which are in use in all the periods of the language, are distributed as in the case of *satthar*. There seems to be no form to justify the assumption of a stem *pitara*.¹ The stem-vowel is long in *nattar* 'grandson' as in Skt *naptar*, e.g. pl. acc. *nattāro* Ud 91,23 = Skt nom *naptāras*, pl. instr. *nattarehi* Ud 92,2.

2. The most important forms are: sg. instr. *pitara* Ja III 37.15, *bhatara* Ja I 308.2, *matara* Thī 212; abl. *pitarā*, *matara* Ja V 214.22, *dhituya* Mhv 8.7; dat.gen. *pitū*² Thī 419, *mātu* Th 473, *duhitu* Thī-a 269.3, *pituno* Vin I 17.1, *bhatussa* Mhv 8.9; *matuya* Ja I 53.5; loc. *bhatari* Ja III 56.23; pl. instr. *matāpitūhi* Thī 516; gen. *pitūnam* It 110.6, *pitunnam* Dhp-a I 161.12; loc. *matāpitūsu* Thī 499.

3. Isolated forms: sg. acc. *pitūm* Cp 2.9.3; pl. nom. *bhātuno* Thī 408; acc. *mātāpitū* Thī 433; sg. nom. *jāmāto* 'son in law' Ja IV 219.25; pl. acc. *bhate* Dīp 6.21.22 with transfer to the *a*-inflection (§ 90.4). The transfer of feminine stems to the *ā*-declension also occurs, e.g. sg. gen. *mātāya* Ja I 62.13. Such transfer is very frequent in the case of *dhītar* 'daughter': sg. nom. *dhītā* Thī 46, acc. *dhītarām* Thī 98, but also dat.gen. *dhītaya* Vv-a 270.28 (beside *dhītu* Ja VI 366.10), voc. *dhīte* Ja III 21.28; pl. nom. *dhītā* Mhv 2.18 (beside *dhītaro* Ja III 3.8), instr. *dhītāhi* Vv-a 161.17, gen. *dhītānam* Ja III 4.7, loc. *dhītāsu* Ja I 152.8.

¹In Pkt there are the stems *pitū*, *piti* (cf. Pāli *pitito*, *mātito* § 77) and *pitara* beside *pitar*; see Pischel (§ 391).

²To be scanned as *pitū* at Thī 495 before *marane*, probably reflecting the metrical length of Skt *pitur marane*. See Caillat, 1970, p. 20.

7. n-declension

§ 92. Masculines in -an. Stems *rājan* 'king' and *attan* 'self, soul'.

	Singular		Plural	
nom.	<i>rājā</i>	<i>attā</i>	<i>rājāno</i>	<i>attāno</i>
acc.	<i>rājānam</i>	<i>attānam</i> ¹	<i>rājāno</i>	<i>attāno</i>
instr.	<i>raññā</i> , <i>rājinā</i>	<i>attanā</i>	<i>rājūhi</i>	(<i>attanehi</i> , <i>attehi</i>)
abl.	<i>raññā</i>	<i>attanā</i>	<i>rājūhi</i>	(<i>attanehi</i> , <i>attehi</i>)
dat.gen.	<i>rañño</i> , <i>rājino</i>	<i>attano</i>	<i>raññam</i> , <i>rājūnam</i> (<i>attānam</i>)	
loc.	<i>rājini</i>	<i>attani</i>	<i>rājūsu</i>	(<i>attanesu</i>)
voc.	<i>rajā</i>	<i>attā</i>	<i>rājāno</i>	<i>attāno</i>

On inflection:

1. The forms of the singular (with the exception of the abl., which is = the instr.) are historical and used in all the periods of the language. The forms instr. *raññā* Dhp-a I 164.6 and dat.gen. *rañño* Vv 74.4 are =

Skt *rajña*, *rajñas* according to § 53.1; *rajina* Mhv 6.2 and *rajino* Thī 463 are affected by svarabhakti, as is also *rajini* = Skt *rajñi*. The long vowel forms in the voc. sg. are transferred from the nom. The voc. sg. form in -e Ja IV 339.27* arises on the analogy of the voc. *kaññe* of the nom. *kaññā* (§ 81).² The stems which like *attan* 'soul, self' end in Skt with -man-vañ following a consonant, retain the *a* in the weak cases, e.g. instr. *amhanā* (§ 50.2) = Skt *asmanā*; *attani* Ja III 25.2 = Skt *atmani*. Also *muddhanā* 'with the head' Mhv 19.30 = Skt *mūrdhnā*; loc. *muddhani* Sn 689 = Skt *mūrdhni*, -dhani. In the plural the nom.voc. forms are historical (used also as acc., e.g. Dhp-a II 15.6), as well as the gen. *raññam* (D II 87.3) = Skt *rājñam*. Moreover, a new stem *rāju* appears in the plural (*rājūhi* Ud 41.7, archaic *rājubhi* D II 258.14; *rājūnam* Ud 11.3), probably by analogy with the *r*-stems (§ 90) according to the equation *sattā*; *sattūhi* = *rājā*: x. There seems to be no attestation of the forms *attanehi*, etc.

2. Transfer to the *a*-declension often takes place as a consequence of the dropping of the final nasal; cf. forms of the stem *rāja*³ such as sg. gen. *rājassa* Dīp 18.41, pl. nom. *rājā* Mhv 37.89; sg. acc. *brahmām* (instead of *brahmānam*) Sn 151 like Māg. Pkt *bamham*; *muddham* (from *muddhan*) Dhp 72; *attam* Dhp 379; pl. instr. *attehi*, gen. *attānam*. A stem *rañña* was developed from the weak grade form *rājñ-*: sg. nom. *rañño* A II 113.21; gen. *raññassa* Ja III 70.7*; loc. *raññe* D II 145.16; pl. instr. *raññehi*⁴ A I 279.14. The weak stem extended by -a produced the forms *attanehi*, *attanesu*. In the same way a stem *addhāna*⁵ was abstracted from the strong grade form of *addhan* 'way, time' (sg. acc. *addhanām*): *attita-m-addhane* 'in past time' Ja III 43.1*, *addhanamaggapatiipanno* D I 1.5.

3. Under the influence of the preceding labial (§ 19.2), in the weak cases of the stem *brahman* 'the god Brahmā, brahman', the -a- changed into -u-. Thus sg. acc. *brahmānam*, but instr. *brahmunā*⁶ Th 1168, dat.gen. *brahmuno* Th 182. The loc. sg. is *brahmani* M I 2.12, the voc. *brahme* (cf. § 90.5) Ja VI 525.15*. Similarly *addhunā* S I 78.26, *addhuno* D I 17.19.

¹With svarabhakti *ātumānam* Sn 782.

² Caillat, 1970, p. 18.

³At the end of cpds there is sometimes used in Pāli °*rāja*, and sometimes °*rājan*. Cf. *supaññarājassa* Ja III 188.28 and *supaññarañño* Ja III 189.7.

Also *°rāju nāgarājūnam* Mhv 1.68.

⁴This is probably the proper reading for *raññahi*. Pkt knows neither the *u*-stem nor any stem corresponding to Pāli *rañña*.

⁵Also in Pkt there are forms such as sg. nom. *addhāno, muddhāno*.

⁶See Callat, 1970, p. 17.

§93. 1 Of the stem *san* 'dog' = Skt *śvan* the sg. nom. *sā* is quite common: S I 176,13*. In JPTS, 1909, p. 61 the pl. nom. *sāno* is cited, but no reference is given.¹ From the Skt weak stem *sun-* a new stem *sunā* (sic! with *n*)² has been derived: sg. instr. *suñena* Ja VI 353,20*; voc. *sunā* Ja VI 357,1. The frequent form *sunakha* is another derivative. From the strong Skt stem *śvān-* is further derived *suvāna, -ṇa:* pl. nom. *suvānā* Ja VI 247,16*, instr. *suvānehi* M III 91,25.

2. Of *yuvan* 'youth' the sg. nom. *yuvā* Dhp 280 is quotable. The reading of the sg. gen. *yuvino* Ja IV 222,23* is uncertain. The stem *yuva* is to be found in *yuvassa* Mhv 18.28. *Yūna* and *yuvāna*³ are new formations from the weak and the strong stem respectively.

3. Of *maghavan*, a name of Indra, there are the sg. nom. *maghavā* Dhp 30, voc. *maghavā* S I 221,24* (so read instead of *mathavā*).

4. Corresponding to the Skt stems *path* and *panthan* 'path' there are in Pāli the thematised stems *patha* (sg. nom. *patho* D I 63,3, acc. *patham* Ja II 39,13, abl. *pathā* Ja VI 525,31*, gen. *pathassa* Th 69, loc. *pathe* Sn 176), and *pantha* (*panthasakuna* Ja VI 527,22*, *panthadevatā* Ja VI 527,30, sg. acc. *pantham* Mil 157,23, loc. *panthasmīm* Sn 121).

5. From *puman* 'man' there is the sg. nom. *pumā* Ras II 83,6. In Kacc. II.2.33 foll. (Senart, pp. 271 foll.) are given also sg. voc. *pumam* and pl. nom. voc. *pumāno*, beside sg. instr. *pumunā* like *brahmunā*. There is moreover a stem *puma* (sg. nom. *pumo* D II 273,18* and pl. nom. *pumā* Ja III 459,13*), as well as *pumana* (according to Kacc.). There is no trace of the weak stem *pums* in Pāli.

¹The paradigm given by Minayeff, PGr., p. 23 is artificially constructed. sg. nom. voc. *sa*, acc. *sam* (etc. like an *a*-stem, but pl. abl. *sāhi, sābhi*, loc. *sāsu*). pl. nom. *sa* 'dogs' S I 176,13.

²Perhaps because of the preceding *s*; see Norman, 1992B, pp. 169–70.

³Cf. Childers, PD (s.vv.).

§94. Neuters in *-an*. Stem: *kamman* 'work, deed' = *karman*. In the sg. the forms are historical in nom.acc.voc. — *kamma* Dhp 96; instr. *kammanā* Sn 136, and *kammunā*¹ Th 143; gen. *kammuno*² Ja III 65,17*; loc. *kammani*. The old forms are however more and more ousted by those of the *a*-inflection on the basis of the agreement in pl. nom.acc.voc. *kammani* Sn 263, Dhp 136. Thus sg. nom.acc. *kammam*, instr. *kammena*, etc. Cf. even in the oldest literature *nāmam* (sg. nom.) Sn 808; *kammehi* Sn 215, *kammesu* Sn 140. In the same way sg. loc. *pabbe* Ja I 245,12, pl. loc. *pabbesu* S IV 171,20 from *pabba(n)* 'knot in a reed, section' = Skt *parvan*; *thāmena* 'forcibly' Ja I 443,7 (beside which, according to §79. 1 with footnote 2, *thāmasā* D II 282,27) from *thāma(n)* = Skt *sthāman*. New neuter stems are formed also by adding an *a*. Thus sg. acc. *jammanam* Sn 1018 from *jamman* 'birth' = Skt *janman*; sg. nom. *yakanam* M I 57,17 from *yakan* 'liver' = Skt *yakan*. — Masc. compounds with neut. second components in *-an* are mostly inflected according to the *a*-decl. after dropping the final nasal. Thus pl. nom. *puññakammā* S I 97,30; sg. gen. *puthulomassa* Att 5,4 from *loman* 'hair'; stem *Vissakamma* (name of a god) = Skt *Viśvakarman* (e.g. sg. nom. *°kammo* Ja IV 325,13, acc. *°kammam* Ja V 132,5, instr. *°kammena* Ja I 315,11); but there is also *°kamman* in acc. *°kammānam* Mhv 28,6 and instr. *°kammunā* Mhv 31,76.

¹Cf. §92.3, § 19.2.

²Cf. §92.3, § 19.2.

§95. Substantives and adjectives in *-in*. Stem: *hatthīn* 'elephant'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>hatthī, hatthi</i>	<i>hatthino, hatthī</i>
acc.	<i>hatthinam, hatthum</i>	<i>hatthino, hatthī</i>
instr.	<i>hatthinā</i>	<i>hatthīhi</i>
abl.	<i>hatthinā, hatthismā, -imhā</i>	<i>hatthīhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>hatthino, hathissa</i>	<i>hatthīnam</i>
loc.	<i>hatthini, hatthismīm, -imhi</i>	<i>hatthīsu</i>
voc.	<i>hatthi</i>	<i>hatthino, hatthī</i>

On inflection:

1. Two distinct types are in evidence¹: the old one in *-in* and the new one in *-i* (inflection according to § 82), which is derived from either the stem-form in which the *in*-stems appear in compounds, or from the case-form in instr. sg. where both declensions show the same form. Both types were alive in all periods of the language. Cf., e.g. sg. gen. *jhāyino* (from *jhāyin* 'thoughtful') Dhp 110, *setthino* Ja I 122.17 (from *setthin* 'merchant'), *hatthino* Dhp-a I 168.12 and *°anupassissa* (from *-passin* 'observing') Dhp 253, *setthissa* S I 90.1, *hatthissa* Vin II 195.26, *gāmavāsino* 'the villagers' Ja III 9.27, *pānino* 'living beings' Mhv 12.22 and *hatthī* S I 211.14*, *dhamśī* 'the brave ones' M I 236.1; pl. acc. *hatthī* Dhp-a II 45.25. Cf. also sg. acc. *hatthinam* Th 355 and *sāmīm* Sn 83, *gāmavāsim* Ja III 10.11, sg. loc. *setthimhi* Vin I 17.33. Long-vowel forms, i.e. forms of the *i*-type, are the rule in pl. instr.abl., dat.gen. and loc.; metrical shortening is not rare: *pāñhi* Vv 4.6; *pāñnam* Dhp 135.

2. Occasionally *in*-stems too are thematised by adding an *a*,² thus giving rise to new stems. Cf. sg. acc. neut. *ohāriṇam* Dhp 346 from *ohārin* 'dragging down'; sg. loc. *ariyavuttine* Ja III 12.22*; pl. nom. *verind* Dhp-a II 37.1 from *verin* 'inimical' = Skt *vairin*; pl. acc. *palokine* Th I 101 from *palokin* 'doomed to destruction', *pāñe* Sn 220; pl. loc. *verinesu* Dhp 197. There are even sg. voc. fem. *āveśine* *uppalamāladhārine* Vv 48.2 from *āveśin* 'decorated', *°adhārin* 'carrying lotus-wreaths' beside vocatives like *alamkate*. Otherwise the *in*-stems form their feminines as in Skt; *sāminī* 'mistress', *gabbhīnī* 'pregnant', etc.

3. There are some isolated unusual forms, e.g. pl. nom. *pāñayo* Sn 201, *hatthiyo* Ja VI 537.30* and the archaic instrumentals in *-bhi*, *atthadassibhi* Th 4, *nettimsavaradhāribhi* Ja II 77.23*, *jhāyibhi*, *jhanasibhi* M III 13.25.

4. The stem *tādi* = Skt *tadvś* (cf. § 75) is treated as an *in*-stem; cf. sg. gen. *tādino* Vv 82.7, pl. gen. *-nam* Vv 81.26; also sg. loc. *tādine* (cf. 2 above) Th 1173.

¹ As in Pkt, see Pischel (§ 405).

² Similarly in Pkt stems like *sakkhiṇa* = *sakṣin*, *barahūpa* = *barhiṇ*; see Pischel (§ 406).

8. *nt*-declension§ 96. Adjectives in *-ant*. Stem: *silavant* 'virtuous'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>silava</i> , - <i>vanto</i>	<i>silavanto</i> , - <i>vantā</i>
acc.	<i>silavantam</i>	<i>silavanto</i> , - <i>vante</i>
instr.abl.	<i>silavata</i> , - <i>vantena</i>	<i>silavantehi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>silavato</i> , - <i>vantassa</i>	<i>silavantam</i> , - <i>vantānam</i>
loc.	<i>silavati</i> , - <i>vante</i> , - <i>vantamhi</i> , - <i>vantasmīm</i>	<i>silavantesu</i>
voc.	<i>silavā</i> , - <i>vanta</i>	<i>silavanta</i> , - <i>vantā</i>

On inflection:

1. Out of the older historical type the later one has been developed through transfer to the *a*-inflection. The sg. acc. in *-antam* was the connecting link. Both types persist side by side through all stages of the language. The younger type completely monopolised the instr., abl. and loc. pl. even from the beginning. Examples of forms of the later type from the Gāthā language: sg. gen. *silavantassa* Dhp 110; loc. *silavante* Ja III 12.22*; voc. *yasavanta* Vv 63.30; sg. nom. neut. *vannavantam* (*puppham*) Th 323; pl. acc. *mahante* Ja IV 222.28*. From canonical prose: sg. nom. *mahanto* 'great' M III 185.1; pl. acc. *mahante* Vin I 85.31; gen. *silavantānam* M I 334.3, *satimantānam* A I 24.33, *dhutimantānam* A I 25.2, *bhagavantānam* S V 164.6. Also pl. instr. *silavantehi* D II 80.21. Yet the regular inflection is still the older one. From the stem *cakkhumant* 'endowed with eyes, seeing' there are in Sn the forms sg. nom. *cakkhumā*, voc. -*ma*, instr. -*matā*; pl. nom. -*manto*. From *satimat* 'of retentive memory' there are in Dhp sg. nom. *satimā*; gen. -*mato*; pl. nom. -*manto*; gen. -*matam*.¹ In canonical prose the forms of the older type are: sg. nom. *satimā* D I 37.25, *vusitavā* perf. part. act. 'he who has dwelt' M I 5.10, *sutavā* 'he who has heard, learnt' M I 8.32; instr. *mahatā* S V 163.26, *silavata* S III 167.23; gen. *silavato* S IV 303.20, *sabbavato* (from *sabbavant* 'full, complete') M II 15.10; pl. gen. *sabbavatam* M II 16.18. Also *bhagavā*, -*vatā*, -*vato*, -*vati*; *āyasmā*, *matā*, -*mato*, -*mati*, *passim*. Forms of the older type in post-canonical prose: sg. nom. *silavā* Mil 224.3; instr. (*Mārena*) *papimato* Mil 155.8; *bilavato* *yasavato* Mil 234.16; quite commonly *bhagavā*, -*vatā*, -*vato*,

-vati, āyasma, -matā. Beside them however the forms of the *a*-inflection go on increasing: sg. nom. *sumahanto* Mil 155.2; instr. *mahananta* Ja III 24.20; pl. acc. *sīlavante* Ja I 187.28; gen. *bhagavantānam* Mil 226.13; sg. nom. neut. *mahanam* (*patihāriyam*) Ja IV 229.15, *ojavantam* (*rattham*) Ja III 111.6; pl. nom. neut. *ojavantāni* Ja III 110.20. Of the stem *Himavant*,² for instance, there occur in Ja only the following forms: sg. nom. *Himavā* Ja VI 580.8, gen. *Himavato* Ja V 392.18, loc. *Himavati* seven times (of which five times with the variant reading *-vante*). Otherwise the stem *Himavanta* is used throughout. Cf. also abstracts like *sīlavantatā* Ja I 320.4, derived from a stem extended by *-a*.

2. Transfer to the *a*-inflection follows also from the dropping of *nt*.³ Forms of this type are found in the Gāthā language: sg. acc. *satiñnam* Sn 212, *bhānumam* Sn 1016, *Himavam* Ja VI 272.4*; pl. nom. *mutīnā* Sn 881. Also sg. nom. fem. *kittimā* Ja III 70.6*. The fem. name *Sirimā* occurs in all the stages of the language.⁴ The neutral form *ojavam* Th 55 may be derived from a stem *ojava*, or it may be directly derived from Skt *ojavat*. These forms perhaps facilitated the shortening of *ant*-stems into *a*-stems.

3. The nominative form of the pl. in *-anto* is used also in the acc., just as the sg. form in *-ā* is used in the voc.

¹Cf. Fausböll, Sn II Glossary, s.v. *cakkhumat* (p. 118), Andersen, PGI, s.v. *sīlavat*.

²D. Andersen, Index to Fausböll, Ja VII, s.v.

³Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 398).

⁴JPTS, 1909, p. 166.

§ 97. Present participles in *-nt*.

1. Their inflection is distinguished from that of the adjectives in *-nt* firstly by the fact that the sg. nom. has retained the ending *-am* = Skt *-an* in the Gāthā language and in canonical prose. Thus *jīvam* 'living' Sn 427 = Skt *jīvan*; *kubbam* 'making' Ja III 278.12* = Skt *kurvan*; *viharam* 'sojourning' Th 435 = Skt *viharan*; *bhaṇam* 'speaking' Sn 429 = Skt *bhaṇan*; *jānam* 'knowing' M II 9.23 = Skt *jānan*; *passam* 'seeing' M II 9.24 = Skt *paśyan*. But beside it the ending *-nto* occurs already in the oldest period of the language: *kandanto* 'weeping' Th 406; *pattento*

'desiring' Th 264; *gavesanto* 'seeking' Th 183; *apātikujjhanto* 'not getting angry with it' S I 162.30*, and frequently in canonical prose: *kandanto* M II 3.20, *appajānanto* 'not comprehending' M I 7.22. In post-canonical prose the form in *-nto* becomes predominant, and that in *-am* is considered to be archaic. Hence *nihanam* 'killing' Ja II 407.1 is explained by *nihananto* in the cty. In the first two periods of the language the inflection retained the archaic forms: sg. instr. *icchatā* (from *icchati* 'wishes') Th 167 = Skt *icchatā*; gen. *vasato* (from *vasati* 'dwells') Ja III 17.9* = Skt *vasatas*; pl. gen. *vijānatām* (from *vijanāti* 'comprehends') Th 14; *vadatām* (from *vadati* 'speaks') Vv. 53.1 (cty: *vudantānam*); sg. gen. *passato* = Skt *paśyatā* M I 7.4, *viharato* M I 9.27. Along with them should be counted also the forms sg. gen. *karoto* Dhp 116 and pl. gen. *karotām* Vv 34.21 (but *kurutām* M I 516.23). They belong to the stem *karont-* abstracted out of the acc. of the new form *karonta-*, and their relation to the acc. *karontām* is as that of *vasato*, *vasatām* to *vasantām*.¹ We should also note the sg. nom. *icchato* Th 320 for *icchanto* = Skt *icchan*. By the side of the older forms there are found, already from the Gāthā language onwards, forms of the *a*-inflection: sg. gen. *namantassa* (from *namati* 'bows') Ja II 205.10*, *passantassa* Th 716; loc. *kandante* Th 774; pl. nom. *vicarantā* (from *vicarati* 'wanders about') Th 37, *a-vijānantā* Th 276; pl. gen. *nadantānam* (from *nadati* 'roars') Th Introd. verse 1; cf. also pl. loc. *uppatantesu napatantesu* (root *pat*) Th 76. These forms become more frequent in the canonical prose (cf. pl. nom. *jānantā*, *passantā* M II 10.8.9; acc. *pavisante*, *nikkhamante* 'the incoming, the outgoing' M II 21.26), and in post-canonical prose they are the only current ones.

2. More rarely, in the Gāthā language, the participles in *-ant* also go over to the *a*-inflection by dropping the final *nt*. Cf. *jāno* 'knowing' Ja III 24.2* for *jānam*, *jananto*; *passo* 'seeing' Th 61 for *passam*, *passanto*. In this way is to be explained the form *anu-kubbassa* Ja II 205.10* instead of *-kubbato* = Skt *kurvatas* (cty: *anukubbantassa*). The sg. nom. neut. *asam* 'worthless' Ja II 32.3* would be thus directly = Skt *asat*.

¹Cf. E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 77.

§ 98. 1. The stem *arahant* 'the perfect one',¹ originally a pres. part., has in sg. nom. both *araham* S I 169.23* as well as *arahā* Sn 1003. The reading of the MSS is often uncertain, as in A III 436.21. Moreover the

stems *arahant* and *arahanta* are in evidence side by side. The sg. loc. *arahantamhi* occurs already in Th 1173; the pl. gen. is *arahatam* in Dhp 164 and *arahantānam* in A IV 394.23.

2. Of the stem *sant* 'existing, good' the old pl. inst. *sabbhi* = Skt *sadbhis* has been retained in verses: *sabbhir-eva* Th 4, *asabbhi* Sn 245, and also the old pl. dat.² *sabbhi* = Skt *sadbhyas* Dhp 151. The other forms are derived from the stems *sant* or *santa*; e.g. sg. dat.gen. *sato* Th 180; loc. *sati* Sn 81 (in connection with a fem. substantive Ja I 328.2) and *sante* Sn 94; pl. nom. *santo* Dhp 83 and *santā* Vin I 103.1; pl. loc. *santesu* Mil 28.8*. The sg. nom. masc. is always *santo* Sn 98. On the neut. *asam* see § 97.2; beside it there are *santam*, *asantam* Vin I 94.32.33. In Sn 131 *asatam* is probably the pl. gen. = *asajjanānam* as in the cty; the v.l. in the cty is *asantam* = *abhūtam*.

3. The form of address *bhavant* 'venerable' used for the pron. of the second person, has the following forms: sg. nom. *bhavam* Sn 486, neut. *bhavam* M III 172.26; acc. *bhavantam* Sn 597; inst. *bhotā* D I 93.23; gen. *bhoto* Sn 565; voc. *bhavam* D I 93.18 and *bho* D I 93.19; pl. nom. *bhavanto* Sn p. 107.8 and *bhonto* Sn p. 104.18; acc. *bhavante* M II 3.22; instr. *bhavantehi* M III 13.24; gen. *bhavatam* M II 3.19; voc. *bhonto* Th 832. The form *bhante*, a 'Māgadhism',³ is used by itself in address: Vin I 76.32, or in connection with a voc., Mil 25.18, or attributively in any case; it is in nom. in D I 179.16, in gen.dat. in D I 179.16. The fem. of the stem *bhavant* is *bhoti*. Cf. sg. nom. *bhoff* Sn 988, acc. *bhotum* Ja VI 523.19*, loc. *bhotiyā* Ja VI 523.18*, voc. *bhoti* Ja VI 523.7*.⁴

¹Cf R.O. Franke, D. trsl., p. 297 f n. 1.

²See Brough, 1962, p. 228.

³Cf. AMg *bhante*; see Pischel (§ 366 b).

⁴The feminine participles are usually derived from the strong stem. Cf. *gacchanti* Ja I 291.3', *labhanti* Ja II 128.15', *passanti* Vin I 16.10, Ja I 61.2', *ārocenti* Ja VI 522.34', *khajjanti* (from *khajjati* 'is devoured' = *khadyate*) Th 315. The feminines of adjectives are, however, derived from the weak stem. Cf. *sīlavati* D II 12.27, *mahati* Dhp-a II 41.12, and proper names like *Bandhumati* (a city) D II 12.2, *Ketumatī* (a river) Ja VI 518.12*, *Yasavati* (a woman) Ja IV 237.7', etc. Inflection is according to § 86.

9. *s*-declension

§ 99. Neuters in *-as*. Stem *sotas* 'stream'.

Of the historical forms there are preserved only sg. nom acc.voc. *soto*, instr. *sotasā*, dat.gen. *sotaso*, loc. *sotasi*. Transfer to the neut. *a*-declension is also achieved by dropping the final *s* (§ 78B). The new stem serves as the basis of all the cases in the plural, and, apparently, also of the abl. sg. Sometimes also the other cases of sg. are formed from it.

On inflection:

1. The historical forms are found mostly in the Gāthā language and in canonical prose: sg. nom. (*paramam*) *tapo* 'the (highest) penance' Dhp 184; acc. *siro* 'the head' Sn 768, *yaso* 'reputation' Ja III 87.25*; instr. *urasā* 'with the breast' Th 27, *sirasā* 'with the head' Vin I 4.23, *cetasā* 'with the heart' Vin I 4.17, *jarasā* 'through age' Dhp-a III 320.7*; dat.gen. *cetaso* Vin I 4.33, *manaso* 'of the mind' Dhp 390; loc. *urasi* Ja III 148.13*, *aghasi-gama* 'moving through the atmosphere' Vv 16.1. But beside them, already in the oldest period, forms of the *a*-type are frequently used: sg. nom. *siram* Th 1 255, *manam* Dhp 96; acc. *siram* A I 141.13; instr. *tapena* Sn 655; gen. *manassa* S IV 4.17; loc. *ure* D I 135.27, *urasmim* A I 141.5, *nabhamhi* 'in the atmosphere' Ja V 14.20*, *aghe* Ja IV 322.1* and *aghasmī* Ja IV 484.12*. This becomes the normal inflection in post-canonical prose.² The archaic forms are confined to a limited number of words and expressions: sg. nom. *mano* Ja IV 217.25.26; acc. *vaco* Ja IV 234.17; instr. *manasā* Ja IV 218.4, as well as, for instance, Mil 227.10, in the old phrase *kāyena vācāya manasā*; loc. *manasi* in *manasi-karoti* 'pays attention to, ponders in the mind' Ja I 393.29. On the other hand *mane* Dhp-a I 23.3.

2. For the pl. it is sufficient to point out from the oldest literature the forms *sotāni* Sn 433 and *sotā* Sn 1034; acc. *sote*³ Th 761; instr. *sotehi* Sn 197, *sirehi* Ja IV 250.15*; gen. *sotanam* Sn 1034.

3. The transfer to the *a*-declension may take place also through the addition of *a* to the *s*-stem: sg. acc. *sirasam* Ja V 434.8.

¹The coincidence of this form with the sg. nom. *dhammo* of masc. *a*-stems has led to a confusion in gender as pointed out in § 76.

²As also in Pkt (see Pischel §§ 408 foll.), which has, however, also retained the old forms, particularly in AMg and JMah.

³For *sotā* and *sote* see § 78.6.7.

§ 100. Masculines and feminines in -as.

1. The masc. stem *candimas* 'moon' has sg. nom. *candimā* Dhp 172 = Skt *candramās*. For the rest the inflection is just like that of *a*-stems. The same applies as a rule to compounds with *as*-stems. Cf. sg. nom. *attamano* 'joyous' Dhp 328; *dummano* 'sad' Vin I 21,22; fem. *attamanā* Ja I 52,30; pl. nom. *attamanā* D I 46,27; *sumanā* Sn 222; acc. *muditamane* Sn 680. Forms of the *as*-type are however found in the Gāthā language: sg. gen. *anāvādhatacetaso* Dhp 39; perhaps sg. acc. *vyāsattamanasaṁ* Dhp 47. Transfer to the *a*-inflection may also take place through the extension of the stem by *a*: sg. nom. *avyāpannacetaso¹* S V 74,10,20; pl. nom. *adhimanasa* Sn 692.

2. The perf. act. part. -*vas* assumes various forms. Historical are the forms *avidvā* 'unknowing' Sn 535 = Skt *avidvān*, as well as °*dassivā* in *bhaya-dassivā* Dhp 31 = Skt °*darśivān* 'seeing'. The form which is most in use is *vidū*, derived from the weak stem *viduṣ* and inflected according to § 87.2. There is also a stem *viddasu*: sg. nom. *aviddasu* Dhp 268, gen. *viddasuno*, av- M I 65,5,6,8; pl. nom. *aviddasū* Sn 762, -*suno* M I 65,26.

3. The comparatives in -*yas* drop the final *s* and are transferred to the -*a* inflection. Cf. sg. nom. *seyyo* Dhp 308; acc. *seyyam* Dhp 61; pl. nom. *seyyā* Dip 4,51 and *seyyāse* (§ 79.4) Vv 18,12; from this stem come also fem. *seyyā*, neut. *seyyam* Ja III 237,12, pl. *seyyāni* Ja III 196,12*. The old Sanskritic form is retained in the neut. *seyyo* 'superior' Dhp 76 = Skt *śreyas*. The opposite of it is *pāpiyo* 'inferior' Ja II 44,8* (beside *pāpiyam* Mil 155,16) = Skt *pāpiyas*. The indeclinable *seyyaso* Dhp 42 is identical in meaning with *seyyo*. *Seyyatara* may be regarded as the usual form for *seyya* in post-canonical prose, and in Vv-a 96,22–33, for instance, *seyya* is explained by *seyyatara*. Also from the old stem the fem. *seyyasi* (shortened from *seyyasī* metri cause) Ja V 393,21*.

4. Pāli *accharā²* corresponding to Skt fem. *apsaras* 'nymph' is a case of transfer to the *ā*-decl. (§ 81). The stem *jarā* beside *jaras* is known in Skt also.

¹In Skt also the form *cetasa* is allowed at the end of a compound according to Vopadeva, BR, s.v.

²So also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 410).

§ 101. The neuter stems in -*is*, -*us* are treated almost exclusively as *i*-, *u*-neuters (§ 85). Historical forms are found only occasionally, e.g. sg. instr. *āyusā¹* from Skt *āyus* 'age' Sn 149. Usually, however, the stem is as in Pāli *sappi* from Skt *sarpis* 'butter', Pāli *cakkhu* from Skt *cakṣus* 'eye'. Thus sg. nom. *sappi* D I 201,26 and *sappim* Ja I 457,22, *āyu* 'age' Th 145 and *āyūm* Ja I 138,5, *cakkhum* Vin II 157,3; acc. *sappim* Mhv 5,217, *cakkhum* Ja III 18,7; instr. *sappinā* Ud 38,33, *cakkunā* Ja III 18,9; abl. *sappimhā* D I 210,26; dat.gen. *sapissa* Ud 93,4, *āyussa* Mhv 35,73, *cakkuno* Ja IV 206,19; loc. *cakkhusmim* Vin I 34,32, *cakkumhi* Dip 4,4; pl. nom. *cakkūnu* Ja IV 137,16; instr. *cakkūhi* Dip 17,26. The neut. Skt stem *arcis* 'flame' was changed into *acci* and then inflected as a fem. stem: sg. instr. *acciya* M II 130,6, pl. nom. *acciyo* Vin I 25,30 (*acci vātena khittā* A IV 103,5). Masc. compounds like *dīghāyu* 'long-lived' = Skt *dīrghāyus* are inflected according to § 82.

¹As also AMg *cakkhusā*; see Pischel (§ 411).

10. Adverbs and Comparison

§ 102. The acc. of the neut. adjectives serves as an adverb in Pāli: *jaha sīgham samussayam* 'give up quickly the totality (of all that lead to rebirth)' Th 83; *sādhu kho mayam palāyimha* 'we have fled just in the right manner' Vin I 88,34; *tumhe saṇikam āgaccheyyātha* 'come hither slowly!' Ja III 37,13; *palāyatha lāhū* 'fly quickly!' Mhv 7,66. But other case-forms too are used as adverbs: thus instr.: *kicchenā katā pannasalā* 'the hut made with great labour' Ja II 44,6; *api ca me āvuso satthā paricinno dīgharattam manapena na amanapena* 'moreover the master has been served by me for a long time in a fitting manner, and not in an unfitting manner' S IV 57,25. The abl. (= Skt *kṛcchrāt*) is used, for instance, in *kicchā laddho ayam putto* 'this son has been acquired with great difficulty' Th 475 (cf. Vv-a 229,18).¹

¹It might be regarded as an instr.; see § 78.1

§ 103. Comparison.

1. Several of the old comparatives and superlatives in *-iyas* and *-istha* have been preserved. Thus *seyya(s)* = Skt *śreyas*, *pāpiya(s)* = Skt *pāpiyas* (§ 100.3); *bhiyyo, bhiyo* ‘more’ (adv.) Dhp 17 = Skt *bhuyas*. The comp. *niceyya(s)* Sn 855 has clearly been formed on the analogy of *seyya(s)*. There are also the superlatives *settha* ‘the best’ = Skt *śrestha*; *papiṭṭha* ‘the worst’ = Skt *pāpiṣṭha*; *kaniṭṭha* ‘the youngest’ = Skt *kaniṣṭha*; *jetṭha* ‘the eldest’ = Skt *jyestha*. At Vv 64.33 *settha* is used in the sense of a comparative. As in Skt, these comparatives and superlatives may in Pāli also undergo further gradation¹: *seyyatara* (§ 100.3); *sethatara* Ja V 148.7*; *papiṭṭhatara* Vin II 5.11. The compound *pāpiṣṣika* (Sen. Kacc. 398) is difficult to explain. According to Childers (s.v.) it is = Skt *pāpiyas + ika*. A less contracted form is perhaps to be found in *pāpiyyasika* in the technical term *tassapāpiyyasikā* D III 254.13.

2. The comparative suffix *-tara* is very productive in Pāli. It seems to have almost completely ousted the superlative suffix *-tama*. Examples of the superlative are: *ulāratama* ‘the highest’ Vv-a 320.14; *sattama* ‘the best’ Sn 356. Regular examples of the comparative are: *piyatara* ‘dearer’ Ja III 279.24, *sādutara* ‘sweeter’ Sn 181 (used in the superlative sense in S I 214.19), *bahutara* ‘more’ Vin I 129.4. There are also new formations such as *mahantatara* ‘greater’ M III 170.13, *sīlavantatara* ‘more virtuous’ Ja II 3.21, *vannavantatara* ‘more beautiful’ D I 18.21, in which the suffix has been added to the stem extended by *a*. In *balavatara* ‘stronger’ Mil 234.21 it has been added to the shortened stem. Cf. the comparatives *purimatara* ‘the earlier’ S IV 398.8, *paramatara* ‘the higher’ Th 518, *varatara* ‘the more excellent’ Dhp-a I 332.6 and the adv. *pathamataram* ‘earlier’ Vin I 30.4. In *sappurisatara* ‘the more efficient man’ S V 20.7 the suffix *-tara* has been added to the substantive *sappurisa* = Skt *saipuruṣa*; in *puretaram* ‘earlier’ it has been added to the adv. *pure*. Even the adv. *pageva* ‘much more still’ has been lengthened to *pagevataram* M III 145.5. The comparative has been extended by the suffix *-ika* in *lahukatarika* M II 70.13. The intensity of meaning — ‘much’, ‘exceedingly’, etc. — may be expressed also by the reduplication of the adj.: *mahantamahanto* Ja I 347.29

3. The simple positive is not infrequently used in the comparative sense.² Cf. *etesu kataram nu kho mahantam* ‘which is the greater of the two?’ Ja III 194.3; *santi te ñatito bahu* ‘they are more numerous than the relatives’ Mhv 14.20.³ Cf. *kim nu ... dandhā bahū, udāhu paññitā* Dhp-a I 94.18.

¹Cf. also in AMg *jetṭhayara*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 414).

²The same usage also occurs in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 414 [towards the end of the paragraph]).

³See Geiger, Mhv ed., p. LIV.

II. Pronouns

§ 104. A. The first person pers. pron. (stem-form in sg. *mam*, cf. S IV 315,23):

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>aham</i> 'I'	<i>mayaṁ (amhe)</i> 'we'
acc.	<i>mam</i> (<i>mamam</i>)	<i>amhe (asme, amhākam, asmākam)</i>
instr.abl.	<i>mayā</i>	<i>amhehi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>mama, mayham</i> (<i>mamam, amham</i>)	<i>amhākam (asmākam, amham)</i>
loc.	<i>mayi</i>	<i>amhesu</i>

Enclitic: sg. instr.dat.gen. *me* pl. acc.instr.dat.gen. *no*

B. The second person pers. pron.:

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>tvam</i> (<i>tuvam</i>) 'thou'	<i>tumhe</i> 'you'
acc.	<i>tam</i> (<i>tvam, tuvam</i>)	<i>tumhe (tumhākam)</i>
instr.abl.	<i>tayā</i> (<i>tvayā</i>)	<i>tumhehi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>tava, tuyham</i> (<i>tavam, tumham</i>)	<i>tumhākam (tumham)</i>
loc.	<i>tayi</i> (<i>tvayi</i>)	<i>tumhākam (tumham)</i>

Enclitic: sg. instr.dat.gen. *te* pl. acc.instr.dat.gen. *vo/vel/vam*¹ (Ja V 375,11*).

Notes:

1. The unbracketed forms are the regular ones in post-canonical prose, in which, for instance, clear distinction is made between *tvam* 'thou' and *tam* 'thee'. All these forms are used already in the oldest periods of the language also. The bracketed forms are archaic or rarer. Attestation of the pronoun of the first person: sg. acc. *mamam* Ja III 55,5*; gen. *mamam* Sn 694, *amham*² Th 1045 (or pl. dat.gen. ?); pl. nom. *amhe* S I 118,12; acc. *asme* Ja III 359,21* (cty: *amhe*), *amhākam* Ja I 221,29, dat gen. *asmākam* Sn p. 106,7, *amham* Thī 287. Pronoun of the second person: sg. nom. *tuvam* Sn 377; acc. *tvam* Mhv 10,50c,

tuvam Sn 377; pl. acc. *tumhākam* Ja I 221,29; dat.gen. *tumham* D I 3,5.

2. The *m* of *mayaṁ* = Skt *vayam* is taken over from the forms of the sg. such as *mam*, *mayā*, etc., just as the *t* of *tumhe*, *tumhākam*, etc. (as opposed to Skt *yuṣmakam*, etc.) has been taken over from the forms *tam*, *tayā*, etc.

3. The nom.acc. pl. *amhe (asme)* and *tumhe* correspond to the Ved. forms *asme*, *yuṣme*, which according to Pānini VII 1,39 may be used for various plural cases.³

4. The *e* of *amhehi*, *amhesu*, *tumhehi*, *tumhesu* as opposed to *asmābhis*, *asmāsu*, *yuṣmabhis*, *tuṣmāsu* is to be explained on the analogy of the forms *tehi*, *tesu*, etc. (§ 105).

¹This is explained as a dual (= Skt *vām*) by von Hinüber, 1986, § 288.

²In Pkt the grammarians also give the forms *amham*, *tumham* for gen. sg.; see Pischel (§§ 415, 420).

³Cf. E. Kuhn, Beitr., pp. 72, 86; Pischel (§§ 419, 422); ZDMG, 35, pp. 715 foll.

§ 105. The third person pron. (stem form *tam-* Vv 84,44, *tad-* in *tadahe* Mhv 5,43, *tappaccayā* Th 719)

	Singular		Plural	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
nom.	<i>so (sa)</i>	<i>sā</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tā (tāyo)</i>
acc.	<i>tam</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tā (tāyo)</i>
instr.	<i>tena</i>	<i>tāya</i>	<i>tehi</i>	<i>tāhi</i>
abl.	<i>tamhā, tasmā</i>	<i>tāya</i>	<i>tehi</i>	<i>tāhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>tassa</i>	<i>tassā, tissā</i> (<i>tissaya, tāya</i>)	<i>tesam</i> (<i>tesanam</i>)	<i>tāsam</i> (<i>tāsānam</i>)
loc.	<i>tamhi, tasmim</i>	<i>tassam</i> (<i>tāsam</i>)	<i>tesu</i>	<i>tāsu</i>
				<i>tissam</i> (<i>tāyam</i>)

The neut. has sg. nom.acc. *tam* (in vowel sandhi *tad-* § 72,1); pl. nom.acc. *tāni*. Elsewhere as in masc.

Notes:

1. The rarer or more archaic forms are again given in brackets. The remaining forms are found in all periods of the language and become the regular ones in post-canonical prose. Attestation of the former: for sg. gen. fem. *tissaya* cf. *etissāya* (§ 107.1) Vv-a 106,14; sg. loc. fem. *tāsam* Mil 136,11 (*tissam* M II 55,25), *tāyam* (*velāyam*) Vin I 2,2. As for the forms of pl. gen. *tesānam*, *tāsānam* (note double ending), cf. *esānam* (§ 108) M II 154,2, *sabbesānam* (§ 113.1) M III 60,24, *katamesānam* (§ 111.2) Vin III 7,22; sg. nom. masc. *sa* is from the earliest period of the language rarer than *so*. In Sn *sa* occurs 40 times but *so* 124 times; in the first 500 gāthās of Th *sa* occurs 4 times (twice in the favourite construction *sa ve*) and *so* 37 times. Finally *sa* becomes quite rare.

2. Instead of the sg. nom.acc. neut. *tam* there is sometimes also the Māgadhi form *se*²: D II 278,16,30. Cf. § 80b. The same form is contained in *seyyathā* 'just as', *seyyathīdam* 'as follows, namely'.³ Instead of the former there occurs *tāmyathā* in Mil 1,11. The *sa-* in *sayathā* 'as' Th 412, *sace* 'if' is analogous to Skt *sa* in *sa-yadi*, *sa-yuthā*, etc.⁴

3. There is an isolated form with double ending: sg. nom. neut. *tādam* Sn p. 147,13, in apposition to the rel. pron. *yam*.⁵

4. The pl. nom. *te* appears also in the acc., and similarly in the inflection of other pronominal stems as well.

¹ Unnecessarily changed by Trenckner into *tdyam*.

² As Māg. (*se mundo* = *tan mundam*), AMg *se* (*se dītham* = *tad dīstam*). See Pischel (§ 423).

³ Not so Pischel (§ 423), in whose opinion *se* = Ved. *sed* (*sa-id*). His arguments do not, however, seem to be convincing.

⁴ Pischel, ibid.; BR, s.v. *sa*, col. 452.

⁵ The form *tasmassa* given by E. Müller, PGr., p. 88 from Spiegel's Anecdota, p. 15 is of course nothing but *tasmā assa*. The Colombo ed. of the Ras (2,8) rightly reads *tasmā 'ssa*.

§ 106 1. It is worthy of note that (mostly in the two oldest periods of the language) the pron. *so*, *sa*, *tam* is used to strengthen other pronouns. It is used: (a) before the pers. pron. of the first and second persons: *so aham*

Sn 190; *svāham* (§ 71.1c) Ja I 198,3; *tam tam* (= *tam tvam*) Ja VI 516,19*; *tesam vo* A V 86,8. There is even *tesam vo*, *bhikkhave*, *tumhākam* ... It 32,1; *tesam no amhakam* M III 194,19. The pron. *so* may refer also to the person contained in a verbal form: *so karohi* '(you) do' Dhp 236; *so tato cuto amutra udapadim* 'departed from there I was born again at that place' D I 13,23.

(b) It is used also after the rel. pron., which thereby gets the general meaning 'whoever, whatever': *yā sā simā* ... *tām simām* Vin I 109,8; *ye te dhammā* ... *tathārūpā* 'ssa dhammā M III 11,20; *yo so* ... *mama sahayako* Dhp-a IV 128,3.

(c) It is used before or after the dem. pron. *ayam*: *ta-y-idam* (= *tam idam*) D I 91,4; *svāyam* (= *so ayam*) Vin I 29,26; *ayam so* Ja II 16,12.

2. When repeated, the pron. *so* signifies 'this and that, any, various': *tāsu tāsu disāsu*, *tesu tesu janapadesu* Vin I 21,34. Or it may refer to the indef. rel. pron. *yo yo*, as for instance in Th 144.

§ 107. 1. The dem. pron. *eso* (*esa*), *esā*, *etam* 'this' is inflected like *so*. In sg. nom. masc. both the forms *eso* and *esa* are equally in use, not only as a substantive (*esa* Ja II 6,24, *eso* Ja II 7,18) but also as an adjective (*esa* Ja II 10,8, *eso* Sn p. 106,6). The stem form is *etam-* which appears, for instance, in *etamkāraṇā* 'for this reason' Vin I 57,35. Like *so*, *eso* is also used in connection with other pronouns. Thus *esaham* (*eso aham*) D I 110,23, or *ayam eso* Mhv 1,42; or *yānu etāni* (*yānāni*) Dhp-a IV 6,7.

2. The pron. *ena* (= Skt *enad*) occurs only in the forms *enam* and *enena*.¹ *Enam* occurs as acc. masc. in Sn 981, as acc. fem. in Ja III 395,5* (changed into *ena* metri causa), and as acc. neut. in Sn 583. The combination *tam-enam* occurs in M II 248,11, and as fem. in Vv 21,4.

The pron. *na* is very common (cf. § 66 1, with f.n. 3). The form *nam* in sg. acc. masc.fem.neut. is very well attested, as well as dat.gen. *nassa* Ja V 203,21*; pl. acc. *ne* Vin I 42,35; pl. dat gen. *nesam* Sn 293.

3. An isolated form is *tyamhi* Ja VI 292,21*, which might belong to the pronominal stem *tya* = Ved. *tya*, mentioned by Moggallāna.² The cty explains *tyamhi* by *tamhi*. The reading however is not quite certain.

4. Finally there is the pronominal stem *tuma* of the third person which belongs to the oldest periods of the language and which may be connected with the Ved. *tman*.³ The following forms of it occur: sg. nom. *tumo* Sn 890, sg. gen. *tumassa* Sn 908.

¹ For Pkt *ena*, see Pischel (§ 431).

² R O. Franke, PGr., pp. 35 foll. Cf. *tyāsu* (cty: *tāsu*) Ja V 368,6*.

³ This according to Oldenberg, KZ, 25, p. 319, while Johansson, Monde Oriental 1907–08, pp. 99 foll. refuses to recognise any connection between the two words.

§ 108. The dem. pron. *ayam* 'this' (stem form *idam*, cf. *idappaccaya* D I 185,27).

	Singular	Plural	
	masc. fem.	masc. fem.	
nom.	<i>ayam</i> <i>ayam</i>	<i>ime</i> <i>imā</i> , (<i>imāyo</i>)	
acc.	<i>imam</i> <i>imam</i>	<i>ime</i> <i>imā</i> , (<i>imāyo</i>)	
instr.	<i>iminā</i> , (<i>anena</i>)	<i>imayā</i>	<i>imehi</i> , (<i>ehi</i>)
abl.	<i>imasmā</i> , <i>imamhā</i> , (<i>asmā</i>)	<i>imāya</i>	<i>imehi</i> , (<i>ehi</i>)
dat.gen.	<i>imassa</i> , <i>assa</i>	<i>imissā</i> (- <i>ssāya</i>), <i>imesam</i> , (<i>imāya</i>), <i>assā</i> , (<i>assāya</i>)	<i>imāsam</i> , (<i>imesānam</i>), (<i>imāsānam</i>), (<i>esām</i> , <i>esānam</i>) (<i>asām</i>)
loc.	<i>imasmin</i> , <i>imamhi</i> , (<i>asmīm</i>)	<i>imissam</i> , - <i>ssā</i> , (<i>imāyam</i>), (<i>assam</i>)	<i>imesu</i> , (<i>esu</i>) <i>imasu</i> <i>amumhā</i>

The neuter has sg. nom.acc. *idam*, *imam*; pl. nom.acc. *imāni*. Otherwise as in masc.

Notes:

I. The pronominal stem *a-*, *ana-* is gradually supplanted by the stem *ima-* in the course of the development of the language. It made its way also into the nom.acc. sg. neut.¹ Thus there is *imam* as nom. neut. in Mil 46,7 and as acc. neut. in S IV 125,19. Examples of forms of the *a-*, *ana-*

stem: sg. instr. *anena* Mhv 5,55; abl. *asma* Dhp 220; loc. *asmīm*² Dhp 168; pl. gen. masc. *esām* M II 86,2 and *esanam* M II 154,2, fem. *āsam* Ja I 302,4* (cty: *etasam*). The two forms *assa* and *assā* of the sg. dat.gen. masc. and fem. have been retained and are frequently used enclitically in the post-canonical literature also. Of the rarer forms of the stem *ima-* the pl. nom. fem. *imāyo* Sn 1122 and acc. *imāyo* Mhv 15,20 should be mentioned. Instead of the sg. gen. masc. *imassa* there also occurs *imissa* Ja I 333,2 by analogy with the fem. form *imissā*, and instead of *iminā* there is *aminā* in the compound *tad-aminā* 'thereby, therefore' S I 88,18 (beside *tad-imunā* M II 239,23, with the v.l.).

2. The pron. *ayam* also appears in combination with other pronouns. Thus with the rel.: *yāyam* (= *yā ayam*) Th 124; (= *yo ayam*) Dhp 56; *yam idam kammam ... tam* M II 220,11; *yān' imāni alapūni* Dhp 149. With the interr. pron.: *ko nu kho ayam bhāsati* 'who is speaking there?' A IV 307,25. On the connection with *so* see § 106,1c.

3. When repeated, *ayañ ca* signifies 'this and that' and stands for an indefinite person or thing: *ayañ ca ayañ ca amhākam rañño silācāro* 'such and such are the virtues of our king' Ja II 3,23; *idañ c' idañ ca kātum vāttati* 'it is proper to do this and that' Ja II 4,28.

¹ In Pkt the process has gone further still, and there occur also sg. nom. masc. *imo*, fem. *imā*; see Pischel (§ 430).

² The reading *ath' asmīm rukkhe* Ja III 208,17' is probably wrong. Note the v.l. *ath' assa tasmiñ rukkhe*.

§ 109. The dem. pron. *asu*, *amu* 'that'.

	Singular		Plural	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
nom.	<i>asu</i> , <i>amu</i>	<i>asu</i>	<i>amū</i>	<i>amū</i> , (<i>amuyo</i>)
acc.	<i>amum</i>	<i>amum</i>	<i>amū</i>	<i>amū</i> , (<i>amuyo</i>)
instr.	<i>amunā</i>	<i>amuyā</i>	<i>amūhi</i>	<i>amūhi</i>
abl.	<i>amusmā</i> ,	<i>amuyā</i>	<i>amūhi</i>	<i>amūhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>amusā</i>	<i>amussā</i> , (<i>amuya</i>)	<i>amūsam</i> , (<i>sānam</i>)	<i>amūsam</i> , (<i>sānam</i>)
loc.	<i>amusmīm</i> ,	<i>amussam</i> ,	<i>amūsu</i>	<i>amusu</i>
		<i>amumhi</i>	<i>amuyam</i>	

The neut. has sg. nom.acc. *adum*, pl. *amū*, *amuni*. Otherwise it is as in the masc.

Notes:

1. The stem *amu* has made its way also into the sg. nom. masc.,¹ e.g. *amu* M II 206,29 and *asu* M III 275,7. It is found also in pl. nom.instr.abl.dat.gen. masc. and neut. (as against Skt *amī*, *amībhīs*, etc.), so that in Pāli masc. and neut. have coincided with fem. The neut. *adum* occurs in S IV 315,8.

2. When repeated, this pron. signifies 'the one ... the other', e.g. *asu amutra uppanno*, *asu amutra uppanno* 'the one has been reborn here, the other has been reborn there' D II 200,7. It occurs in apposition to the rel. pron., e.g. in *yam vā adum khettam aggam* 'that field which is valuable' S IV 315,8.

3. The prons *amuka* and *asuka* are derived from the stems *amu* and *asu*, and are used for indefinite persons or things: *amukasmīm gāme* 'in the village "so and so"' D I 193,13, *amukasmīm vihāre* S IV 46,7; *asukasmīm kāle* Ja II 29,4, *asuka-ñihāne* Ja I 122,3. When it is repeated *amuka* can also be used in this sense: *amukamhā vā amukamhā vā devanikāyā* 'from such and such a deva community' A IV 302,26. *Amuka* in M III 169,15 is used in the sense of *amu*.

¹ As also Pkt *amū*; beside it AMg *aso* = *asau*, Pāli *asu*; see Pischel (§ 432). In Pkt also nom.acc. neut. *amun*.

§ 110. The rel. pron. *yo* 'which' (stem form *yam-*, *yad-*; e.g. *yamvipāko* D II 209,26, *yadattho* Th 60):

	Singular		Plural	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
nom.	<i>yo</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>yā, (yāyo)</i>
acc.	<i>yam</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>yā, (yāyo)</i>
instr.	<i>yena</i>	<i>yāya</i>	<i>yehi</i>	<i>yahi</i>
abl.	<i>yasmā, yamhā</i>	<i>yāya</i>	<i>yehi</i>	<i>yahi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>yassa</i>	<i>yassā, (yaya)</i>	<i>yesam,</i> <i>(yesānam)</i>	<i>yasam,</i> <i>(yasānam)</i>
loc.	<i>yasmin, yamhi</i>	<i>yassam, (yiyam)</i>	<i>yesu</i>	<i>yasu</i>

The neut. has sg. nom.acc. *yam*, pl. *yāni*. Otherwise it is as in the masc.

Notes:

1. On the sandhi forms *yv* (= *yo*), *yas-* see §§ 71.1c, 72.1.
2. The Magadhism *ye* (in apposition to *se* = *tam*) occurs in D II 278,16, etc. Cf. § 105.2.
3. On the connection of the rel. with other pronom. stems see §§ 106.1b, 107.1, 108.2, 109.2.
4. When repeated, the rel. pron. has the indefinite meaning 'whoever, whatever': *yassam yassam disāyam viharati, sakasmīm yeva vijite viharati* 'in whichever region he may be sojourning, he lives in his own kingdom' A III 151,13. The same meaning attaches to *yo koci, yā kaci, yam kiñci* = Skt *yah kaścit*, etc.

5. The rel. pron. frequently has the meaning of Latin *si quis* 'if anyone', as does *yas* in Skt.¹ *yo ca gāthāsatam bhāse* 'if anyone should utter 100 verses' Dhp 102.

¹ See MW, s.v. *yad*.

§ 111. 1. The interr. pron. *ko* 'who?' has in the sg. nom.acc. neut. *kim*. It serves as the stem form; cf. *kimnāmo* Vin I 93,31 (note *konāmo* immediately after it), *kimkāraṇā* 'what for?' Ja I 439,11. For the rest the inflection is the same as that of the rel. pron. Yet in sg. abl.dat.gen. and loc. there are also found derivatives from the stem *ki-* which is in evidence in *kim*: *kismā* S I 37,22 beside the usual *kasmā*; *kissa* Ud 79,6* beside *kassa* Sn 1040; *kimhi* Vin I 28,31 or *kismīm* D II 277,4,5 beside *kamhi, kasmin*. Cf. the frequent construction *kissa hetu* 'on what ground? why?' D I 14,4; *kissa* alone in Vin I 73,3. In Ja V 141,11*,12* we find *kissa* as neut. and *kassa* as masc. A Mag. sg. nom. masc. *ke* for *ko* occurs in D III 24,19. The interr. pron. is strengthened by an appended interr. particle *su, ssu, si* = Skt *svid* (cf. § 22): *kam su* S I 45,2, *kena ssu* S I 39,8, *kissa ssu* S I 39,4, 161,4 (this is the proper reading, not *kissassa*), *kam si* Dhp-a I 91,18. The indef. pron. *koci, kāci, kiñci* 'anyone, anything' is formed by adding *ci* = Skt *cid*¹ to the forms of *ka-*: *kocid eva puriso* Mil 40,20. In conjunction with the negation *na* it signifies 'none': *n' atthi koci bhavo nicco* 'there is no permanent existence' Th 121. The form *na ... kañcinam* 'none' Th 879 is worthy

of note, for *kañci* is here inflected like an *in*-stem.²

2. Also *katama* 'who? which one?' (as also in Skt) is inflected like the rel. pron.: sg. nom. masc. *katamo* Mil 26,5; sg. nom. neut. *katamam* D I 99,17; sg. instr. masc. *katamena* Vin I 30,7, sg. loc. fem. *katamassam* M II 160,26; pl. nom. masc. *katame* Vin I 3,2, pl. gen. masc. *katamesanam* Vin III 7,22.

3. *katara* (as also in Skt) signifies 'which of the two?' (also 'who, which' in a general sense): sg. nom. masc. *kataro* Ja I 352,29; sg. gen. fem. *katarissā* Dhp-a I 215,14.

4. *kati* 'how many?' (as also in Skt): nom. masc. *kati (samanā)* Sn 83, *kati (uposathā)* Vin I 111,23, neut. *kati (kammāni)* M I 372,8; instr. *katīhi* S IV 240,20. Derivatives from it are: *katipayā* 'some, a few'; *katici* 'some, a few' (*katīhici* Ja I 464,13); *katipāham* (from *-payāham*) 'a few days' Ja II 38,11, *katipāhena* 'in a few days' Mhv 17,41; *katikkhattum* 'how often?' M III 125,7.

5. *kīva*, *kīvam* adv. 'how? how much?' = Ved. *kīvat* (§46.1) in *kīva-dūra* 'how far distant?' M II 119,3; *kīva-ciram* 'how long?' Vv 24,14; *kīva-bahukā* 'how many?' Ud 91,25; *yāva-kīvam* 'so long' Vin I 11,19. From it is also derived *kīvatikā* 'how many?' Vin I 117,16.

6. *kittaka* (§27.7) 'how much? how big?' : *kittakam addhānam* 'how long a time?' Vv-a 117,8 (in explanation of *kīva-ciram*). To it correspond *ettaka* 'this much' Mil 316,25 and *tataka* Dhp-a II 16,11. From the same stem is derived the adv. *kittāvatā* 'how far?' Vin I 3,1.

¹The noun *kiñcanam* is a compound of *kiñ* with the particle *cana*. Cf. *yassa n'* *atti* *kiñcanam* Dhp 421. Whence *akiñcano* 'he who does not call anything his own' Th 36. Its opposite is *sakiñcano*. The word *kañcapi* is a conjunction 'although, in spite of the fact that' Sn 230.

²For the view that *kañcinam* is to be divided *kañci nam*, where *nam* is an emphatic particle, see Norman, 1969, p. 248.

§112.1. The poss. pron. for all three persons is *sa* = Skt *sva* (*sam* 'property'; instr. *sena* Ja II 22,23*, pl. *sani* M I 366,5) and *saka* = Skt *svaka* (sg. instr. *sakena* *darena* Vv 83,20, abl. *sakamha gāmā* D I 81,25, cf. *samhā ratthā* Ja VI 502,34*, loc. *samhi āsane* D II 225,17; pl. acc. *sake* 'one's own people' Ja VI 505,16*). The poss. pron. of the first person *madiya* (quoted in Childers, PD) = Skt *madiya* seems to be

unattested. The adj. *māmaka*, fem. *-ikā* = Skt *mamaka* signifies 'lovable, valuable' It 112,15; at the end of a compound it signifies 'loving, worshipping' Ja III 182,10.

2. The oblique cases of *attan* 'soul, self' (§92) are used as a reflexive pron.: *attanam damayanti subbatā* Th 19; *attānam nāsesi* Ja I 510,11; *attana katam pāpam* Dhp 161. Cf. *attadutiya* 'with oneself as second = with one companion' D II 147,21; *attasattama* 'with oneself as seventh = in a group of seven' Sp 320,5, *attaṭṭhama* 'in a group of eight' Vv-a 149,17.

3. From pron. stems are derived: *yāvant* 'how big, how much' (pl. nom. *yāvant'* *ettha samāgatā* Dhp 337; retained also in the conjunctions *yāva* or *yāvam*, *yāvatā*, correlative *tāva*, *tāvatā*) and *yāvataka* 'how big, how much' (sg. nom. neut. *-kam* S IV 320,23, pl. acc. masc. *-ke* Vin I 83,27), *tāvataka* 'so big, so much' (sg. nom. neut. *-kam* S IV 320,23, instr. *-kena* Dhp-a III 61,14; pl. acc. masc. *-ke* Vin I 83,28), as well as the frequent formations with *-di*, *-disa*, *-risa*, *-dikkha*, *-rakkha* = Skt *-dṛś*, *-dṛśa*, *-dṛksa* (cf. §43.1): *mādisa*, *mārisa* 'such as I' (cf. pl. nom. fem. *mādisiyo* Dhp-a II 17,12) *amhādisa* 'such as we' (pl. acc. masc. *-dise* Mhv 5,128); *tādisa* 'such as you' Ja I 445,23; *tumhādisa* 'such as you (pl.)' (Dhp-a II 39,19); *yādisa(ka)* 'of what sort' and *tādi*, *tādisa(ka)*, *etādisa(ka)* 'of that sort' (Sn 522); *īdi*, *īdisa(ka)*, *īdikkha*, *īrisa* 'of this sort' (Ja I 60,33*); *edisa(ka)*, *erisa* 'of this sort' (Sn 313); *kidi*, *kidisa*, *kīrisa* 'of what sort' (Sn 836); *yādisakīdisa* 'of whatever sort' (Ja I 420,7*).

§113. The following are pron. adjectives:

1. *sabba* 'all, whole, every' = Skt *sarva*. It is inflected like the relative pronoun. Cf. pl. nom. masc. *sabbe* Sn 179, gen. masc. *sabbesam* Sn 1030 and *sabbesānam* M III 60,24; gen. fem. *sabbāsam* S I 17,27; sg. loc. fem. *sabbaya* Vin I 165,27.

2. *vissa* 'all' = Skt *viśva* is archaic and quite rare, except in names, e.g. *Vissakamma*. The sg. acc. masc. *vissam* (*dhammam*) occurs at Dhp 266, but the cty explains the word by *visamam*.¹

3. *añña* 'another' = Skt *anya* is inflected like *sabba*. Cf. sg.neut. *aññad eva* M II 127,25, pl. nom. masc. *aññe* Sn 201, gen. *aññesam* Sn 213, dat.gen. *aññissā* Vin I 15,10, loc. *aññissā* (*guhaya*) Ja II 27,16. Note *aññad eva ... añnam* M I 372,18–19. When repeated, *añño ... añño* signifies 'the one ... the other' Ja I 456,6. In *aññamañña* 'one another' only the last component is inflected: *aññamaññassa* D I 56,29, *aññamaññamhi* D I 20,17, *aññamaññehi* Sn 936.

4. *aññatara* 'one of two' D I 228,2 or 'any one, a certain' Vin I 23,4. The sg. gen. fem. is *aññatarissā* S I 140,20.

5. *añnatuma* 'any one' Mhv 38,14.

6. *itara* 'another' is inflected like *sabba*: pl. nom. masc. *itare* Dhp-a IV 40,13, dat.gen. fem. *itarāsam* Ja II 27,19. 'The one ... the other' is expressed by *eko ... itaro* Vy-a 149,7, or *itaro ... itaro* Mhv 25,62; *itaritara* signifies 'the one and the other, everyone, any one' Ja I 467,28* (cty: *yassa kassaci*), M II 6,1 (*itaritarena* 'reciprocally' Vv 84,1, likewise *itaritarehi* Att 28,32).

7. Also *para* and *apara* 'a different one' are inflected like *sabba*: pl. nom. masc. *pare* Sn 762, *apare* Ja III 51,25; dat.gen. *paresam* Th 743; *paro ... paro* 'the one ... the other' D I 224,13. For *param* adv. 'beyond, later' and prep. 'after', and *aparāparam* adv. 'from one side to the other, up and down', see Childers, PD and Andersen, PGI. (s.vv.).

8. *pubba* 'the fore part, eastern', *uttara* 'the upper part, northern', *adhara* 'the lower part' are said to be inflected like *sabba*. Of *pubba*, however, only the sg. loc. *pubbe* 'earlier, formerly' is attested, the other forms occurring only at the end of compounds. Of *uttara* there occurs the loc. sg. fem. *uttarāya* (*disāya*) D I 74,23 beside *uttarassam* *disāyam* S I 148,4*, adv. *uttarena* 'to the north' and *uttarato* 'from the north'.

9. Of *ekacca* 'one, any one' (adj. Vin I 183,29, subst. S III 243,14) the pl. nom. is *ekacce* 'some' S IV 102,1, dat.gen. *ekaccanam* Vin I 45,18; *ekacco ... ekacco* signifies 'the one ... the other' S IV 305,10,11; *ekaccam ... ekaccam* 'partly ... partly' D I 17,12. Its derivative is *ekacciya* 'individually': sg. nom. masc. *ekacciyo* Ja I 326,8*, acc. *ekacciym* Vin I 289,2, nom. fem. *ekacciya* (*itthi*) S I 86,13*; pl. nom.

masc. *ekacciya* Ja I 326,7* (cty: *ekacce*), S I 199,20*.

¹The Skt and Pkt parallels suggest a derivation <*veśman*. See Brough, 1962, pp. 191–92.

III. Numerals

I. Cardinal Numbers

§ 114. The numbers one and two:

1. *eka* 'one' is inflected like *añña* (§ 113.3). Thus sg. dat.gen. masc. *ekassa* Sn 397 but fem. *ekissā* Vin II 38,26; loc. masc. *ekasmīm*, but fem. *ekissā* M III 65,15 or *ekissam* Dhp-a III 346,6. The pl. *eke* signifies 'some' D I 12,29; when repeated, *eko ... eko* signifies 'the one ... the other' D I 181,1; *ekameko* is 'everyone separately, individually' D II 171,1. On *ekacca*, *ekacciya* see § 113.9.

2. *dvi* 'two' (in compounds also *di-*, cf. *diguna* 'double') has the following forms for all three genders: nom. *dve* (masc. Dhp-a II 9,14, fem. Sn p. 106,9, neut. Ja IV 137,16) and *duve* (masc. Th 245, fem. Sn 1001); acc. *dve* (masc. Ja II 27,20, fem. Dhp-a II 42,4) and *duve* (masc. Mhv 5,213, neut. Mhv 10,47); instr. *dvīhi* (masc. Ja I 338,6, fem. M I 78,2); dat.gen. *dvinnam* (masc. Ja II 154,22, fem. M I 65,23) and *duvinnam*, loc. *dvīsu* (masc. Mhv 6,25, neut. Ja I 338,6). Similar is the inflection of *ubho* 'both': nom.acc. *ubho* Dhp 74 (and *ubhe*); instr.abl. *ubho* D II 176,22 (and *ubhehi*); dat.gen. *ubhinnam* Ja I 353,14*; loc. *ubhosu* Sn 778 (and *ubhesu*). The sandhi form *vubho* occurs in Ja VI 509,24*. The word *ubhaya* 'both' is used in both sg. and pl.: *puññe ca pāpe ca ubhaye* 'in both virtue and sin' Sn 547; *ubhayena samyamena* 'through both (kinds of) self-control' Pv-a 11,2; *gihīhi ca anāgārehi ca ubhayehi* 'with both the laity and the priests' Dhp-a IV 174,1; *candimasuriyā ubhay* 'ettha (= *ubhayā ettha*) dissare 'both sun and moon are visible here' Vv 83,4. In the voc. there occurs *ubhayo nisāmetha* 'listen to me, both of you!' Thi 449; *anujanatha mām ubhayo* Thi 457. Note the acc. adv. *ubhayam* 'both' Dhp 404. In the same way *dubhaya* is used in the Gāthā language, of which the initial *d* might be derived from *dvi*: *dubhayam cutūpapātam* 'both degeneration and regeneration' Sn 51; *dubhayāni pañdarāni* 'both kinds of intelligence' Sn 526; *Todeyya-Kappā dubhayo* 'both T. and K.' Sn 1007; acc. *dubhayam lokam* 'both worlds' Ja III 442,4*. Cf. *dubhato* 'on both sides' Ja VI 497,4* (cty: *ubhato*).

§ 115. The numbers three to ten¹:

3. *ti* 'three' (in compounds *ti-*, cf. *tiguna* 'three times', *tipitaka* 'collection of three baskets'): masc. nom.acc. *tayo* Sn 311 (*tayas su* Sn 231); instr.abl. *tīhi* Dhp 391; dat.gen. *tinñam* Th 127 and (the later form) *tinñannam*² Mil 309,8; loc. *tīsu* Dhp-a II 27,4; fem. nom.acc. *tisso* Th 24; instr.abl. *tīhi* Th 11; dat.gen. *tissannam* D II 66,17; neut. nom.acc. *tīni* Th 134; the rest are as in the masc.

4. *catu* 'four' (in compounds *catu-*, *catur-*, cf. *catukanṇa* 'quadrangular' A I 141,30*, *caturassa* 'quadrilateral' Ja VI 518,29*, *catugguna* 'four times' Ja I 422,27; masc. nom.acc. *catāro* D I 91,29 and *caturo* (nom. Sn 84, acc. Sn 969); instr.abl. *catūhi* Sn 231, *catuhi* Ja I 279,31 and (only archaically) *catubbhi* Sn 229 (*catubbhi shanesu* Vv 32,7); dat.gen. *catunnam* D I 91,30; loc. *catūsu* Dhp-a II 42,10 and *catusu* Ja I 262,9; fem. nom.acc. *catasso* S III 240,17 (acc. *caturo disā* Vv 6,10); instr.abl. *catūhi* Ja I 339,4 and *catuhi* D I 102,2; dat.gen. *catunnam* D I 116,11 and *catassannam*; loc. *catūsu* and *catusu* Ja III 46,20; neut. nom.acc. *catāri* Sn 227; the rest are as in the masc.

5. *pañca* 'five', *cha* 'six', *satta* 'seven', *attha* 'eight', *nava* 'nine', and *dasa* 'ten' are inflected in all three genders in the following manner: nom.acc. *pañca*, *cha*, etc.; instr.abl. *pañcahi*, *chahi* Dhp-a II 28,5, etc. [with lengthening *atthāhi* Ja III 207,14*, archaic: *dasahhi* Vin I 38,22*]; dat.gen. *pañcannam* S IV 173,15, *channam* Sn 169; *sattānām* beside *sattannam* M III 81,23; loc. *pañcasu*, *chasu* and *chassu* Sn 169, *sattasu* Ud 65,17. In compounds these numerals appear in the form *pañca-*, etc., given above. On *cha-*, *chal-*, cf. §§ 67, 72,1.

¹For parallels in Pkt, see Pischel (§§ 438 foll.), and Norman, 1992A, pp. 202 foll.

²On this double formation see R.O. Franke, PGr., p. 13.

§ 116. The tens, hundreds, etc.:

1. The numbers from 20 to 100 are: 20. *visa*, *visam*, *visā*, *visati* = *vuñśati*; 30. *timsa*, *timṣam*, *timsā*, *timṣati* = *trimśat*; 40. *cattarisa*, *-risam*, *-risā*; *cattālīsa*, = *-līsam*, *-līsā*; *tālīsa*, *-lisam*, *-lisā* = *catvārimśat*; 50. *paññāsa*, *-sam*, *-sā*; *panñāsa* = *pañcāsat*; 60. *sattī* = *sasti*; 70. *sattati*, *sattari* = *saptati*; 80. *asīti* = *asīti*; 90. *navuti* = *navati*;

100. *sata* = *śata*; 200. *dve satāni* or *dvisata*; 300. *tini satāni* or *tisata*, etc.; 1000. *sahassa* = *sahasra*; 2000. *dve sahassāni*, etc.; 100,000. *lakkha*; 10 millions. *koti*.¹

2. Intermediate numbers: 11. *ekadasa*, *ekārasa* = *ekādaśa*; 12. *dvādasa*, *bārasa* = *dvādaśa*; 13. *terasa*, *telasa* = *trayodaśa*; 14. *catuddasa*, *cuddasa* = *caturdaśa*; 15. *pañcadasa*, *pannarasa*, *pannarasa* = *pañcadasa*; 16. *soñasa*, *sorasa* = *śodaśa*; 17. *sattadasa*, *sattarasa* = *saptadaśa*; 18. *aññadasa*, *aññārasa* = *aṣṭadaśa*; 19. *ekūnavīsa*, *ekūnavisati* = *ekonavimśati*, *ūnavimśati*; 22. *dvāvīsa*, -*sati*, *bāvīsa*, -*sati*; 23. *tevīsa*; 24. *catuvīsa*; 25. *pañcavīsa*, *pañnavisati*, *pañcuvīsa*, etc.; 32. *dvattimsa*, *battimsa*; 36. *chattimsa*; 49. *ekūnapaññāsa*; 55. *pañcupaññāsa*; 56. *chappaññāsa*, etc.²

¹The designations for higher numbers, such as *abbuda*, etc. (see Abh 475, Dip 3.11 foll.) are confined to lexicons, although there is a reference to them, used also as names of hells, at Sn p. 126.12 foll.

²For the numerals in Pkt, see Pischel (§§ 443 foll., 445 foll.) and Norman, 1992A, pp. 209 foll.

§ 117. The way of using the numerals is unusually varied in character.

1. The numbers 1 to 18 are adjectives. Cf. *dve vā tīṇi vā rattindivāni* 'two or three days and nights' D I 327.19; *catunnām māsānam accayena* 'after the expiry of four months' Sn p. 102.8; *soñasannam puggalānam* 'of 16 individuals' Mil 310.18. On the analogy of the tens, however, the numeral compounds of *dasa* may also take a final *m* and thus become substantives: *nava satta dvādasañ ca ... pañcavīsam dvādasañ ca, dvādasañ ca navāpi ca* '9 and 7 and 12 ..., 25 and 12 and (again) 12 and 9 (kings)' Mhv 2.9.

2. Of the decades those in *-ā* are fem. substantives, of which the form in *-āya* (instr.dat.gen.) actually occurs: *ekassa pi dadāmi dvinnam pi dadāmi ... dasannam pi dadāmi vīsāya pi dadāmi tūmsāya pi dadāmi cattārīsāya pi dadāmi paññāsāya pi dadāmi satassa pi dadāmi* 'I give (alms) to one, to 2, ... to 10, to 20, to 30, to 40, to 50, to 100' Sn p. 87.8-9. The decades in *-a* may be declined, but are mostly left uninflected; those in *-am* are used as nominatives and accusatives; those in *-ti* are fem. substantives and are inflected according to § 86 or remain undeclined. The numerals *sata* and *sahassa* are neut.

3. When connected with substantives, the numerals from 20 upwards may be used appositionally in the same case as the substantive: loc. *visatiyā yojanesu tīmsāya yojanesu* 'at (the distance of) 20 (30) miles' M II 162.30; instr. *dvattīmsāya mahāpurisalakkhaṇehi asitiyā anuvyañjanehi* 'with the 32 major and 80 minor insignia of a Buddha' Vv-a 323.14; *ekūnapaññāsāya kandehi* 'with 49 arrows' Ja III 220.21; *chattīmsatiyā sotehi* 'with 36 streams' Dhp-a IV 48.16; acc. *visatīm pi bhikkhū tīmsam pi bhikkhū cattārīsam pi bhikkhū* '20 or 30 or 40 monks' M III 79.6; *vīsam pi jātiyo tīmsam pi jātiyo cattārīsam pi jātiyo paññāsam pi jātiyo* '20 and 30 and 40 and 50 existences' It 99.3; *aññacattārīsam vassāni* '48 years' Sn 289; gen. *imesam tevīsatiyā buddhānam* *santike* 'before these 23 Buddhas' Dhp-a I 84.8. In the following examples the decades remain uninflected: nom. *paññāsa yojanā sañhi yojanā* '50, 60 miles' Dhp-a III 217.8; *tīmsa rattiyo* D II 327.10; *pañcupaññāsa vassāni ... pañcavīsatī vassāni* Th 904; *dvattīmsa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni* Sn p. 106.8 (but *dvattīmsād mahā-* Sn 1000); acc. *ekūnapaññāsa Jane* '49 people' Ja III 220.20; *sattasattīrīñāvātthūni* 'the 77 items of knowledge' S II 59.34; instr. *dvattīmsa mahāpurisalakkhaṇehi* M II 135.21.

4. *sata* and *sahassa*, as well as numerals with them as components, may also be used in apposition to a substantive: nom. *gandhabbā cha sahassāni* '6000 gandhabbas' Th 164; *bhikkhuniyo sahassam* '1000 nuns' Mhv 5.187; acc. *pañcasatāni Candālapurise* '500 Cañḍālas' Mhv 10.91; *gāthā satam* '100 verses' Dhp 102; instr. *pañcasutehi therehi* 'with 500 theras' Dip 4.6. The substantive in such constructions sometimes appears in the sg., as in acc. *aññasutam bhattam* (instead of *bhattāni*) '800 meals' Mil 88.4. The numeral is treated as an adj. in nom. *pañcasatā vāñjā*, fem. *pañcasatā yakkhuniyo*, acc. *pañcasate vāñje* Ja II 128.17,22.

5. The numerals may further be used in the sg. as abstracts, and substantives may be connected with them in the gen. as attributes: *paro-sahassam bhikkhūnam* 'over 1000 monks' Th 123.8 (but in apposition *paro-sahassam puttā* 'over 1000 sons' D I 89.4); *sahassam pi atthānam* '1000 things' S I 229.13; *viharanam pañcasatam* '500 monasteries' Mhv 12.33; *satīm arahatam aka* 'he made 60 Arhats' Mhv 1.14.

6. A numeral and a substantive may unite into a cpd. Cf. *aṭṭhavassam* *sattamāsam* *rājā rajjam akarayi* 'the king reigned for 8 years and 7 months' Mhv 35.46. The cpd *vassasatam* of this type, signifying 'hundred years' is very frequently used. Cpd's like the following are very common: *satta manussasatāni* '700 people' Ja IV 142.3; *dvisu vassatesu (atikkantesu)* '(after the expiry of) 200 years' Mhv 33.80; *pañca-itthi-satehi* 'with 500 women' Mhv 14.57.

2. Ordinals, Distributives, Fractional Numbers, Numeral Adverbs, Numeral Adjectives and Numeral Substantives

§ 118. 1. The ordinals from 1 to 10 correspond to those of Skt: 1. *pathama* = Skt *prathama*; 2. *dutiya* (§ 23) = *dvitīya*; 3. *tatiya* (§ 23) = *tritīya*; 4. *caturtha* = *caturtha*; 5. *pañcama* = *pañcama*; 6. *chaṭṭha* (*chaṭṭhama* Sn 101), *sauṭṭha* = *ṣaṭṭha*; 7. *sattama*, fem. -mī Thī 41 = *saptama*; 8. *aṭṭhama* (fem. *aṭṭhamī* 'the 8th day' Thī 31) = *aṣṭama*; 9. *navama* = *navama*; 10. *dasama* (fem. *dasamī* 'the 10th day' Mhv 19.33) = *daśama*.

2. The same applies to the decades, the only difference being that in the longer forms (excluding 60 and 80) it is not *-tama*, but only *-ma* that is attached to the basic form in *-ti*: 20. *vīsatima* or *vīsa* = *vimśatitama* or *vimśa*; 30. *tīnsatima* or *tīnsa* = *trimśattama* or *trimśa*; 40. *cattārīsatima*, *-līsatima* or *cattārisa*, *-līsa* = *catvārimśattama* or *catvārimśa*; 50. *paññāsatima* = *pañcāśattama*; 60. *satihitama* = *ṣaṣṭhitama*; 70. *sattatima* = *saptatitama*; 80. *asītitama* = *asītitama*; 90. *navutima* = *navatitama*; 100. *sutama* = *śatatama*.

3. The intermediate numbers from 11 to 19 agree on the one hand with Skt, and on the other with Pkt¹: 11. *ekādasuma*, fem. -mī M III 255.9 = AMg *ekkārasama*; or *ekādasa*, fem. *ekādasī* 'the 11th day' = Skt *ekādaśa*; 12. *dvādasama*, fem. -mī M III 255.10 = AMg *duvalasama*; or *dvādasa*, in fem. *dvādasī* 'the 12th day' = Skt *dvādaśa*; 13. *terasama*, fem. -mī M III 255.11 = AMg *terasama*; or *terasa* Mhv 16.2 = Skt *trayodaśa*; 14. *cuddasama*, fem. -mī M III 255.13 = Pkt *coddasama*; or *cuddasa*, fem. *cuddasī* 'the 14th day' Mhv 19.39; also *catuddasa* Vin I 87.30, or -sī Thī 31 = Skt *caturdaśa*; 15. *pañcadasama* Dhp-a III 27.11; *pañnarasama* = AMg *pannarasama*; or *pañnarasa* D II 207.17, more frequently *pannarasa* Th 1234 (*pañcaddasī* 'the 15th

day' Thī 31) = Skt *pañcadaśa*; 16. *soḷasama* = AMg *solasama*; and *soḷasa* fem. -sī Dhp 70 = Skt *ṣoḍaśa*; 17. *sattarasama*; 18. *atharasama* = AMg *aṭṭhārasama*; 19. *ekūnavīsatima* = AMg *egūnavīsaima*. Further: 21. *ekavisatima*; 22. *bāvīsatima*; 23. *tevīsatima*; 24. *catuvīsatima*; 25. *pañcavīsatima*; 26. *chabbīsatima*, etc.; 33. *tettimsatima*; 36. *chattimsatima*, etc.

4. On the use of ordinals: In some isolated cases the ordinal number stands for the cardinal: *pañcamehi bandhanehi* 'with 5 bonds' S IV 201.22. Worthy of notice are the compounds with *attan*, e.g. *attadutiya* 'with one companion' D II 147.21. See § 112.2.

¹Pischel (§ 440)

§ 119. 1. The distributive numbers are expressed by repeating the cardinals or the ordinals as the case may be: *aṭṭhaṭṭha* there 'macce ca pesayi 'to each he sent 8 theras and court-officials' Mhv 5.249; *dve pi janā pañca pañca māṇavakasataparivārā honti* 'the two boys each had retinues of 500 youths' Dhp-a I 89.6-7.

2. *Addha, addha* 'half' is the fractional number. Like Skt *ardha*, Pkt *addha, addha*,¹ it is compounded with the next higher ordinal number, as in German 'dritthalb, vierthalb'; *addhatiya, addhateyya* Ja I 450.21 (cf. § 65.2) is $2\frac{1}{2}$; *addhuddha* Vin I 34.10; Dhp-a I 87.21 (= Pkt *addhuṭṭha* from *addha* + **turtha*, Skt *ardhacaturtha*) is $3\frac{1}{2}$. Cf. *saddhim addhatelasehi bhikkhusatehi* 'with $12\frac{1}{2}$ hundred monks' D I 47.4; *addhanavamasahassāni* '8,500 (persons)' Mhv 15.201. If on the other hand *addha, addha* stands after a cardinal number, it signifies half thereof: *dasaddha* is therefore 5, Th 1244; *purisānum dasaddhehi satehi parivārito* 'surrounded by 500 men' Mhv 5.122.

3. Numeral adverbs: 'once' is expressed by *sakīm*, *saki* (*sakid-* or *sakad-* in sandhi before a vowel, §§ 67, 72.1) = Skt *sakṛt*, or *ekada* (*apekkadā* 'sometimes' M II 7.1). These adverbs are formed by affixing the form *°khattum* (§§ 22, 40.1) = Skt *°kṛtvās*²; *tikkhattum* '3 times' Vin I 104.28; *catukkhattum* '4 times' Thī 37; *chakkhattum* '6 times' D II 198.24; *satakkhattum* '100 times' Thī 519. Also *katikkhattum* 'how many times?' M III 125.7. The sg. and the pl. acc. *vāram* and *vare* are also used to express 'time(s)': *eka-varam* 'once' Ja III 150.21; *dve vare*

'twice' Dhp-a I 47.11; *tayo vāre* '3 times' Dhp-a I 8.6; *nava vāre* '9 times' Mhv 30.62; *bahu-vāre* 'many times' Ja II 88.8. Cf. also *dvīsu vāresu* 'twice' Mhv 6.25; *tatiye vare* 'the third time, on the third chance' Mhv 6.26. Otherwise 'the first time', 'the second time' are simply *pāthamam*, *dutiyam*, etc. *Ekaso* = Skt *ekasas* means 'individually'.

4. Numeral adverbs meaning 'times' are constructed with ^o*dhā* = Skt ^o*dhā*, Pkt *-hā*: *sattadhā* 'seven times, in seven parts or pieces' D I 94.24. Similarly *satadhā*, *sahassadhā*.

5. Numeral adjectives in 'kinds, -fold' are constructed with *vidha* = Skt ^o*vidha*, Pkt ^o*viha*, or with ^o*guna* = Skt and Pkt ^o*guna*: *anekavidha* 'of many kinds' Dīp 6.70; *sattavidha* 'of seven kinds, seven-fold' Ja I 91.33; *aṭṭhaguna* 'eight-fold' Thī 153.

6. Numeral substantives: *ekaka* 'group of one' = Skt *ekaka*, *duka* neut. 'aggregate of two' = Skt *dvika*, *tuka* 'aggregate of three' = Skt *trika*, Pkt *duka* or *duya*, *tiya*, *catukka* 'aggregate of four' (§ 62.2) = Skt *catuska*, *pañcaka* = Skt *pañcaka*, *chakka* = Skt *ṣaṭka*, *sattaka* = Skt *saptaka*, *aṭṭhaka* = Skt *aṣṭaka*, *navaka* = Skt *navaka*, *dasaka* = Skt *daśaka* M III 1.19-21; *sataka* 'aggregate of one hundred' Ja I 74.22 = Skt *sataka*.

BR, s.v.; see Pischel (§ 450).

²Pkt AMg ^o*khutto*, Māh. ^o*huttam*; see Pischel (§ 451).

IV. The Verbal System

i. Generalities

§ 120. In verbal forms Pāli is still farther removed from the basic Skt than in nominal inflection. The historical forms are on the whole well preserved, particularly in the older periods of the language, but the actual life of the language lies in the new formations, which were created in such numbers, either on the basis of analogy, or after existing types, that it is scarcely possible to lay down rules covering all the individual cases. It is a prominent feature of Pāli, distinguishing it from Skt, that it has lost the dual. The mid. is also disappearing. Pass. forms already have act. endings in the oldest period of the language. The Gāthā language still shows, it is true, a considerable number of mid. forms, but they are in part due to the exigencies of metre, and everywhere bear the stamp of archaism. They become rare already in canonical prose, and rarer still in non-canonical prose, in which they are confined only to a few fixed forms (e.g. impv. 2 sg. in *-ssu*, pret. 3 sg. in *-ittha*). The mid. forms appear again in the later artificial poetry. The pres. part. mid. in *-māna* was productive in every period of the language. As for the tenses, the perf. has almost completely disappeared, leaving only slight traces behind. Unlike Pkt, Pāli has retained the cond. Impf. and aor. are no longer sharply distinguished in Pāli. Both of them have coincided in the pret. which is mostly called "aorist". The various periphrastic formations are of great importance: they are originated by the combination of part.s, absol.s or verbal substantives with the verbs "to be" or "to become", or with other verbs of an indefinite meaning. They represent quite a characteristic feature of the language. The moods are the same as in Skt. The Gāthā language has apparently still retained isolated forms of the Ved. subj. Another important feature is the predominance of *a*-stems in the present system. Their analogy has decided the character of many verbs which are athematic in Skt. It is no longer possible to set up a complete system of paradigms for the different conjugation-classes as they are distinguished in Skt. The present-stems of these classes will be discussed, as is proper, in connection with one chief paradigm, as a supplement to it. Besides the expansion of the sphere of the *a*-inflection we have also to notice that of *e* stems.¹ The preponderance of the pres. stem is of particular

importance. Tenses, as well as verbal nouns, etc., which in Skt are based directly on the root, may be derived in Pāli from the pres. stem. This applies to pret. (aor.), fut., past part. in *-ta*, fut. pass. part. in *-tabba*, inf. in (-*tuye* and) *-tum*, and absol. in *-tvā*, *-tvāna* and *-ya*. Moreover new pass. and caus. stems may be derived from pres. stems. The innovative forms in all these cases appear side by side with the historical ones — sometimes rare in comparison with the latter, but occasionally even surpassing them in frequency of use. In particular cases the process goes even further, when, for instance, an historically attested fut. or pass. stem is made the basis of further new formations.²

¹ See F. Edgerton, 1954, and von Hinüber, 1977.

² For instance, of the stem *dakkh-* = Skr. *drakṣ-* (cf. §§ 152, 204.1c, 213), or of the stem *chij-* = *chidy-* (§ 196), etc.

2. Present system with indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative

A. Present indicative

§ 121. The inflection may be shown by a verb of Class I, *labhati* 'gains, receives'.

	Singular	Plural
act.	1. <i>labhami</i>	<i>labhama</i>
	2. <i>labhasi</i>	<i>labhatha</i>
	3. <i>labhati</i>	<i>labhanti</i>
mid.	1. <i>labhe</i>	(<i>labhamhe</i>)
	2. <i>labhase</i>	(<i>labhavhe</i>)
	3. <i>labhate</i>	<i>labhante, labhare</i>

§ 122. 1. act. 1 sg.: instead of *-āmi* there is also found in the Gāthā language the secondary ending *-am*: *tassahaṁ santi gaccham* 'I am going to him' Thī 306.¹ For the rest the endings correspond to those of Skt; *-ma* is the secondary ending.

2. mid. (the examples are mostly from the Gāthā language or the artificial poetry) 1 sg.: *rame* 'I enjoy myself' S I 180.8*, *kuppe* 'I am

angry' Ja III 120.15*. In post-canonical prose there occurs, for instance, *maññe* 'I think' Ja II 249.7.

2 sg.: *anupucchase* 'you ask' Vv 17.5; *labhase* Ja II 220.12* (cty: *labhasi*).

3 sg.: *labhate* Th 35; *sobhate* 'is beautiful' Thī 255; *rocate* 'suits (one's) taste' Thī 415; *bhāsate* 'speaks' Sn 452. 3 pl.: *lambhante* 'they hang' Thī 265; *haññante* 'they are beaten' Thī 451.

3 pl.: the ending *-are* is quite frequent: *labhare* S I 110.32*; *khadare* 'they consume' Ja II 223.14* (cty: *khādanti*); *jāyare* 'they are born' S I 34.16; *socare* 'they suffer pain' Sn 445 (against *socanti* Sn 333); *obhāsare* 'they light up' Vv 9.3 (v.l. *obhāsate*); *jīyare* 'they vanish away' Ja VI 528.5* (Skt *jīryante*); *miyyare* 'they die' Sn 575 (Skt *mriyante*); *haññare* 'they are killed' S I 76.22. These forms are connected with Ved. pres.s like *sére*, *ísire*, and they correspond to the forms in *-ire* in Pkt.²

1 pl. mid.: this deserves special consideration. Kacc. 3.1.2 and 18 (Senart, pp. 423, 429) gives as the ending *-mhe*, which is probably derived from *-make* through syncope. The fuller form occurs in *bhavāmahe*³ Mhv 1.65. Also the ending *-mase* (and *-mhase*) seems to have been in existence at its side. Not all the forms with this ending have a subj. meaning (see below § 126), as for instance (*na*) *tappāmase* (*dassanena tam*) 'we are (not) tired of (looking at you)' Vv 17.4, which is ind. in meaning (cf. Skt *trybate*). The same perhaps also with *abhinandāmase* 'we are glad' Vv 17.7; *saremhase* (according to e-inflection) 'we remember' Thī 383. The ending *-mase* is evidently the mid. counterpart of the Ved. act. *-masi*, and *-mhase* looks like a cross of *-mhe* and *-mase*.

¹ It is probable that here *gaccham* is a future (see Norman, 1971A, p. 126), where the ending *-am* is not uncommon (§ 150).

² Whitney, Skt Gr., § 550; see Pischel (§ 458); Windisch, Abhdl. Sächs. Ges. d. W., Nr. VI. 1887, pp. 478 foll.; E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 94; E. Müller, PGr., p. 97.

³ E. Kuhn, loc. cit.

B. Subjunctive

§ 123. It is not possible to set out a paradigm, because there are only isolated forms preserved in the Gāthā language. The subj. is

distinguished from the ind. by the lengthened stem-vowel. Yet only those forms may be relied upon as subj. without any hesitation in which the subj. (impv.) meaning is quite clear and the possibility of a lengthening metri causa is out of the question.¹ This appears to be the case with one of the two passages pointed out by Pischel²: *no vitarāsi bhottum* 'do not go on eating!' Ja II 14.17* (cty: *mā nāgamamsakħādako ahosi*). In addition: *attānam yeva garahāsi ettha* 'scold yourself for this affair!' Ja IV 248.8* (cty: *attanam eva garaheyyāsi*). True subj. forms are to be found perhaps also in the forms *kāmayāsi* and *cayasi* Ja V 220.20*,24*, which are dependent on *sace* and *ce* respectively. Pischel's second example is, however, doubtful: *ātāpino samvegino bhavātha* 'be zealous and enthusiastic' Dhp 144b. The form in question here may be simply that of impv. 2. pl. lengthened metri causa. Similar cases are: *adhimanasa bhavātha* Sn 692; *tam ca* (i.e. *dhammam*) *dharātha*³ *sabbe* 'all should hold fast to it (the truth)!' Sn 385; *pāpāni kummāni vivajjaya*tha, *dhammānuyogañ ca adhijjhāhātha* 'give up sinful practices and hold fast to zeal for the truth!' Vv 84.38; *abhinibbajjīyātha nam* 'avoid that!' Sn 281 (from the root *varj*, *varjayati*). Of the three examples given by E. Müller,⁴ *dahāsi* and *dahāti* Sn 841, 888 are certainly not subj.: they are simply the representatives of Skt *dudhāsi* and *dadhāti* (§37). Also *saddahāsi* Ja I 426.8* is reproduced in the cty simply as *saddahasi*. But even the third *ko tam paṭibhanāti me* 'who can give me answer to that?' Ja III 404.4* is very doubtful on account of *paṭibhanāmi* and *-bhānāsi* in the parallel verses 404.10*,20* and 404.13*, 405.8*, where the latter certainly has no subj. meaning. It is wanting also in *āvahāti* Th 303 (cf. Sn 181) for which there occurs *rakkhati* in the parallel passages, and it cannot be traced either in *hanāsi* Ja III 199.2* (cty: *paharasi*) and *hanāti* Ja V 461.28*.⁵

¹Even in prose, however, the possibility of rhythmical lengthening of the vowel (see §33, f.n. 5) cannot be discounted. See Caillat, 1970, pp. 26–27.

²Pischel, KZ, 23, p. 424.

³Note that in this passage the impv. *sunātha* 'hear!' occurs immediately before

⁴E. Müller, PGr., p. 180. Also the 1. pl. mid. of the impv. is of subj. origin. See § 125.2

⁵For Geiger's suggestion that *pajahāsi* S I 197.15* and *bhavāsi* S I 197.16* (cty. *pajaha*, *bhava*) are subj., see Norman, 1998, p. 101.

C. Imperative

§ 124. The paradigm is:

		Singular	Plural
act.	1.	<i>labhami</i>	<i>labhama</i>
	2.	<i>labha</i> , <i>labhāhi</i>	<i>labhatha</i>
	3.	<i>labhatu</i>	<i>labhantu</i>
mid.	1.	<i>labhe</i>	<i>labhāmase</i>
	2.	<i>labhassu</i>	<i>labhavho</i>
	3.	<i>labhatam</i>	<i>labhantam</i>

§ 125. Active: The 1 sg. and pl. are simply transfers from the ind.: *vandāma* 'let us praise!' D III 197.24*; *dhunāma* 'let us destroy!' Th 1147. Hence it is also said *kassa nam dema* 'to whom should we give it?' Ja II 196.24, *handa karomi* M III 179.27, *handa karoma* Vin II 295.5. Similarly we have in Th 1146 *dālemu* 'let us smash!' (with the ending -mu, cf. § 128) = Skt *dālayāma* parallel to *dhunāma*.

2 sg.. the type *labha* corresponds to the Skt form of the thematic conjugation. Thus *piva* 'drink!' Ja III 110.22 = *piba*; *siñca* 'pour out!' Dhp 369 = *siñca*; *nipajja* 'seat yourself!' Ja II 223.2 from *nipadyate*. Also *kara* 'do!' Ja IV 1.14 may be regarded as an historical form = Ved. *kára*. Verbs which were not originally thematic gradually began to form their impv. forms after the type *labha*. Thus *ganha* 'seize!' Ja II 159.5 from *ganhāti* = *grhnāti*, even *paṭiggaha* 'accept!' Ja I 233.10*; *saddaha* 'believe!' Ja IV 52.18 from *saddhati* = *śraddadhāti*, etc. The second form *labhāhi* has derived its -hi from the forms of the athematic conjugation. Historical are forms like *akkahi* 'describe!' Ja III 279.7* = *ākhyāhi*; *brūhi* 'speak!' Sn 76 = *brūhi*; *dehi* 'give!' Ja I 223.19 = *dehi*. On the analogy of these types were further formed *uggan̄hahi* 'learn!' M III 192.22 from *uggan̄hāti* = *udgr̄hṇāti*; *sāvehi* 'proclaim!' Ja I 344.14; *ānehi* 'bring here!' Ja II 254.19; *vissajjehi* 'give up!' Ja I 223.20; *karohi* 'do!' Ja III 188.18 from long vowel stems. Similarly, also from a-stems: *jivahi* Sn 1029; *sarahi* 'remember!' Mil 79.25 (beside *sara* Th 445); *pakkosāhi* 'call here!' Dhp-a IV 28.4; *tussahi* 'be content!' Ja I 494.26, etc.¹

3 sg. and pl.: -tu² and -ntu are frequent. *passatu* 'he should see' Sn 909; *etu* 'he should go' D I 179.16; *ijjhātu* 'he should succeed' Thī 329

(from Skt *rdhyate*); *hanantu* 'they should kill' Ja IV 42,26*; *vinassantu* 'they should die' Ja IV 2,24.

2 pl.: -*tha*, as also in Pkt,³ is a transfer from the ind., and is thus different from the Skt suffix -*ta*: *āharatha* 'bring here!' Ja I 266,9; *anurakkhatha* 'protect!' Dhp 327; *vijānātha* 'learn to distinguish!' Sn 720; *gaṇhatha* 'take!' Ja III 126,25; *karotha* 'do!' Thī 13; *voropetha* 'rob!' D II 336,4.

¹ Similarly in Māg. *bhaṇāhi*, AMg *harāhi*, *vandāhi*, JMāh. *kadhehi*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 468).

² Forms in -*ātu*, e.g. *āvasātu* Ja IV 309,12*, are probably metri causa. See Caillat, 1970, pp. 26–27.

³ The suffix in Pkt is -*ha*. Cf. Māh. *ṇamaha*, AMg *hanaha*, *dahaha*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 471).

§ 126. Middle : The 1 sg. is a transfer from the ind.

2 sg.: -*ssu*¹ = Skt -*sva* is very common. Thus in the Gāthā language: *labhassu* Thī 432 = *labhasva*; *pucchassu*² 'ask!' Sn 189; *jahassu* 'give up!' (from *jahāti*) Sn 1121. In *bhikkhasu* 'beg!' Thī 1118 ss has been simplified metri causa. In canonical prose: *naccassu* 'dance!' Vin II 12,27; *bhāsassu* 'speak!' M II 199,8 = *bhāśasva*; *sikkhassu* 'learn!' A V 79,20; *payirupāsassu* 'worship!' M II 196,25; *nivattassu* 'return!' Vin II 182,33; *pātu-bhavassu* 'appear!' Vin II 185,12. In post-canonical prose: *bhāsassu* Mil 27,25; *tikicchassu* 'cure!' Ja II 213,23. The mid. meaning of the suffix does not seem to have been felt any more, for it is taken also by those roots which were never mid., e.g. *nart*.

3 sg.: the suffix -*tām* = -*tām*; *labhatam* D II 150,13. In sandhi: *vaddhatām eva* 'he should indeed grow' Ja III 209,9*.

1 pl.: a true subj. form is to be found in -*mase*, -*mhase*. The suffix is probably derived from -*masai*, which is related to the suffix -*mase* discussed in § 122 (at the end) as Skt -*mahai* is to -*mahe*. The two suffix forms necessarily coincided with each other in Pali. Forms with subj. (impv. or fut.) meaning are not rare in the Gāthā language: *labhāmase* 'we should attain' Ja III 26,19*; *ramāmase* 'we would enjoy' Thī 370; *bhanāmase* 'we wish to speak' S I 209,28* (parallel to it are to be found there the opt. forms *sikkhema*, *muccema*); *carāmase* 'we wish to do (carry out)' and *bhavāmase* 'we wish to be' Sn 32. Similarly *karomase* D II 288,1*. On *vademase*, *mahemase* Pv 3.2.24,29 (governed by *yathā*, and explained as *labheyyāma* in Pv-a 185,1); *mā pamadamhase* 'we do

not wish to neglect' Ja III 131,16*; *dadamhase* Ja III 47,3*.

2 pl.: the suffix -*who* in contrast to Skt -*dhyam* is difficult to explain. Examples are: *passavho* 'look up!' Sn 998; *bhajavho* 'seek out!' Ja I 472,16* (cty: *bhajatha*, *gacchatha*); *pucchavho* 'ask!' Sn 1030; *kappayavho* 'carry out!' Sn 283. Also in canonical prose: *mantavho* 'take counsel!' D I 122,14, instead of *mantayavho* (as in Ja II 107,18* beside *mantavho* 107,19*). If the reading is correct, a remarkable double ending is to be found in *pamadothavho*³ 'rejoice!' Ja IV 162,22*,26* in which both the act. and the mid. endings have been combined.

3 pl.: an interesting form is presented by *visiyarum* 'they should dissolve' Thī 312, from Skt *syā*, *siyate* (cty: *visiyantu ito c' ito viddhamṣantu*). The suffix -*rum* is probably the descendant of Ved. -*rām*.⁴

¹ In Pkt the corresponding suffix is -*su*, which Pischel (§ 467) however would separate from Skt -*sva* and connect with -*si*.

² In the parallel passage S I 215,6 there is *pucchassa* in the text.

³ R O. Franke, BB, 22, p. 215

⁴ Macdonell, Vedic Grammar § 412a, with f.n. 16.

D. Optative (Potential)

§ 127. Paradigm:

		Singular	Plural
act.	1.	<i>labheyyam</i> , <i>labhe</i> ,	<i>labhema</i> , <i>labhemu</i> ,
		<i>labheyyāmi</i>	<i>labheyyāma</i>
act.	2.	<i>labhe</i> , <i>labheyya</i> ,	<i>labhetha</i> ,
		<i>labheyyāsi</i>	<i>labheyyātha</i>
act.	3.	<i>labhe</i> , <i>labheyya</i> ,	<i>labheyyum</i> , - <i>yyu</i>
		<i>labheyyāti</i>	
mid.	1.	(<i>labheyyam</i>)	(<i>labheyyamhe</i>) <i>labhemase</i>
mid.	2.	<i>labhetho</i>	(<i>labheyyavho</i>)
mid.	3.	<i>labhetha</i>	(<i>labheram</i>)

§ 128. Active: There are traces of various types of opt.,¹ but two types of forms are more common, and are in vogue side by side. The forms given first: *labheyyam*, *labhe*, *labhe*; *labhema*, *labhetha*, *labheyyum* are direct continuations of the Skt inflection. In the 2 pl. the ending -*tha*

(against Skt *-ta*) is taken from the indic. On the analogy of the impf., a 1 sg. * *labhem* (= Pāli *labhe*) was formed to match *labhes*, *labhet*. The forms given second: 2 sg. *labheyya*, etc., have been formed on the analogy of 1 sg. *labheyyam*, 3 pl. *labheyyum*.² On the analogy of the relation between *labhāmi* and *labhāma* of the ind., primary endings were introduced into the sg. of the opt., at first into the 1 sg. *labheyyami*, and then also into the 2 and 3 sg., the long *a* of the 1 sg. being extended also to the latter.³ Considered historically, the forms should be grouped according to types in the following way: The older type is predominant in the Gāthā language:

1 sg. *nisumbheyyam* 'I would strike down' Thī 302; but *kareyyāmi* 'I would do' Ja V 308,18*. The new formations in *e* are also found in the Gāthā language: *passe* 'I would see', *suṇe* 'I would hear' (cty: *suṇeyyam*), *sāmvase* 'I would live together (with)' Ja IV 240,29* (cf. 240,30*); *ānaye* 'I could have brought' (cty: *āneyyam*) Ja I 308,6*; *jīve* '(if) I live' Sn 440.

2 sg. *yājeyya* '(if) you offer sacrifice' Ja III 515,24*. There are also forms in *-esi* as in BHS,⁴ which probably represent the addition of the primary ending to *-e*; *pariharesi* Ja IV 210,22*; *bujhesi* Ja V 159,29* (cty: *jāneyyāsi*); *pucchesi* Ja V 201,3* (cty: *puccheyyāsi*); *taresi* Sn 1064 (cty: *tareyyāsi*); *āharesi* Ja VI 267,23* (cf. *āhareyya* 267,13*).⁵

3 sg. *icche* 'he should wish for' Th 228, *hane* 'he should kill' Sn 394, *vaje* 'he should go' and *pamuñceyya* 'he should free himself' Ja II 247,10*; *iccheyya* Sn 148, *rakkheyya* 'he should protect' Sn 702.

1 pl. *sikkhema* 'we would learn' Sn 898, and with the ending *-mu*: *vasemu* 'we would stay' (cty: *vaseyyāma*), *jānemu* 'we would know' Ja III 259,13*,14*, *viharemu*⁶ 'we would stay' Ja II 33,25*.

2 pl. *bhūñjetha* 'you should enjoy' Mhv 25,113.

3 pl. *saheyyum* 'they should withstand' Sn 20; *pajaheyyu* 'they should give up' Sn 1058. In the canonical and non-canonical prose on the other hand the older type of inflection (*labhe*, etc.) has been given up. Apart from isolated forms of the athematic inflection which have been retained in the language (see below), the regular endings are now:

Singular

1. -eyyam and -eyyāmi
2. -eyyāsi
3. -eyya and -eyyāti

Plural

- eyyāma
- eyyātha
- eyyum

This is apparent also from the fact that, in the cty explanations, these forms are substituted for the older ones. Thus in Ja II 205,18' *bhajeyya* is given as the explanation of *bhaje* and in 223,19' *udabbaheyya* is given as the explanation of *udabbahe*. See also above.

Examples are:

- 1 sg. *pabbajeyyam* Vin II 180,15, *puccheyyami* D I 51,3;
- 2 sg. *kareyyasi* Vin II 190,19, *agaccheyyasi* Ja II 212,26;
- 3 sg. *bhaseyya* Vin II 189,19, *dadeyya* Ja II 241,25, *jāneyyati* Vin II 190,22;
- 1 pl. *āroceyyāma* Vin II 186,28, *vādeyyama* Ja II 254,25;
- 2 pl. *āneyyātha* 'may you bring' S I 221,7, *gaccheyyatha* Ja II 249,20;
- 3 pl. *khādeyyum* Vin II 197,11, *vissajjeyyum* Ja II 241,24.

¹See CPD, Epilogomena to Vol. I, p. 28*, s.v. opt.

²The corresponding forms in Pkt are evidently those of the opt. in *-ejjād*, *-ejjānu* (Paiś. -eyya), etc. Differing from Jacobi, KZ, 36, p. 577, Pischel (§459) is inclined to derive them from the opt.s of the athematic conjugation (Skt *duhyām*), on which hypothesis, indeed, the *-ā* of the Pkt forms, as well as of Pāli -eyyāsi, would be at once explained.

³The length of the vowel *a* was then transferred also to the 2 pl

⁴See BHSG § 29.20.

⁵See von Hinüber, 1977, p. 5; Caillat, 1970, p. 25; Alsdorf, 1971, p. 31, f.n. 24.

⁶This is described as a blend of opt. and impv. in CPD I, Epilog. p. 29*.

§ 129. Middle: A form of the 2 sg. occurs in *labhetho* Sn 833. The suffix corresponds to Skt *-thās*.

3 sg.: not infrequently the suffix is *-etha*. This is taken also by those verbs which are otherwise inflected in the act. Examples of this *-etha* are: *rakkhetha* Dhp 36; *labhetha* Sn 45; *sevetha* Sn 72; *jayetha* Dhp 58; *nametha* Sn 806; *sāṅketha* Ja II 53,22*; *atimāññetha* Sn 148; *saddahetha* Ja III 192,26*; *jhāyetha* Sn 709; *kubbetha*¹ Sn 702; *āsetha* in *sukham manussā āsetha* 'men should live happily' Ja V 222,16* (cty: *aseyyum*) has been used in the pl. sense. Also in post-canonical prose: *jahetha* 'he should forsake' Ja II 206,20. The aspirate in the ending as against Skt *-ta* is remarkable. It is found also in the 2 sg. cond. and aor.; see §§ 157, 159.II.

1 pl.: a form *-emase* is found in *sādhayemase* 'we would accomplish' Ja II 236,19* (cty: *sādheyyama*). There are other forms in *-emase*: *vademase* 'we would speak' D III 197,22; *mahemase* 'we would

worship' (cty: *mahāmase*) Vv 47.11; *samācaremase* 'we would wander' (cty: *paṭipajjāmase*) Vv 63.7; also *viharemasi* '(if) we stay' (cty: *vasāma*) Thī 375. It is, however, not always possible to decide whether the forms in question are those of the 1 pl. impv. (§ 126) of the *e*-inflection or simple opt. forms. Cf. also *saremhase* in § 122.

¹ Also in S I 17.3* = Ja II 112.21* we have to take *kubbetha* (against Andersen, PGI, s.v. *karoti*, who considers it to be a 2 pl.) as 3 sg. mid. in the sense 'one should do', as also *samasetha* 'one should be with' in the same verse.

§ 129A. There are other ways of forming the optative:

(1) By adding *-yā* = Skt *-yat* (with *y* assimilated to the final consonant of the stem of athematic verbs), as in Pkt¹: *jaññā* Vin I 135.18, *assa* (§ 141.1), *dajā* (§ 143.d), *vajā* Sn 971 or, with a svarabhakti vowel, *-iyā*: *jāniyāma* Sn 873, *siyā* (§ 141.1), *kuriyā* Ja VI 206.12* <*kuryāt*; *kayirā* Sn 728 <**karyāt* (with metathesis).

(2) By adding a blend of *-yā* and *-e* (with *y* assimilated to the final consonant of the stem): *haññe*² A IV 254.17*, and with the addition of primary endings: *vajesi* Pv II 11.6 (cty: *vadeyyāsi*), *dajemu* Ja VI 245.23*; or, with a svarabhakti vowel: *asmiye* Ja V 397.29* (cty: *paribhuñjissāmi*), *maddiye* Cp III 3.8 (cty: *otthareyya*, *abhibhaveyya*), *pakampiye* Ja VI 295.9* (v.l. for *pakampaye*).

(3) By making an analytic form: *vareyyāhe* D II 267.11*, as though mid. to *vareyyāham* (= *vareyyam aham*).³

¹ See Pischel (§ 464).

² This could also be explained as the addition of the *-e* ending to the stem *haññ-*, i.e. transference to Cl. IV (§ 136.2).

³ See CPD I, s.v. *aham*.

E. The Verbal Classes of Sanskrit in Pāli

1. Thematic Conjugation

§ 130. Examples of pres. stems of Cl. I are:

1. from roots with medial *a*: *patati* 'falls, flies' *pacati* 'cooks', *vasati* 'stays', *vadati* 'speaks' (all as in Skt), *vajati* 'goes' = *vrajati*, *kamati* 'strides' = *krāmati*, but with the short vowel of *kramate*,¹

bhamati 'roams about' = *bhramati*; *khamati* 'forgives' = *kṣamate*.

2. From roots with a long or nasalised vowel: *khādati* 'eats', *jīvati* 'lives', *nindati* 'slanders' (all as in Skt), *vandati* 'worships' = *vandate*, *sandati* 'flows' = *syandate*; *dhovati* 'washes' (cf. § 34) Vin I 28.27 = AMg *dhovaī*, as against Skt *dhāvati*.

3. From roots with final *u* (for roots in *ī* see § 131): *savati* 'flows' = *savatī*.

4. From roots with final *r*: *sarati* 'goes', *carati* 'goes, does, etc.' (both as in Skt), *sarati* 'remembers' (*sumarati* Dhp 324, with preverb *anussarati* D I 13.15) = *smarati*.

5. From roots with medial *i*, *u* or *r*: *lehati* 'licks' Ja II 44.21 as against Skt *leḍhi* (Cl. II), *jotati* 'lightens' Ja I 53.4 = *dyotate*, *vassati* 'rains' = *varṣati*; *vattati* 'becomes, originates' = *vartate*; *ghamsati* 'rubs' (cf. § 6.3) = *gharṣati*; *hamsati* 'stands on end (as hair of the body)' Vin III 8.33 = *harṣati*; *kaddhati* 'draws' = **kardhati*, side form of *karsati*, etc.²

6. The secondary verbal stems too follow the paradigm of *labhati* in the pres. inflection. On pass., caus., and denom. verbs in *ya*, *aya* see particularly §§ 136.4, 138, 139. For desid. (§ 184), intens. (§ 185) and denom. verbs in *a* (§ 188.1), cf. pres. 1 sg. *jugucchāmi* Vin III 3.4; 3 sg. *dandhati* Ja III 141.2*; 3 pl. *sussūsanti* A IV 393.13, mid. *dicchare* S I 18.27, *simsare* Vv 64.7, impv. 2 sg. *tikiccha* S I 238.34 and *tikicchahi* Vin I 71.36, mid. *sikkhassu* Thī 4; 2 pl. *vimamsatha* Ja VI 367.20, opt. 1 sg. *vimamseyyam* M I 125.16; 3 sg. *jiguccheyya* Thī 471.

¹ In Pkt too there is no lengthening of the radical vowel; see Pischel (§ 481).

² For other explanations of *kaddhati*, see Norman, 1993, pp. 149–54.

§ 131. The following details should be noted regarding Cl. I:

1. Roots in *i* and *ī* show contracted forms¹ beside those corresponding to Skt forms. Such contracted forms are: *jemi* 'I conquer', *nemi* 'I lead', *jesi*, *nesi*, etc. In the oldest period of the language both types are found side by side. Cf. *ānenti* Ja VI 507.4*,

vinayanti Th 3. The contracted forms get the upper hand later: *ānemi* Ja VI 334.10, *anema* Ja VI 334.12. The impv. 2 sg. is *nehi* Ja II 160.2, beside *vinaya* Sn 1025, *vinayassu* Sn 559; 2 pl. *ānetha* Mhv 5.253. In the opt. we have *jeyyam* and *neyyam* (instead of *jayeyyam*, *nayeyyam*), etc. Cf. 1 sg. *apaneyyam* Ja III 26.6; 2 sg. *vijeyya* Sn 1002, *vineyya* M I 56.5, beside the older form *naye* Dhp 256 = *nayet* and *nissayeyya* Sn 798 from the root *śri* with *ni*. Like *jeti* is also *deti* 'flies' = *dayati* D I 71.7. The root *ci* 'to collect' may take this contracted form although it otherwise belongs to Cl. IX: opt. 1 sg. *abhisumceyyam* 'I would heap up' (cty: -*cineyyam*) Vv 47.6; 3 sg. *niccheyya* (*ci* with *nis*) Sn 785. In Dhp-a III 381.14 the reading should probably be *viniccheyya*. From the root *hi* 'to send' there is the pres. *pāheti* (§ 33, f.n. 3) beside *pāhinati* (§ 147.2). On the other hand the root *ji* (corresponding to Ved. *jināti*) may also form the pres. stem according to Cl. IX²: ind. 2 sg. *jināsi* D II 348.23; 3 sg. *jināti* Sn 439; impv. 2 sg. *jināhi* Th 415, *abhivijina* M II 71.32; opt. 3 sg. *jine* Dhp 103; pl. 3 *jineyyum* S I 221.5.

2. Similarly there is found an uncontracted and also a contracted form of the root *bhū* 'to be' in the ind. pres. and in the impv.³ The contracted forms are (cf. § 37):

	Singular	Plural
ind.	1. <i>homī</i>	<i>homa</i>
	2. <i>hosī</i> Vv 84.20	<i>hatha</i> Ja I 307.2'
	3. <i>hoti</i> , passim	<i>honti</i> , passim
impv.	2. <i>hoī</i> Sn 31	<i>hatha</i> Dhp 243
	hehi Bv 2.10	
	3. <i>hotu</i> Sn 224	<i>hontu</i> Sn 145

Beside these there are the archaic forms *bhavāmi*, etc., impv. 2 sg. *bhava* Th 8, and *bhavāhi* Sn 510; 1 pl. mid. *bhavāmase* Th 1128; 2 pl. *bhavatha* Ja II 218.6 and *bhavatha* Sn 692 (cf. § 123); 3 pl. *bhavantu* Sn 145; opt. 1 sg. *bhaveyyam* Ja VI 364.16; 2 sg. *bhaveyyasi* Ud 91.33; 3 sg. *bhave* Sn 716 and *bhaveyya* Ja II 159.22; 2 pl. *bhavetha* Sn 1073; 3 pl. *bhaveyyum* Sn 906. A dialectal side form is to be found in 3 sg. *hupeyya* (§ 39.6) which is clearly = *huveyya*.⁴ As for compound verbs there occur ind. 1 sg. *anubhomi* Vv 15.10; 2 sg. *anubhosī* Vv 40.3; 3 sg. *vibhoti* Sn 873, *sambhoti* Sn 743 (cf. D II 232.19), *anubhoti* Ja II

202.11 and *sambhavati* Mūl 210.4, *anubhavati* Ja II 202.14; 1 pl. *abhisambhōma* 'we attain' Ja III 140.24*; 3 pl. *anubhonti* Thī 217. Sometimes certain compounds of *bhū* form the pres. stem after Cl. IX⁵: *sambhunāti* 'attains' Vin I 256.8, *abhisambhunati* Sp 1.9. Cf. also §§ 190, 191.

¹In Pkt the form *jedu* = Pāli *jetu* as against *jaadu* = Pāli *jayatu* is not well attested; see Pischel (§ 473). With roots in *i* on the other hand, contraction is the usual rule (Mah. *nei* = Pāli *neti*); see Pischel (§ 474).

²Similarly AMg *jināmi*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 473).

³For Pkt see Pischel (§ 475).

⁴The form *huveyya* presupposes a pres. *huvat* (Māh. *huvanti*). There seems to be no attestation for Pāli *heyya* (Minayeff, PGr., p. 77). The corresponding form in Pkt would be *hojjā*.

⁵Kern, Revue Celtique, 22, pp. 337 foll. and Festschrift Thomsen, pp. 70 toll.

§ 132. Of reduplicating roots of Cl. I, *pivati* 'drinks' (cf. *pivāmi* M I 77.37, *pivasi* Ja II 417.7; *piva* Ja III 110.22, *pivatha* Ja II 128.4; *piveyya* D I 123.23) and *pipati* (in gen.dat. pl. part. pres. *pipatam* Sn 398) correspond to Skt *pibati* (root *pā*); *sīdati* (cf. *nisīda* 'sit down!' Th 411, *nisīdatha* Thī 13) is = *sīdati* (root *sad*). The root *ghrā* 'to smell' assumes in Pāli the form *ghāyati* D II 338.20 as against Skt *jighrati*. The pres. stems of *sthā* 'to stand' are numerous. There occur:

1. The stem *tīṭha-*¹ = Skt *tīṣṭha-*. Thus ind. 1 sg. *tīṭhāmi*, 2 sg. *tīṭhasi*, 3 sg. *tīṭhati*; 1 pl. *tīṭhāma*, 2 pl. *tīṭhatha*, 3 pl. *tīṭhanti*; impv. 2 sg. *tīṭha* Mhv 7.13, and *tīṭhahi* Th 461; 3 sg. *tīṭhatu* D I 94.4, opt. 2 sg. *tīṭheyyāsi* M III 129.7; 3 sg. *tīṭhe* Sn 918 and *tīṭheyya* Sn 929. Also in compounds, as ind. 1 sg. *samtiṭhāmi* A IV 302.17; opt. 3 sg. *uttiṭthe* Dhp 168.

2. The stem *thā-* (according to Cl. II) formed by analogy with roots like *yā* (Pāli *yāti*): ind. 3 sg. *utṭhati* Dīp 1.53, *samṭhāti* Pp 31.24, *adhiṭṭhati* A II 45.10; impv. 2 sg. *utṭhahi* Th 411; 3 sg. *utṭhātu* Ja III 297.15*.

3. The stem *ṭhāya-* (Cl. IV.) formed after roots like *dhyā* (Pāli *jhāyati*): ind. 1 sg. *ṭhayami* Th 888.

4. The stem *ṭhaha-* formed by analogy with the stem *daha* of the

root *dhā*: ind. 1 pl. *upatthahāma* Ja III 120,26; 3 pl. *vutthahanti* Mhv 5.124, impv. 2 sg. *adhitthaha* Vin I 183,2, *vutthatha* Sn 331; opt. 3 sg. *samuṭṭhahe* Ja III 156,12* and *samṭhaheyya* S V 329,9, *adhitthahaheyya* Vin I 125,21; 2 pl. *utṭhaheyyātha* S I 217,18.

5. The stem *the-* in ind. (and impv.) 1 pl. *adhitthema* Vin IV 23,24; impv. 2 sg. *utṭhehi*, (by analogy with *dehi* forms from *dā*) S I 198,7*; 2 pl. *utṭhetha* Ja VI 44,1*.

¹In Pkt the corresponding stem is *citttha-* in Māh., AMg, JMāh. There are also the stems *thā-*, *thāya-* and *she-*; see Pischel (§483).

§ 133. 1. The form corresponding to Skt pres. *gacchati* from the root *gam* is also *gacchati* in Pāli. Cf. ind. 1 sg. *gacchāmi* Mil 26,32; 2 sg. *gacchasi*, etc.; impv. 2 sg. *gaccha* Ja II 160,12*, *gacchāhi* S I 217,4* and *gacchassu* Th 82; 2 pl. *gacchatha* Vin II 191,35; opt. 1 sg. -*gaccheyyam* D II 340,3; 3 sg. -*gacche* Th 11 and *gaccheyya* Sn p. 15,5; 3 pl. *gaccheyyam* Mil 47,24. On the other hand, however, the pres. stem of *yam* 'to restrain' is *yama-* (ind. 1 pl. mid. *samyamāmase* S I 209,27), not *yaccha-* as in Skt.

2. To Skt *daśati* (from the root *daś-*) corresponds *dasati* (§42.3) in Pāli.

3. Of the roots with medial *u*, *ruh* 'to mount' in compounds may both retain it unchanged¹ or lengthen it. Thus *ārūhati* 'climbs up' beside *ārohati*, *virūhati* 'sprouts, grows' Ja III 12,21; *orūhati* 'climbs down' beside *orohati*. It thus takes after Cl. VI, or is treated like the root *guh*, *gūhati*, 'to conceal': *nigūhati* Ja I 286,25; impv. 2 sg. mid. *upagūhassu* Ja III 437,28.

¹Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§482).

§ 134. Present stems after Cl. VI are: *kasati* 'ploughs' = *kṛṣati* (beside *kassati* after Cl. I = *karṣati*; cf. impv. 2 pl. *apakassatha* Sn 281); *khipati* 'hurls' = *kṣipati*; *tudati* 'goads' Ja I 500,18* = *tudati*; *disati* 'directs' = *diśati*; *nudati* 'presses' Sn 480 = *nudati*; *pucchati* 'asks' = *prcchati*; *phusati* 'touches' = *spṛṣati* (ind. 1 sg. *phusami* Dhp 272; impv. 2 sg. *phusāhi* Th 212; opt. 3 pl. *phuseyya* Dhp 133. On the other hand opt. 3 sg. *phasse¹* Sn 967 after Cl. I, and impv. 2 sg. *phusehi* Th 6

according to *e*-inflection); *rudati* 'laments' = Ved. *rudati*; *vidati* 'knows' = *vidati*; -*visati* 'goes' = *viśati*, etc. Also the verbs *kirati* 'scatters' (ind. 3 sg. mid. *ākirate* Dhp 313; 2 sg. *akirasi* Sn 665; opt. 3 pl. *parikireyyum* Th 1210) = Skt *kirati* (root *kṛ* according to Indian grammarians) and *girati* (Ja I 150,10), *gilati* 'devours' (impv. 2 sg. *gila* Ja I 380,10* and *gilāhi* Ja I 380,14; opt. 3 sg. *gileyya* Ja I 508,17) = *girati* (root *gṛ* according to Indian grammarians). — Also from the root *svap* 'to sleep' (Skt *svapiti*) the pres. stem *supati*² is formed similarly after Cl. VI: ind. 3 sg. *supati* Sn 110; impv. 2 sg. *supa* Vin III 110,15 and *supāhi* Thī 1. Cf. § 136.2 below.

¹Like Pkt *sanphāsai* in Hem. 4.182. See Pischel (§486).

²In agreement with Pkt; see Pischel (§497).

§ 135. 1. Corresponding to Skt *icchatī* from the root *is* 'to wish', there is *icchati* in Pāli also: ind. 1 sg. *icchāmi* Th 186, mid. *icche* Thī 332, opt. 1 sg. *iccheyyāmi* Ud 17,33; 2 sg. *iccheyyāsi* Ud 17,32; 2 pl. *iccheyyātha* M II 79,8.

2. Pāli *acchau* 'sits, remains' is perhaps an old inchoative formation related to the root *ās* in the same way as *icchati* is to *is*.¹ Forms: ind. 2 sg. *acchasi* Vv 11,2; 3 sg. *acchati* D I 101,23; 3 pl. *acchanti* Vin III 195,8 and mid. *acchare* Thī 54, *samacchare* Ja II 67,19*; impv. 2 sg. *acchassu* Ja VI 516,16*; 3 sg. *acchatu* Ja VI 506,13* and mid. *acchataṃ* Ja VI 506,8*.

3. Roots which show nasal stems in the pres. in Skt² do the same also in Pāli. Thus *muñcati* 'liberates', *lumpati* 'besmears', *lumpati* 'robs', *vindati* 'finds' (*nibbindati* 'feels disgust'), *siñcati* 'pours out' (the same forms also in Skt), *kantati* 'cuts' = *kṛṇtati*. Cf. *sumbhati*, *sunhati* 'strikes' (§60); opt. 1 sg. *nisumbheyam* Thī 302.

¹Pischel (§480) derives the verb and the forms corresponding to it in Pkt from *acchati*. This is, however, impossible on account of the meaning. See, *ibid.*, the various attempts to explain the forms by Ascoli, Chuders, E. Müller, Trenckner, Torp, E. Kuhn, Johansson. Cf. also Johansson, IF, 3, pp. 205–12. For the suggestion that *acchati* is to be derived < Skt *ākṣeti*, see Turner, CP, pp. 340–56.

²Unnasalised forms, which are normal in Māh., JMāh., AMg (Pischel

[§485]), are rare in Pāli, but note *pisiyati* Vv-a 335.21 pass. of *pisati* < *pims* and *vihesati* (§ 10, f.n. 5) Ud 44.30 < *hims*.

§ 136. Present stems after Cl. IV:

1. Examples of a root ending in a vowel: *alliyati* 'attaches' Ja I 433.4 (*o-liyati* It 43.14, *ni-liyati* Ja I 292.18) = *ā-liyate*, the root *li*. In the case of roots ending in a consonant the *y* is assimilated to the preceding consonant. Thus *ijjhati* 'flourishes' = *rdhyati*; *kujhati* 'is angry' = *krudhyati*; *kuppati* 'is angry' = *kupyati*; *gijjhati* 'is eager' = *grdhyati*; *naccati* 'dances' = *nryati*; *nassati* 'is destroyed' = *naśyati*; *samnayhati* 'girds up, prepares' = *samnayati*; *āpajjati* 'gets involved in something' and many other cpds of the root *pad* = *āpadyate*; *bujhati* 'wakes up, perceives' = *budhyate*; *maññati* 'thinks' = *manyate*; *yujhati* 'fights' = *yudhyate*; *sussati* 'dries up' = *śuṣyati*. Also *siniyhati* (§ 49.1) As 192.31 = *sniyati*. There are found, moreover, in agreement with Skt: *majjati* 'rejoices' Ja II 97.15* (opt. 3 sg. *majjeyya* Ja III 87.25*) = *mādyati* (root *mad*); *sammati* 'rests' = *śāmyati* (root *śam*). Also *bhassati* 'falls down' Ja VI 530.11* = *bhraśyati* (root *bhrāmś*); *rajjati* 'takes delights in something' S IV 74.21* = *rajyati* (root *rañj*); *vijjhati* 'bores through' = *vidhyati* (root *vyadh*). To the Skt pres. stem *krāmya-* from the root *kram* (not attested) corresponds *kamma-* in impv. 2 sg. *paṭikamma* 'go back!' S I 226.28*, and to Skt *medya-* from the root *mid* 'to feel oneself drawn towards something' corresponds the stem *mejja-* As 192.31 (v.l. *mijja-*).

2. Though not in Skt,¹ a pres. stem *lagga-* after Cl. IV is derived in Pāli from the root *lag* 'to hang' (impv. 3 sg. *laggatu* Dhp-a I 131.12). Similarly from the root *ruc* 'to be liked' *ruccati*² Vv 63.8 against *rocate*. In the same way Pāli has beside *supati* (§ 134) from the root *svap* 'to sleep' also *supati*, *soppati* (§ 10) S I 107.19*.³

3. To the Skt pres. *paśyate* from the root *dars* corresponds Pāli *passati*. Cf. ind. 1 sg. *passāmi* Sn 776; 2 sg. *passasi*, etc.; impv. 2 sg. *passa* Sn 435, mid. *passavho* Sn 998; opt. 1 sg. *passe* Ja IV 240.29* and *passeyyām* Ja I 356.29; 2 sg. *passeyyāsi* M III 131.1; 3 sg. *passe* Dhp 76 and *passeyya* Ja III 55.22. Beside it a new pres. stem *dakkha-* has arisen in the language. It is extracted from the fut. stem (*drakṣyati*, § 152). Cf. opt. 1 pl. *dakkhema* or -*mu* Dhp-a III 217.19.

4. The passives (§§ 175 foll.) and the *ya-* denominatives (§ 188.2.3) have formally coincided with the pres.s of Cl. IV. Cf. ind. 1 sg. *ñāyami* 'I am mentioned' Mil 25.8, *vediyāmi* 'I feel' Vin III 37.25, *namassāmi* 'I

worship' Sn 1058, *attiyami* 'I suffer' D I 213.22; 2 sg. *vediyasi* M II 70.14; 3 sg. *suyati* Ja I 72.1, and *suyyati* 'is heard' Ja IV 141.20*, *khiyati* 'weakens' Th 145; 1 pl. *jiyyama* 'we lose' Ja II 75.22*, *posiyāmase* 'we are nourished' Ja III 289.7*; 3 pl. *sūyanti* M I 30.19, *sūyare* Ja VI 528.30*, *vuccanti* 'are mentioned' D I 245.16. impv. 2 sg. *samādiya* 'take up!' By II. 118, *samādiyāhi* Thī 249; mid. *samaddiyassu* Vv 83.16, *muccassu* 'be free!' Thī 2; 3 sg. *bhijjatu* 'should be destroyed' Th 312; 2 pl. *namassatha* Mhv 1.69, opt. 1 sg. *vediyeyyām* M II 70.13; 3 sg. *upādiye* 'he should cling' Sn 400, *mucceyya* D I 72.8, *namasseyya* Dhp 392, *hāyetha* 'may decrease' D I 118.3, *nīyetha*, *niyyetha* 'may be guided' Sn 327; pl. 3 *palujjeyyām* 'may they be destroyed' M I 488.29, *hāyeyyām* D I 118.3.

¹ As also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 488).

² As also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 488).

³ It is possible that *laggati* and *supati* are denominatives, from *lagga* = Skt *lagna* and *suppa* = Skt *svapna*, respectively.

§ 137. The root *jar* (jṛ) 'to grow old', Skt *jīryati*, gives in Pāli (beside *jīriyati* M I 188.7 with *svarabhakti*) the forms *jīrati* Ja III 38.8* (ind. 3 pl. *jīranti* Dhp 151; impv. 3 sg. *jīratu* Mhv 22.76) and *jīyati* (ind. 3 pl. *jīyanti* M III 168.9, mid. *jīyare* Ja VI 528.3*; opt. 3 sg. mid. *jīyetha* D II 63.27) and *jīyyati* M III 246.20 (*parijīyati* Th 1215). Cf. § 52.5. From the root *śar* (śṛ) 'to wither', Skt *śīryati*, *śīryate*, there occurs ind. 2 sg. *seyyasi* (instead of **siyyasi*, § 10) Ja I 174.9* (cty: *visiṇṇaphalo hoti*). Similarly from the root *mar* 'to die', Skt *mriyate*, there occurs in Pāli *mīyate* (ind. 3 pl. *mīyanti* Dhp 21; opt. 3 sg. mid. *mīyetha* D II 63.27) and *mīyyati*¹ Sn 804 (ind. 3 pl. mid. *mīyyare* Sn 575, opt. 1 sg. *mīyye* in *mīyyāham* Ja VI 498.20*). There is also *marati* (as in Ved.) in ind. 3 pl. *maranti* Mhv spurious verse after 5.27, opt. 1 sg. *mareyyām* Ja VI 498.30; 2 sg. *mareyyāsi* Ja III 276.22.

¹ AMg *mijjai*, *mijjanti*, might be the corresponding forms in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 477).

§ 138. To Skt *jāyate* from the root *jan* 'to be born' there corresponds in Pāli *jāyati*; to Skt *ā-hvayati* from the root *hvā* 'to call' correspond the Pāli forms *avhayati* and *avheti* (§ 49.1): ind. 1 pl. *avhayāma* D I 244.25; 3 pl. *avhayanti* Ja VI 529.1*; opt. 3 sg. *avheyya* D I 244.16. Various roots in *a* form their pres. stems in the same way as *jāyati*, partly in

agreement with Skt (the roots in *ai* of the Indian grammarians), and partly deviating from it.¹ Thus *vayati* 'blows' beside *vāti*, Skt *vāti* (ind. 3 pl. *vāyanti* Ja VI 530,12*; also *nibbayati* 'is extinguished' Ja I 61,3; opt. 3 sg. *nibbāyeyya* M I 487,23 beside *parinibbanti* Dhp 126, *parinibbatu* D II 105,5). Similarly *yayati* 'goes' beside *yāti*, Skt *yāti* (ind. 3 pl. *yayanti* Vin I 191,18; opt. 3 sg. *yāyeyya* Vin 191,22); *gāyati* 'sings' = *gāyati*; *mlāyati* 'withers' S I 126,2,3 = *mlāyati*; *jhāyati* 'meditates' = *dhyāyati*; *jhāyati* 'burns' (§ 56.2) = *kṣāyati* (*vijjhāyati* 'is extinguished' Vin I 31,29); *nahāyati* 'bathes' = *snāyati* beside *snāti*; *khayati* 'becomes clear' (ind. 3 pl. *pakkhāyanti* D II 99,23 beside *pakkhanti* Th 1034) = *khyāyate*; *tāyati* 'protects' Sv 18,1 (impv. 2 sg. mid. *tayassu* Dhp-a I 218,4* = *trāyate* beside *trāti*; *antaradhāyati* 'disappears' D II 109,19 = *antardhāyate*. In the same way is formed also *bhāyati* 'fears';² ind. 1 sg. *bhāyāmi* Th 21; 2 sg. *bhāyasi* Thī 248; 1 pl. *bhāyāma* Ja II 21,22; 3 pl. *bhāyanti* Dhp 129; impv. 2 pl. *bhāyatha* Ud 51,9; opt. 3 sg. *bhāye* Sn 964 and *bhāyeyya* Mil 208,20; 3 pl. *bhāyeyum* Mil 208,20. *palāyati* 'flees' = *palāyate* is inflected in the same way: impv. 2 sg. *palāyassu* Dhp-a III 334,9; 2 pl. *palāyatha* Mhv 7,66; 3 pl. *palāyantu* Ja II 90,17. Denominatives of the type *cirāyati*, *dhūpāyati* (also *sajjhāyati*) with forms like *gahāyati*, *phusāyati*, *samkasāyati* are to be grouped here as far as the form is concerned. Cf. § 186.

¹On *ghāyati* and *thāyati* see § 132. The deviating forms become predominant in Pkt according to Pischel (§ 487).

²Cf. Māg., Š. *bhāāmi*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 501)

§ 139. The formative element *aya* is contracted into *e* also in the pres. stems of Cl. X.

1. To this group belong verbs like *cinteti* 'thinks' Sn 717 = *cintayati*, *pujeti* 'worships' = *pūjayati*, particularly however denominatives like *katheti* 'relates' = *kathayati*, *ganeti* 'counts' = *gaṇayati*, *pattheti* 'begs' = *prārthayati* and the whole category of causatives. Similarly also *bhemi* 'I fear' S I 111,2* beside *bhayami* and *paleti* 'flees' Dhp 49 beside *palāyati* (see § 26, f.n. 2 and § 138). In the Gāthā language both uncontracted and contracted forms are found side by side. In Sn, for instance, they are almost equal in number if the prose portions are left out of consideration. In canonical prose, however, contraction is already the rule, but nevertheless later there are occasionally found forms like

tappayati Mil 227,9,12, *pihayāmi*, *patthayami* Thī-a 239,30, *mantayatha* Ja II 107,22. The inflection will be clear from the following examples:

Older type:

- ind. 1 sg.: *sāvayāmi* Sn 385; *āmantayami* D II 156,1; mid. *patthaye* Thī 341 (*patthe* Thī 32).
- ind. 2 sg.: *patthayasi* Sn 18; *maggayasi* Thī 384.
- ind. 3 sg.: *patthayati* Sn 114; mid. *kārayate* Ja VI 360,10*.
- ind. 1 pl.: *thayapayāma* D I 120,33, mid. *ujhapayāmase* S I 209,14*.
- ind. 2 pl.: *bhamayatha* Sn 680.
- ind. 3 pl.: *dassayanti* Dhp 83; *vādayanti* Sn 682; *ramayanti* Th 13.
- impv. 2 sg.: *sāvaya* Ja III 437,13*; *nīyādayahi* Thī 323; mid. *parivajj-ayassu* Vv 53,15.
- impv. 2 pl. mid.: *kappayavho* Sn 283.
- impv. 3 pl. *pālayantu* Ja II 34,13*.
- opt. 1 sg.: *papothayeyyam* Ja III 175,22*.
- opt. 3 sg.: *pūjaye* Dhp 106 foll.; *kāraye* Mil 211,9*; *phassaye* Sn 54; *kathayeyya* Sn 930.
- opt. 1 pl.: mid. *sādhayemase* Ja II 236,19*.

Later type:

- ind. 1 sg.: *kathemi* Pv-a 11,12, *vattemi* Sn 554.
- ind. 2 sg.: *kathesi* Ja I 291,29.
- ind. 3 sg.: *katheti* Ja I 292,12; *dasseti* Ja III 82,7; *vaddheti* Sn 275.
- ind. 1 pl.: *pavedema* M II 200,9; *nisāmema* Vin I 103,22.
- ind. 2 pl.: *sobhetha* Dhp-a I 56,11.
- ind. 3 pl.: *gamenti* Sn 390; *paññāpenti* D I 13,7; *pūjenti* D I 91,4; *kathenti* Ja II 133,26.
- impv. 2 sg.: *kārehi* Ja III 394,7*; *kathehi* Ja III 279,22; *palehi* Sn 831.
- impv. 3 sg.: *desetu* M II 297,9; *dhāretu* Sn p. 24,20
- impv. 2 pl.: *bhāvetha* Th 980, *paletha* Vv 84,36.
- impv. 3 pl.: *āgamentu* Sn p. 107,8; *palentu* Ja II 34,25.
- opt. 1 sg.: *manteyyam* Sn p. 107,6.
- opt. 2 sg.: *āroceyyāsti* M II 210,17; *dhareyyasi* Mil 47,25.
- opt. 3 sg.: *jaleyya* M II 203,20; *dasseyya* Mil 47,4.
- opt. 1 pl.: *saṃvejeyyāma* S I 146,35; *sadheyyma* Ja II 236,25.
- opt. 2 pl.: *katheyyātha* Ud 11,18; *pateyyatha* Dhp-a III 201,8.
- opt. 3 pl.: *vāceyyum* D I 97,14; *tāseyyum* Mil 209,6.

2. The *e*-inflection has, however, extended its range on all sides,¹

and verbs which originally did not belong to Cl. X were transferred to it. Thus from the root *vad* 'to speak' there occurs not only *vadati* but also *vadeti* (the causative is *vadeti*) Sn 825; *bhajehi* 'worship!' occurs in Ja III 148,11* for the usual *bhaja*, *bhajahi* (cty: *bhajeyyasi*); to Skt *upahudati* corresponds Pali *uhadeti* 'defiles with dung'; *maññesi* pret. 2 sg. 'you thought' presupposes *maññet* beside *maññati*; *gaheti*,² without any caus. sense (the caus. is *gāheti* Vin II 88,11), is the common side-form of *ganhati* 'seizes'. Instead of the usual *akkhahi* (§ 140.2) there also occurs *akkhehi* in Ja VI 318,20*.

¹ See F. Edgerton, 1954, and von Hinüber, 1977.

² The pres. indic. is not quoted in PED or PTC, but its existence can be deduced from *gahessati*, *gahetvā*, etc.

2. Athematic Conjugation.

§ 140. 1. An isolated form of the athematic inflection after Cl. II is to be found in *hanti*¹ 'strikes' Sn 118, beside thematic *hanati* Ja I 432,13*; 2. pl. *hanatha* Ja I 263,3; opt. 3 sg. *haneyya* Sn 705. Similarly *veti* 'knows' Th 497 = *vetti*. In other cases, however, the thematic inflection has taken the place of the athematic in Pāli; *āsatī* 'sits' (Dhp 61; opt. 1 pl. *-āseyyāma* Ja I 509,1) as against Skt *āste* (Ved. also *āsate*), *ghasati* 'eats', *lehati* 'licks', *rodati* 'cries', *ravati* 'roars', *abhi-tthavati* 'praises' S I 190,6 against *staunti* (but Ved. also *stāvate*).

2. More numerous are the athematic forms of roots in *ā*, which are otherwise transferred to the inflection of Cl. IV. Individual examples have been given in § 138. Cf. ind. 2 sg. *yāsi* 'you go' Ja I 291,15; 3 sg. *yāti* Sn 720; 1 pl. *āyāma* D II 81,14; 3 pl. *āyanti* Thī 337; impv. 2 sg. *yāhi* Mhv 13,15; 2 pl. *yatha* Mhv 14,29 from the root *yā*. Similarly ind. 2 sg. *vāsi* Ja II 11,21; 3 pl. *pavanti* Thī 371 from the root *vā* 'to blow'; ind. 1 sg. *akkhāmi* Sn 172, impv. 2 sg. *akkhāhi* Th 168 from the root *khyā* with prefix *ā-* 'to proclaim'; impv. 2 sg. *sināhi* 'bathe!' M I 39,21*, or *nahāhi* Ja VI 32,10 (beside *nhāya* Vin III 110,15); ind. 3 pl. *abhanti* 'they light up' Vv 6,10, *paṭibhanti* 'they become clear' Ja II 100,19 from the root *bha*.

3. The root *i* 'to go', after generalising the strong stem, has given rise to the forms *emi*, *esi*, *eti*; *ema*, *etha*, *enti*,² both as simplex and also

in numerous compounds. On the basis of such historical forms as *eti* (*sameti*, etc.) the pres. inflection has been completely adapted to that of verbs like *ni*, *ji* (§ 131), or to that of *e* stems (according to § 139) as the case may be. Examples are numerous: ind. 1 sg. *paccehi* D I 186,1; 2 sg. *paccesi* D I 185,33, *pacceti* Dhp 125; 1 pl. *paccema* Mil 313,6; 3 pl. *accenti* Th 231; impv. 2 sg. *ehi* Th 175; 3 sg. *etu* D I 179,16; 2 pl. *etha* D II 98,26, *apetha* Dhp-a III 201,13; opt. 2 sg. *upeyyāsi* Ja IV 241,24*; 3 sg. *pacceyya*³ Nett 93,14, *upeyya* M III 173,33. The analogy of *e*-stems then also gave rise to forms like ind. 3 pl. *accayanti* Th 145; opt. 3 sg. *accayeyya* Sn 781.

4. The inflection of the root *śī* should be judged precisely in this light. Forms such as ind. 2 sg. *sesi* Ja III 34,12*, and 3 sg. *seti* Dhp 79 may be direct continuations of Skt *śeṣe*, *śete*. After them was formed (as *nenti* to *neti*) the 3 pl. *senti* Sn 668 (against Skt *śerate*). And just as there are forms like *nayāmi*, etc., beside *nemi*, *kathayāmi*, etc., beside *kathemi*, so we have also forms like *sayāmi* Th 888, *sayati* Vin I 57,30 (cf. Ved. *śayate*); impv. sg. 2 *saya* Ja III 23,21; opt. 3 sg. *saye* It 120,10*, mid. *sayetha* Th 501.

¹ The form impv. 3 sg. *samāhantu* D II 154,17 is not quite certain. Sv 592,14 reads *-hanatu* in the lemma, as does the quotation at Mil 142,18.

² The 3 pl. is *enti* also in Māh., AMg; see Pischel (§ 493). It is doubtful if *inti* in Jīnālaiṇkāra is correct.

³ Also the opt. 3 sg. of the simplex is *eyya*. Cf. M III 159,26, where the correct division of words is *matam eyya* 'he goes to death, dies'.

§ 141. 1. The pres. inflection of *as* 'to be' is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1 ind.	<i>asmi</i> , <i>amhi</i>	<i>asmā</i> (<i>asmase</i> Sn 595), <i>amhā</i> (<i>amhāse</i> Ja III 309,27*), <i>amhā</i> D I 18,18 (prose)
2 ind.	<i>asi</i>	<i>attha</i>
3 ind.	<i>atthi</i>	<i>santi</i> (<i>sante</i> Sn 868)
3 impv.	<i>atthu</i>	
1 opt.	<i>siyam</i> , <i>assam</i>	<i>assāma</i> M III 250,15
2 opt.	<i>assa</i>	<i>assatha</i> D I 3,5
3 opt.	<i>siyā</i> , <i>assu</i>	<i>siyum</i> , <i>assu</i>

The mid. forms in the ind., occurring only in the Gatha language, are innovations on the analogy of *labhāma*: *labhāmase*, *labhanti*: *labhante*. In the opt. the forms *siyam*, *siyā*, *siyum* correspond to Skt *syām*, *syāt*, *syus*; the form *siyamsu* M II 239.4 in the 3 pl. is remarkable. It is a new formation replacing *siyum*, just as in the aor. there is *addasamsu* beside *addasum*. The forms *assam*, etc., are derived from the strong stem like Greek *ὑπόδισά*. They occur already in the Gāthā language. In post-canonical prose the forms of *atthi* are used mostly in the periphrastic perfect. But they were more and more replaced by forms of *bhavati/hoti*. Quite frequently *atthi* is used, also with a plural subject, as a fossilised form in the indefinite sense of 'there is', e.g. Dhp-a I 41.25.

2. In the pres. form of the root *brū* the stem of the 1 pl. Skt *brūmīas* was generalised.¹ We have 1 sg. *brūmi* Sn 458, *pabrūmi* Sn 870; 2 sg. *brūsi* Sn 457; 3 sg. *brūti* Sn 122, *pabrūti* Sn 131; 3 pl. *pabrūnti* Sn 649; impv. 2 sg. *brūhi* Sn 76, *pabrūhi* Sn 599. Quite remarkable is the impv. 3 sg. *brūmetu* D I 95.19, but the form is not beyond doubt. This verb may be regarded as an archaism when it occurs still in post-canonical prose (e.g. Mil 327.3). That is why *brūmi* is explained as *kathemi* in Pv-a II,12.

¹The form *brūmi* may be found occasionally also in Skt. In Pkt we have AMg ind. 1 pl. *būma*, impv. 2 sg. *buhi*. In AMg the ind. 1 sg. is *bemt*, 3 pl. *benti*; see Pischel (§ 494).

§ 142. Present stems after Cl. III.

1. A stem *jaha-* (beside *jahā-*) has been extracted out of *jahāmi* from the root *hā-* 'to leave', and it is the basis of the forms of the pres.: ind. 3 pl. *jahanti* Dhp 91; impv. 2 sg. *jaha* Th 83 (also *jahi* Th 508) and mid. *jahassu* Sn 1121; 2 pl. *pajahatha* S IV 81.10; opt. 1 sg. *jaheyyam* Ja I 153.1; 2 sg. *pajaheyyāsi* S IV 350.23; 3 sg. mid. *jahetha* (§ 129). The stem *jahā-* in 3 sg. *jahati* Sn 1, *pajahati* Sn 789.

2. The stem *daha-* stands in the same relation to the root *dhā* 'to set' (cf. particularly also *saddahati* 'believes' = *śraddadhāti*). The forms *dahasi*, *dahāti* (§ 123) are older. From the stem *daha-* we have ind. 1 sg. *saṁdahāmi* M I 116.15; 2 sg. *saddahasi* S IV 298.12; 3 sg. *saṁdahati* Mil 40.29; 1 pl. *saddahama* D II 328.1; 2 pl. *saddahatha* Ja I 222.6; 3 pl. *dahanti* Sn 882; impv. 2 sg. *saddaha* Ja IV 52.18, mid.

odahassu Sn 461; 2 pl. *pidahatha* Thūp 76.32; opt. 2 sg. *nidaheyyāsi* Ja VI 494.17; 3 sg. *vidahe* Sn 927 and *padaheyya* M II 174.11, mid. *saddahetha* Ja III 192.26*; 1 pl. *saddaheyyama* Mil 330.2; 3 pl. *saddaheyyum* S II 255.26. The root *dhā*, however, also takes the *e*-inflection, particularly in the Gāthā language¹: ind. 1 sg. *saṁdhemī* Thi 50; 3 pl. *odhenti* Th 1233; impv. 2 sg. *pañidhehi* Thi 197; opt. 3 sg. *saddheyya* Ja II 446.14* (cty: *saddaheyya*).

3. From the root *hu* (*juhoti*) 'to pour into the fire' we have the stem *juha-*²: ind. 1 sg. *juhāmi* Th 343; 3 sg. *juhati* S I 167.21.

4. The pres. stem of the root *gar* (*jāgarti*, *jāgarati*) 'to wake up' is *jāgara-* or (with the elision of *a* according to § 20 and the assimilation of *gr*) *jagga-*. From the first there occurs impv. 2 sg. mid. *jāgarassu* Th 411, as well as the parts. *jāgarant* Dhp 39 and *jagaramāna* Dhp 226. From the second there is ind. 1 sg. *pañijaggāmi* Ja I 438.30; 3 sg. *jagati* A III 156.9; 3 pl. *jagganti* A III 156.7; opt. 3 sg. *pañijaggeyya* Dhp 157.

¹On the basis of the impv. 2 sg. *dhehi*. Similarly in Pkt. See Pischel (§ 500).

²As a v.l. we have *jūhati* Sn p. 79.21, and its part. pres. sg. gen. *jāhuto* Sn 428. *Jūh-* may be derived also from *juvh-* = *juhv-* (Skt 3 pl. *juhvati*).

§ 143. The pres. forms of the root *dā* 'to give' have had a varied development. There are found:

(a) the stems *dadā-* and *dada-*: ind. 1 sg. *dadāmi* Sn 421; 2 sg. *dadāsi* Mhv 10.50; 3 sg. *dadati* D I 103.23; 1 pl. *dadāma* Th 475, mid. *dadāmase* Ja III 47.3*, 3 pl. *dadanti* Vv 44.25; impv. 2 sg. *dada* Ja III 412.6* and *dadahi* Ja III 109.14*; 1 pl. mid. *dadāmase* Ja III 131.15*; 2 pl. *dadatha* Vv 44.19; opt. 1 sg. *dadeyyam* Vin I 39.14; 2 sg. *dadeyyāsi* Ja III 276.21; 3 sg. *dade* Vv 62.5 and *dadeyya* Vin I 49.21, mid. *dadetha* S I 32.4*; 1 pl. *dademu* Ja VI 317.16* and *dadeyyāma* M II 116.23; 2 pl. *dadeyyatha* Ja III 171.16; 3 pl. *dadeyyum*.

(b) The stem *de-* which has been extracted from impv. 2 sg. *dehi*: ind. 1 sg. *demi* Ja I 307.17; 2 sg. *desi* D I 50.5; 3 sg. *deti* Sn 130; 1 pl. *dema* Ja III 127.1; 2 pl. *detha* Ja III 126.25; 3 pl. *denti* Sn 244; impv. 2 sg. *dehi* Th 49; 3 sg. *detu* Ja II 104.8; 2 pl. *detha* Ja II 103.22; 3 pl. *dentu* Mhv 5.179; opt. 1 sg. *deyyam* Mhv 7.31. The Gāthā language

already knows the inflection *demi*, etc., in the ind. and impv. Along with the opt. *dadeyyam*, etc., this can be regarded as the regular inflection in canonical and post-canonical prose.

(c) An old form which is met with in all periods of the language is the ind. 1 sg. *dammi* Vin I 39.17. It is derived from *dadmi* which is current in epic Skt. Also 1 pl. *damma* in Kacc. 3.4.1 (Senart, p. 452).

(d) The following opt. forms are also old: 1 sg. *dajjam* Vin I 148.25; 2 sg. *dajjasi* Ja VI 251.26*; 3 sg. *dajjā* Dhp 224. They are derived from Skt *dadyām*, etc., and are a special feature of the Gāthā language. Ja I 322.15¹ explains *dajjā* by *dadeyya*. A pres. stem *dajja-* or *dajje-*¹ was extracted from these forms. Hence, e.g., impv. 2 sg. *dajjehi* Vin III 217.4 and the double forms *-dajjeyya*, *-dajjeyyāma* Vin III 259.35.36, *dajjeyyātha* Vin I 232.7. On the analogy of *dadāmi*: *dajjam* there was formed also from the root *vad* 'to speak' a similar opt.: 1 sg. *vajjam* Thī 308; 2 sg. *vajjasi* Thī 307, and *vajja* (?) Thī 323; 3 sg. *vajjā* Sn 971; 3 pl. *vajju(m)* Sn 859. These forms too are a peculiar feature of the Gāthā language: at Ja VI 527.4¹ *vajjā* is explained by *vadeyya*, as *vajjasi* by *vadeyyast* at Thī-a 228.6.

¹Cf. Childers, PD, s.v. *dajjati*; E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 105. The form *dayāmi* Ja VI 473.18* is opt. 1 sg.

§ 144. The pres. stems of Cl. VII have generalised the weak form, and their inflection is thematic (*a*-inflection) throughout.¹ These pres. stems, therefore, have coincided with *muñcati*, etc., discussed in § 135.3. Cf. *kantati* 'spins' (root *kart*, *kṛṇati*); *chindati* 'cuts off' (root *chid*, *chinatti*) *bhañjati* 'breaks' (root *bhaj*, *bhanakti*); *bhindati* 'splits' (root *bhid*, *bhunatti*); *bhuñjati* 'enjoys' (root *bhuj*, *bhunakti*); *yuñjati* 'joins' (root *yuj*, *yunakti*); *riñcati* 'leaves' (root *ric*, *riṇakti*); *rundhati* (cf. § 60) 'surrounds' (root *rudh*, *runaddhi*); *himṣati* 'injures' (root *himṣ*, *himasti*). Here is a combined paradigm:

- ind. 1 sg. *bhuñjam* Sn p. 12.12;
- 2 sg. *niyuñjasi* Th 1114, *himṣasi* M I 39.23*;
- 3 sg. *juñjati* Ja I 149.26,
- mid. *yuñjate* Dhp 382;
- 2 pl. *yuñjatha* Thī 346;

3 pl. *anuyuñjanti* Dhp 26, *riñcanti* Vin I 190.5.

impv. 2 sg. *chinda* Ja II 153.18, *chundahi* Ja III 184.17,
mid. *yuñjassu* Thī 5;
3 sg. *bhunjatu* Sn 479;

2 pl. *anuyuñjatha* D II 141.22.

opt. 1 sg. *paribhuñjeyya* Sn p. 92.15.

3 sg. *chinde* Dhp 370, *hiñseyya* Sn 368, *chindeyya* Ja III 65.1,
mid. *bhuñjetha* Dhp 70;

3 pl. *sambhañjeyyūm* S I 123.26, *chindeyyūm* D II 322.2.

¹As also in Pkt; see Pischel, §§ 506 foll.). The nasal has been dropped metri causa in the form opt. 3 sg. *patisamyuje* S I 221.27*.

§ 145. In the pres. stems of Cl. IX, the forms with the suffix *-nā* have been generalised. The analogy of *labhāmi*: *labhati* has then led to frequent transfers to the *a*-inflection. The forms with the suffix *-nī* have disappeared. Examples:

1. Root *jña* (*jānāti*) 'to know'. It derives:

(a) from the stem *jānā-* (here those forms are also given in which the stems *jānā-* would coincide): ind. 1 sg. *jānāmi* Sn 908, mid. *jāne* Mhv 37.220 (ed. Colombo 179); 2 sg. *jānāsi* Sn 504; 3 sg. *jānāti* Sn 276; 1 pl. *jānāma* Ja VI 337.9, mid. *jānāmase* Vv 84.47; 2 pl. *jānātha* Thī 346; 3 pl. *jānānti* Sn 441; impv. 2 sg. *janāhi* Thī 59, mid. *pajanassu* D II 243.20*; 3 sg. *janātu* It 28.9; 2 pl. *jānātha* Ja II 250.24; 3 pl. *janāntu*.

(b) From the stem *jāna-*¹ there exist ind. 3 sg. *avajānati* Sn 132, 438 (metri causa?); 3 pl. mid. *-janare* Sn 601; impv. 2 sg. *jāna* S IV 374.13, *vijana* Sn 1091 (*vijanāhi* under influence of metre Ja III 32.7*); 2 pl. *jānātha* Dhp-a III 438.14. Note in this connection also *vikkīnātha* 'sel.'! Ja I 121.20 (for the ū as against Skt *krīnati* see § 21). For *jināti* cf. § 131.

(c) The opt. is regularly formed: 1 sg. *jāneyya(m)* M I 487.13; 2 sg. *jāneyyāsi* M I 487.12; 3 sg. *jāneyya* Mhv 23.31; 1 pl. *jāneyyama* Mu 330.4 and *jānemu* S I 34.11*; 2 pl. *jāneyyatha* M II 215.22; 3 pl. *jāneyyūm* Ja I 168.6*. Another type is also found in the oldest period of the language: 1 sg. *vijaññam* Sn 482; 3 sg. *jaññā* Dhp 157. In the cty on Ja II 41.12* *jaññā* is explained by *janeyya*. This type is analogical,

formed after the opt. *dajjam* from *dadami*. The form *janiyama* Sn 873 is very probably historical and the same as Skt *janiyama*.

Similarly there are found in JMāh., AMg *jānasi*, *jānai*, *jāna* beside *jānāsi*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 510). Also Māh. *vikkīnai*, AMg *kīpai*, Š. impv. *knadha*; see Pischel (§ 511). In some Pkt dialects also the root *bhan* follows the analogy of stems of Cl. IX, e.g. Š. *bhanāsi* (see Pischel [§ 514]); this does not seem to have been the case in Pali.

§ 146. Similarly:

2. The root *grah* (*grhṇāti*) 'to seize' has side by side the stems *gaṇhā-* and *ganha-*:

(a) From *gaṇhā-* there are, for instance, ind. 2 sg. *gaṇhāsi* Dhp-a III 57.4; 3 sg. *gaṇhāti* Ja III 28.9; impv. 3 sg. *gaṇhātu* Dhp-a III 200.9, *pajigāṇhātu* Sn 479 (for metrical reasons *pajiggāhātu* Ja I 495.2*).

(b) From *ganha-*: ind. 3 sg. *ganhati* Ja I 303.23; impv. 2 sg. *ganha* Ja II 159.5 and beside it *gaṇhāhi* D II 102.6 and mid. *gaṇhassu* Dhp-a III 302.19; 3 sg. *gaṇhatu* Ja I 207.8; 2 pl. *ganhatha* Ja I 111.17 or *gaṇhātha* M I 459.6. The opt. is *gaṇheyyam* Ja I 255.9. For *gahāyati* see § 186.5. Fut.s, pret.s, inf.s and absol.s are derived from the secondarily formed stem *gahe-* of the *e*-inflection (§ 139.2).

3. The pres. stem of the root *mā* (*māti*, *mimīte*) is *minā-*. Cf. opt. 1 pl. *abhinimmeyyāma* S I 124.32.

4. The root *bandh* (*badhnāti*) 'to bind' has, as in Pkt (Pischel, § 513), the pres. stem *bandha-*, and is inflected, therefore, according to § 144. Cf. impv. 2 sg. *bandha* D II 350.4; 3 pl. *bandhantu* Ja I 153.7*; opt. 3 pl. *bandheyyum* Vin III 45.17.

§ 147. The pres. stems of Cl. V are often transferred to Cl. IX. The formation of the pres. stem with the suffix *no* has in most cases gone out of use altogether.¹ There occur:

1. From the root *ci* 'to collect', against Skt *cinoti*, the pres. stem *cina-* in compounds. Cf. ind. 2 sg. *pacinasī* Ja III 22.2*; 3 sg. *vicināti* Sn 658; 3 pl. *vicinanti* Vin I 133.12; impv. 2 sg. *vicina* Ja I 453.29 and

vicināhi Ja III 91.6; 2 pl. *vicinātha* Sp 328.19. On the analogy of roots like *ji* : *jeti* the root *ci* too easily went over to the *e*-inflection. Cf. § 131.

2. Also the root *hi* 'to send' gets in compounds the pres. stem *hiṇā-* as against Skt *hinoti*. Thus ind. 3 pl. *pahinanti* D II 321.1; impv. 3 sg. *pahinatu* Dhp-a III 34.24; opt. 2 pl. *pahineyyatha* Dhp-a III 318.8.

3. From the root *dhū* 'to shake' there are, as against Skt *dhūnoti* (in Dhatus, also *dhunāti*), the stems *dhūnā-* or *dhūnā*. Cf. ind. 3 pl. *dhunanti* Th I 276, o- sam- *nid-dhunanti* D II 336.19; impv. 2 sg. *niddhūnāhi* Th 416, 1 pl. *dhunāma* Th 1147; 2 pl. *dhūnātha* Sn 682, o- sam- *nid-dhūnātha* D II 336.17. Also ind. 3 sg. *vidhūnati* Ja II 90.1; impv. 2 pl. *vidhūnātha* Ja I 335.9.

4. The two stems *suṇo-* and *suṇā-* are derived from the root *śru* (*śrṇoti*) 'to hear'. Both are found side by side already in the Gāthā language, and isolated forms of *suṇo-* occur also later. But the stem *suṇā-* is by far the more predominant one. In the opt. it is the only stem in use: (a) The stem *suṇo-* in ind. 1 sg. *suṇomi* Ja IV 443.22*; 1 pl. *suṇoma* Sn 350; impv. 2 sg. *suṇohi* Sn 273; 2 pl. *suṇotha* Sn 997. (b) The stem *suṇā-*: ind. 1 sg. *suṇāmi* Dhp-a III 172.7; 2 sg. *suṇāsi* Sn 696; 3 sg. *suṇāti* D I 62.33; 3 pl. *suṇānti* S I 114.31, Ja II 24.12; impv. 2 sg. *suṇā* Th I 404 and *suṇāhi* Sn p. 21.20; 3 sg. *suṇātu* Vin I 56.10; 1 pl. *suṇāma* Sn 354; 2 pl. *suṇātha* It 41.15*; 3 pl. *suṇāntu* Sn 222; opt. 1 sg. *suṇeyyam* Ud 48.32; 3 sg. *suṇe* Ja IV 240.29* and *suṇeyya* Sn 325; 1 pl. *suṇemu* Vv 53.23 (according to Vv-a 242.16), and *suṇeyyāma* M II 90.18.

¹The same phenomenon in Pkt. See Pischel (§§ 502 foll.). The root *star* (*stṛṇoti* and *stṛṇāti*) 'to stretch out' is inflected according to Cl. I. Cf. also Skt *starati*, *starate*.

§ 148. Roots of Cl. V with a final consonant are: *śak* (*śaknoti*) 'to be able to' and *āp* 'to get' mostly with *pra* (*prāpnoti*).

1. From the root *śak* we have (a) the pres. stem *sakko-* = *śakno-* preserved in the ind. which completely ousted the weak stem *śaknu-* and is met with in every period of the language.: 1 sg. *sakkomi* Mhv 32.17; 2 sg. *sakkosi* Ja I 433.28; 3 sg. *sakkoti*; 1 pl. *sakkoma* Sn 597; 2 pl. *sakkotha* Ja II 405.25; 3 pl. *sakkonti* Vin I 31.16. Beside it there is the

stem (b) *sakkunā*¹ after Cl. IX (with svarabhakti) whence opt. 2 sg. *sakkuneyyasi* Ja III 301,22; 3 sg. *sakkuneyya* Ja I 361,6; 1 pl. *sakkunemu* Ja V 24,26* or *sakkuneyyāma* M I 457,22. (c) ind. 1 and 2 sg. *sakkami*, *sakkasi* Ja I 290,33; 3 sg. *sakkati* Th 533 is = *śakyati*; passive *sakkate* 'it is possible' Nett 23,3 = *śakyate*.

2. From the root *āp + pra* we have (a) the pres. stem *pappo-* = *prāpno-*: ind. 3 sg. *pappoti* Dhp 27; 1 pl. *pappoma* Ja V 57,19*; 3 pl. *papponti* Ja III 256,18*; impv. 3 pl. *pappontu* Th 603. All the examples belong to the Gāthā language. The stem *prāpnu-* is to be found in the opt. 3 sg. *pappuyya* Th 364 = *prāpnuyāt*. Beside it there is found from the earliest times (b) the stem *pāpuṇā*²- formed according to Cl. IX. with svarabhakti vowel. This is the only form used in the later period. Cf. ind. 3 sg. *pāpuṇāti* Mil 337,8; 3 pl. *pāpuṇanti* Mil 314,18; impv. 2 sg. *pāpuṇa* Th 432; 3 sg. *pāpuṇātu* Ja I 150,25; opt. 3 sg. *pāpuṇe* Sn 324 and *pāpuṇeyya* S I 126,1; 2 pl. *pāpuṇetha* Ja V 208,2*. From *āp + pari*: impv. 2 pl. *pariyapuṇātha* 'learn!' S I 50,13.

¹The form expected is *sakuna-*; the *kk* is probably taken from the form *sakko-*, which was in living use. Also in Pkt *sakkapomi* and *sakkunomi* are found; see Pischel (§ 505).

²In Pkt we have AMg *pāpuṇai* beside *pappoi*; see Pischel (§ 504).

§ 149. A probable example of a pres. stem of Cl. VIII is to be found in *munāti* 'comprehends, understands' Dhp 269. It seems to stand for **munoti* = Skt **manoti* (act. to *manute*, from the root *man*), with transfer to Cl. IX.¹ Perhaps also *thunāti* 'roars' from the root *stan* should be explained in the same way.² This is a formation according to Cl. VIII (and Cl. IX). There is beside *thunāti* also *abhi-ththanati* and *-ththanayati* 'thunders' (§ 52,2) Ja I 332,1* = *stanati*, *stanavati* after Cl. X, just as beside *munāti* there is *maññāti* after Cl. IV. The forms are: ind. 3 sg. *anuttunāti* Sn 827; 3 pl. *thunanti* Sn 884, *anuttunanti* Sn 901, *nuttunanti* Vv-a 224,1. Cf. also the part. pres. sg. nom. *anuttunam* Ja III 114,6*, explained in the cty as *nitthunanto*. Present formations of the root *kar* 'to do' are multifarious. We have (a) in ind. and impv. the stem *karo-* abstracted out of *karoti*. Its forms are met with in every period of the language, and are to be regarded as the regular forms in canonical and post-canonical prose; ind. 1 sg. *karomi* Sn 78, *karosi* M III 140,3 (vyāk-), Dhp-a I 45,13; 3 sg. *karoti* Sn 216; 1 pl. *karoma* Ja I

221,33; 2 pl. *karotha* Ud 51,16*; 3 pl. *karonti* Sn 246, impv. 2 sg. *karotu* Mhv 5,273; 2 pl. *karotha* Thi 13; 3 pl. *karontu* Ja I 253,7 (b). The stem *kubba*,³ abstracted from *kubbanti* Sn 794 = *kurvanti*; ind. 2 sg. *kubbasi* S I 181,10*; 3 sg. *kubbati*, Sn 168; opt. 3 sg. *vikubbe* Dip 1,40 and mid. *kubbetha* (cf. § 129, f.n. 1) Sn 702 (also, after Cl X *kubbaye* Sn 943). Forms derived from this stem belong to the Gāthā language and artificial poetry. (c) The stem *kara*⁴ corresponds to Ved. *káratí*. It is in use in all periods of the language; in the second and third periods the opt. is formed regularly from this stem. ind. 1 sg. mid. *kare* Ja II 138,13*; impv. 2 sg. *kara* Ja IV 1,14 and mid. *karassu* Th 46; opt. 1 sg. *kareyyam* M I 487,19 (vyāk-); 2 sg. *kareyyāsi* M I 487,10 (vyāk-); 3 sg. *kare* Dhp 42 and *kareyya* Sn 920; 1 pl. *kareyyāma* S I 58,4; 2 pl. *kareyyātha* Sn p. 104,20; 3 pl. *kareyyum* Ja I 168,4. (d) The stem *kar-* of the athematic conjugation in the Gāthā language: 3 sg. *kayād* (from **karyā*, §§ 47,2, 129A,1) Dhp 42 (for metrical reasons *kayirāta* IV 127,8*); 2 pl. *kayirātha* Dhp 25. (e) The stem *kuru-*, abstracted from ind. 3 sg. mid. *kurute* Dhp 48 = *kurute* or impv. 2 sg. *kuru* Mhv 4,40 = *kuru*, also in impv. 3 sg. *kurutu* Ja IV 396,8*. (f) There is moreover the isolated form ind. 1 sg. *kummi* Ja II 435,19* (cty: = *karomi*), formed after **kumina* = *kurmas*.

¹For the suggestion that *nunāti* is to be derived < **mnāti*, with a svarabhakti vowel, see Norman, 1961, p. 350, f.n. 6.

²Pāli *thunāti* cannot be connected with the root *stu* (see Pischel [§ 494]) on account of its meaning, even though (as in *munāti* — but see previous note) it is difficult to explain the *u* in the first syllable (perhaps because of weakening before the stressed syllable?).

³Cf. AMg *kuvvai*, opt. *kuvvejja*; see Pischel (§ 508). Forms like Māh. *kupā* *kuna*, etc., are however not found in Pāli.

⁴Pkt *karai*, etc., in Pischel (§ 509). But again in Pāli there is no trace of forms like Pkt *karei*.

3. Future with Conditional

§ 150. In Pāli there are two types of fut., derived from -*sya*- fut. and -*iṣya*- fut. of Skt. The inflection corresponds to that of Skt; in 1 sg. there is, beside -*amī*, also -*amī*;¹ in 1 pl. there is -*ma* instead of -*mas*. For type I the paradigm may be shown by *dassāmi* (vowel root) = *dasyami* and *lacchāmi* = *lapsyāmi* (consonant root), for type II by *karissāmi* = *kariṣyāmi*.

	Ia	Ib	II
sg. 1.	<i>dassāmi, dassam</i>	<i>lacchami, laccham</i>	<i>karissāmi, karissam</i>
sg. 2.	<i>dassasi</i>	<i>lacchasi</i>	<i>karissasi</i>
sg. 3	<i>dassati</i>	<i>lacchati</i>	<i>karissati</i>
pl. 1.	<i>dassāma</i>	<i>lacchama</i>	<i>karissāma</i>
pl. 2.	<i>dassatha</i>	<i>lacchatha</i>	<i>karissatha</i>
pl. 3.	<i>dassanti</i>	<i>lacchanti</i>	<i>karissanti</i>

Examples of mid. forms are:

2 sg. *gammisse* 'you will go' Th 359;

3 sg. *hessate* 'will be' Mhv 25.97;

1 pl. *sikkhissāmase* 'we shall learn' Sn 814, *lacchāmase* Vv 32.9;

3 pl. *karissare* Mhv 30.55, *vasissare* Th 962, *bhavissare* Ja III 207.9*.

In the Gāthā language (particularly in the 2 and 3 sg. and the 3 pl.) *ss* may be replaced by *h*.² Thus *padāhisi* Thī 303 for *-dassasi*; *parinibbāhisi* 'you will attain extinction' Th 415; *hahasi* 'you will forsake' Ja III 172.26* and *vihāhisi* Ja I 298.26* from the root *hā*; *palehitu* 'he will fly' Th 307 from *palāy-*; *ehisi* 'you will go' Dhp 236; *ehuti* 'he will come' Ja II 153.18*; *karihitu* 'he will do' Thī 424. Other examples in § 151 (at the end) and § 153. 1. On the *i* after *h*, cf. § 19.1.

As also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 520).

²The substitution of *h* is much wider in Pkt; see Pischel, loc. cit.

§ 151. The fut. is formed after type Ia by:

1. Roots in *ā*: *dassāmi* 'I will give' Ja III 53.14 (2 sg. *dassasi* Ja II 160.1; 1 pl. *dassāma* Dhp-a III 194.9; 2 pl. *dassatha* D II 96.20); *thassati* 'he will stand' D I 46.10 = *sthāsyati* (3 pl. *thassanti* D II 75.28); *hassāmi* 'I shall forsake' Ja IV 420.20* (*pahāssam* M II 100.3*) = *hāsyati* (2 pl. *pahassatha* Dhp 144), *pāssati* 'he will drink' Ja VI 527.20* = *pāsyati*. In the oldest period of the language *ā* is not unfrequently changed into *i*¹: *pissāmi* 'I shall drink' Ja III 432.12*; *paccupadissāmi* from the root *dā* Ja V 221.7*; *upāññissam* from the root *jñā* Sn 701 (3 pl. *viññissanti* Th 703); *parinivvissam* 'I shall attain Nirvāṇa' from the root *vā* Th 659; *akkhissam* 'I shall proclaim' from the root *khyā* with *ā* Ja VI 523.21*; *vyakkhissam* Sn 600; *upatthissam* 'I shall serve' Ja VI 523.19*. The change into *e* is rarer: *hessami*, *-ama* from the root *hā* Ja IV 415.19*.

2 Roots in *u*: *sossami* 'I shall hear' S I 210.9* = *śroṣyāmi* (2 sg. *sussi* for *sossasi* § 65.2; 3 sg. *sossati* D II 131.2). Also *sussam* Sn 694 according to § 15.

3. Roots in *ī* and *e* stems: *jessasi* 'you will conquer' Ja II 252.15* = *jeyyasi*; *nessami* 'I shall lead' Ja I 222.23 = *neṣyāmu* (2 pl. *nessatha* Dnp 179); *pacessati* 'he will collect' Dhp 44 = *ceṣyati* (beside *pacissati* Ja III 22.4* according to § 15); *essoni* 'I shall go' Ja VI 365.5, *essasi* Ja VI 365.6, *essati* Dhp 369, *essanti* Dhp 86 = *esyāmi*, etc. Similarly of compounds: *pacessam* Vin I 255.24, *samessati* S IV 379.19, *samessantu* IV 70.12. Also verbs which have an *e* stem in pres. take after this type. Thus *ādhessāmi* 'I shall lay down' from the stem *dhe* (§ 142.2); *gahessāmi* 'I shall take' Ja I 163.12 from the stem *gahe-* of the root *grah*; *sessam* 'I shall lie' Sn 970, *sessati* S I 83.30 from the stem *se-* (§ 140.4) of the root *śi* as against Skt *śayiṣyate*. (On *hessati* 'will be', cf. § 154.2). The forms derived from the contracted stems of verbs of Cl. X. and of Denominatives and Causatives are very numerous: 1 sg. *kathessāmi* Ja IV 139.20, *sangāmessāmi* Ja II 11.4; 2 sg. *kappessasi* A IV 301.20; 3 sg. *pūjessati* Vin I 105.29, *damessati* Ja I 506.30; 1 pl. *dassessāma* Ja I 59.4; 2 pl. *vasūpessatha* Ja I 253.26; 3 pl. *ropessanti* Vin II 12.16. In the same way there came to be formed from *anubhoti* 'enjoys' (§ 131.2) *anubhossati* Ja I 500.19*, and with *h* instead of *ss*: *anubhohisi* Thī 510 (*anubhossasi* Vv 52.18); from *sumbhōti* *sambhossāma* Mhv 5.100, from *pahotī* 'suffices' *pahossati*² Dhp-a III 254.12. Similarly from *hoti* (§ 131.2): *hohisi* Th 382 and *hohiti*³ Th 1137.

¹Analogous forms in Pkt are figures like AMg *saṁ-dhissāmi*, *pari-hissāmi*; see Pischel (§ 520).

²In Pkt cf. Māh. *hossam*.

³Cf. Pkt *hohimi*, *hohisti*, *hohiti*; see Pischel (§ 521).

§ 152. Type Ib includes a number of historical forms, belonging particularly to the older literature. But quite a number of examples are found also in post-canonical prose.¹ From the root *sak* 'to be able to' we have 3 sg. *sakkhati* Sn 319 = *sakṣyati*; 3 pl. *sakkhanti* Sn 28; fut. 2 sg. *sakkhasi* A I 11.6 or *sakkhi* (for **sakkhi*) Ja V 126.5*; also *sagghasi* with voicing of intervocalic consonants (§ 61.1). From the root *vac* 'to speak': 1 sg. *vakkhami* Ja I 346.2 = *vakṣyāmi*; 3 sg. *vakkhati* S I 142.32; 1 pl. *vakkhama* S IV 72.9; 3 pl. *vakkhanti* Vin II 1.21. From the root

bhuj 'to enjoy': *bhokkham* Ja IV 127,20* = *bhokṣyami*. From the root *chid* 'to cut off': 1 sg. *checcham* Ja III 500,23* = *chetsyāmi*; 3 sg. *checchati* Dhp 350. From the root *bhid* 'to split': 3 sg. *bhecchati* A I 8,4 = *bhetṣyati*. From the root *labh* 'to attain': 1 sg. *lacchami* M II 71,6 = *lapsyāmi*; 2 sg. *lacchasi* Vv 83,5; 3 sg. *lacchati* S I 114,19; 1 pl. *lacchāma* Ja IV 292,21*. From the root *viś* 'to enter': 1 sg. *pavekkhāmi* Ja III 86,5*. From the root *vas* 'to live': 1 sg. *vacchāmi* Ja VI 523,11 and *vaccham* Thī 414 = *vatsyāmi*; 3 sg. *vacchati* Thī 294. From the root *dars* 'to see': 1 sg. *dakkham* Th 1099 = *drakṣyāmi*; 2 sg. *dakkhasi* S I 116,11* and *dakkhusi* Thī 232; 3 sg. *dakkhati* S II 255,23 and *dakkhiti* Sn 909; 3 pl. *dakkhanti* Vin I 16,34. The forms *mokkhasi* Vin I 21,18* and *mokkhanti* Dhp 37 from the root *muc* = *mokṣyasi*, *mokṣyanti* have a passive meaning. These fut.s were apparently still felt to be such. Thus in M III 130,1 *dakkhati* stands beside *ñassati* and *sacchi-karissati*. But that the fut. sense was already getting blurred is proved (already in the oldest period of the language) by doublets² such as *dakkhisam* (instead of -*issam* for metrical reasons) Thī 84 (Thī-a 89,19: *passissam*); 2 sg. *dakkhissusi* M III 5,10; 1 pl. *dakkhisāma* Ja III 99,7* (cty: *dakkhissāma*); 2 p.. *dakkhissatha* M II 60,5. Similarly 1 sg. *sukkhissāmi* 'I shall be able to' Ja I 290,7; 2 sg. *sakkhissasi* Vin III 19,33; 3 sg. *sukkhissati* Dhp-a III 176,4; 1 pl. *sakkhissāma* Ja II 129,5; 2 pl. *sakkhissatha* Dhp-a III 80,7; 3 pl. *sukkhissanti* Ja I 255,25 — in all of which the fut. suffix has been added to *sakkh-* which itself is the fut. stem of the root *śak*.³

¹ Analogous futures in Pkt are *daccham*, *moccham*, *voccham*, *checcham*, *bhoccham*, etc.; see Pischel (§§ 525, 526, 529, 532).

² Cf. Māh. *dacchihisi* in Pischel (§ 525).

³ The verb form *pavecchati* 'throw, gives, bestows' Sn 463 foll., 490 foll., Thī 272, S I 18,26*,27*, Ja III 12,13, 172,7, VI 502,12 perhaps contains a future stem like this, but see Norman, 1971A, p. 120.

§ 153. Type Ib includes:

1. A number of fut.s of roots in *r*. A form **karṣyāmi* is evidently presupposed by *kassam* Th 381, *kassami* Th 1138 (in the same verse *karissami*!) from the root *kar* 'to do'. Instead of *kassam* there is also *kāsam* Ja IV 287,13*, and this leads easily over to the forms 1 sg. *kāhami* Th 103; 2 sg. *kahasi* Dhp 154; 3 sg. *kahati* Ja II 443,14* and *kāhiti* Ja VI 497,2*; 1 pl. *kahāma* Vv 84,37; 3 pl. *kahanti* Ja VI 510,3*

and *kāhinti*¹ Thī 509. From the root *har* with *vi* 'to sojourn, live' we have *vihassam* Th 1091 = **viharṣyāmi*; 3 sg. *vihassati* S I 157,1*. Then with *h* 2 sg. *vhāhisi* Dhp 379, and also the simplex 3 sg. *hāhiti* Ja VI 400,6*. Instead of *a* we have *i* in the root syllable in 1 sg. *vhissāmi* Thī 181; 1 pl. *vhissāma* Thī 121; also 1 sg. *ahissam* 'I shall bring in' Ja VI 423,7* (cty: *āharissāmi*); and further *e* in *vhessati*² Thī 257. All these forms belong exclusively to the Gāthā language.

2. There are still to be mentioned some difficult fut. forms of the root *han* 'to strike, kill', occurring in the Gāthā language and the canonical prose: 1 sg. *patihānkāmi* S IV 104,26 (= **haṅkṣyāmi*?); *hanchati* Ja IV 102,9* (cty: *hanissati*); the opt. *hañchēma* Ja II 418,11 (cty: *hanissāma*) proves that the fut. meaning of the stem *hañch-* had become blurred. Finally the 1 sg. *āhañhi* 'I shall strike' Vin I 8,26* should be mentioned. This may, however, have to be emended into *āhañham*.³

¹ The corresponding forms in Pkt are *kāham*, *kāhisi*, *kāhu*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 533).

² The forms of the root *har* have thus coincided with those of the root *hā*. Cf. §§ 150, 151.

³ Franke, D. trsl., p. 180, note 7, adopts for the passage D II 72,6,19 the very plausible reading *āhañh'ime* *Vajī* (= *āhañham* *ime*) instead of *āhañhi* 'me' as in the text edition; but the form *āhañhi* occurs also in Vin I 8,26: *āhañhi amatadudrabhim*. The text here would then have to be emended into *āhañh' amata-*. AMg *pālum* (Utt. 19,59) = Skt *pāsyāmi* perhaps supports the suggestion of a 1 sg. fut. ending -*i(m)*.

§ 154. Futures of type II likewise contain many historical forms.

1. Examples: 1 sg. *pakkamissam* Thī 294 = *prakramiṣyāmi*, *avissāmi* Sn 970 = *asīṣyāmi*, *khādissāmi* Ja III 52,19 = *khādiṣyāmi*; 2 sg. *karissasi* Ja III 54,25 = *kariṣyasi*, *harissasi* Ja VI 364,26 = *haniṣyasi*; 3 sg. *jayissati* (beside *jessati*) Ja. II 252,15* = *jayiṣyati* (beside *jeṣyati*); *nayissati* Vin I 43,17* = *naiṣyati* (beside *neṣyati*), *hunissati* Ja IV 102,25 = *haniṣyati*; 1 pl. *yācissāma* Vin II 196,36 = *yaciṣyāmas*, *vasissāma* Mhv 14,26 = *vasiṣyāmas* (beside *vatsyāmas*); 2 pl. *labhissatha* Ja III 126,24 = *labhiṣyatha* (beside *lapsyatha*), *pabbajissatha* Mhv 6,199 = *pravrajīṣyatha*; 3 pl. *gamissanti* Sn 445 = *gumiṣyanti*, *samanumodissanti* M I 398,9 = *modiṣyante*, etc.

2. The forms *bhavissami*, etc. = *bhavyāmi*, etc. are historical, and they are the usual forms in canonical and post-canonical prose. But beside them there are in the Gāthā language (and artificial poetry), and archaistically also in canonical prose, contracted forms (§ 27.5) such as 1 sg. *hessam* Th 1100 and *hessāmi* Th 460; 3 sg. *hessati* Ja III 279.16*, mid. *hessate* Mhv 25.97; 2 pl. *hessatha* S IV 179.24. Formally these forms have coincided with those of the *e* stems of type I.

3. According to type II are derived fut. forms also from the uncontracted stems of Cl. X and caus.s and denom.s discussed in § 187, and they correspond to the analogous forms in Skt. Thus *bandhayissāmi* 'I shall have bound' Mhv 24.6 = *bandhayyāmi*; *pālayissāmi* 'I shall protect' Ja IV 129.15 form their fut. after type II; 1 sg. *titikkhissam* Dhp 320, *vimāṇissāmi* Ja I 390.17, *cankamissāmi* Th 540; 1 pl. *sussūsissāma* S II 267.21; 3 pl. *sussūsissanti* S II 267.8.

§ 155. Type II has extended its sphere to an unusual extent within Pāli.¹ From practically every pres. stem a fut. of this type may be derived. Examples from the thematic conjugation:

1. Cl. I. With reference to § 132: 1 sg. *pivissāmi* Th 313, *tīṭhissāmi* M III 129.13, *vutthahissāmi* Mhv 36.76; 2 sg. *pivissasi* Ja VI 365.8, *nisidissasi* A IV 301.19; 3 sg. *nisidissati* Vin I 9.4, *patitthahissati* Dhp-a III 171.21; 1 pl. *upatthahissāma* Dhp-a IV 7.15; *pivissāma* Ja I 99.8; 2 pl. *pivissatha* Vin I 78.7; 3 pl. *vutthahissanti* D II 74.6.

With reference to § 133: 1 sg. *gacchissāmi* Ja III 10.3, *gacchissam* Th 95; 2 sg. *gacchisi* (§ 65.2); 3 sg. *āgacchissati* Ja III 53.7; 2 pl. *gacchissatha* Ja II 128.7.

2. Cl. VI. With reference to § 134: 1 sg. *pavissāmi* (§ 65.2) and *pavissami* Ja III 86.7, *ādissāmi* Th 308, *pucchissāmi* Sn p. 32.1, *phusissam* Th 386; 1 pl. *pucchissāma* Sn p. 116.10. The form *panudahissāmi* Th 27 is remarkable.²

With reference to § 135.2: 3 pl. *acchissanti* Vin II 76.3.

With reference to § 135.3: 1 sg. *muñcissāmi*³ Ja I 434.1.19; 3 pl. *uñcissanti* Vin II 12.17.

3. Cl. IV. With reference to § 136. 1: 1 sg. *naccissāmi* Ja I 292.24; 2 sg. *maññissasi* Vin I 59.27; 3 sg. *ijjhissati* Ja I 15.14, *vinassissati* Ja I

256.18, *pabujjhissati* Ja I 62.19; 1 pl. *naccissāma* Dhp-a III 102.2; 2 pl. *apajjissatha* M I 124.28; 3 pl. *kujjhissanti* Dhp-a III 101.6, *naccissanti* Vin II 12.22.

With reference to § 136.3: 1 sg. *passissami* Vin I 97.25, Ja I 62.12; 2 sg. *passissasi* Vin I 97.24; 3 sg. *passissati* Ud. 40.28; 1 pl. *passissama* Ja II 213.8, etc.

With reference to § 136.4: 1 sg. *vihaññissam* Th 386; 3 sg. *paññayissati* Ja I 484.21, *niyyissati* A V 195.10, *suyissati* S IV 344.22, *khuyissati* Ja I 290.4; 1 pl. *muccissama* Ja I 434.20; 2 pl. *muccissatha* Dhp-a III 242.14.

With reference to § 137: 3 sg. *jiiyissati* and *miyyissati* M III 246.22.

With reference to § 138: 1 sg. *nahāyissāmi* Ja II 252.17; 3 sg. *antara-dhāyissati* Vin I 43.21; 3 pl. 3 *gāyissanti* Vin II 12.22, etc. 1 sg. *palayissāmi* Ja II 247.23 (also *sajjhāyissāmi* Ja II 243.12 with reference to § 188.1).

¹It is significant that in the cities future forms of type I are frequently explained by those of type II. Thus, of the examples given in §§ 150, 151, 152 *hāhisi* is explained by *jahissasi*, *jessasi* by *jinissasi*, *bhokkham* by *bhuñjissāmi*, *vacchatī* by *vasissati*. For all the new formations of type II, there are parallels in Pkt; see Pischel (§§ 520 foll.).

²See Norman, 1969, p. 127.

³In both cases in the passive sense; it should therefore perhaps be read *muccissāmi*. In that case also *pamuñce* 'may be released' Ja III 236.19*, 237.2* should be emended to *pamuuce*.

§ 156. The athematic conjugation.

1. Cl. III. With reference to § 142: 1 sg. *jahissami* Ja IV 415.19*, Ja IV 420.26, *saddahissāmi* Mil 148.31, *pañjaggissami* Ja II 200.2; 2 sg. *jahissasi* Ja III 173.4; 3 sg. *jahissati* Ja III 279.16*; 2 pl. *saddahissatha* Dhp-a I 117.23, *pañjaggissatha* Dhp-a IV 10.15, etc.

2. Cl. VIII. With reference to § 144: 1 sg. *bhañjissam* Th 1095, (*pari-*)*bhuñjissami* Vin I 185.21, II 300.29, Ja IV 129.14; 3 sg. *chindissati* Ja II 252.21, *bhindissati* Vin II 198.33; 3 pl. *samucchindissanti* D II 74.15, *bhuñjissanti* Vin II 196.13, *riñcissanti* Vin I 190.19.

3. Cl. IX. With reference to § 145: 1 sg. *janissami* Ja III 53.22,

vikkipissami Dhp-a III 430,1, *jinissāmi* Ja III 5,5; 2 sg. *jinissasi* Ja II 252,18; 3 sg. *janissati* Ja VI 364,19, *jinissati* Ja III 5,2; 1 pl. *anujanissama* M II 57,5; 3 pl. *samanujanissanti* M I 398,8.

With reference to § 146: 1 sg. *ganhissāmi* Ja I 222,24; 2 sg. *ganhissasi* Ja I 222,24; 3 sg. *ganhissati* Ja III 280,22; 1 pl. *ganhissāma* Ja II 104,9; 2 pl. *ganhissatha* Ja II 197,17, etc.

4. Cl. V and IX. With reference to § 147: 1 sg. *sunissāmi* Dhp-a III 195,10; 2 sg. *sunissasi* Dhp-a III 195,9; 1 pl. *sakkunissama* Ja II 415,22; 2 pl. *sunissatha* Dhp-a I 97,11, *pāpunissatha* Ja I 253,26; 3 pl. *pāpunissanti* Ja I 256,4, etc.

Conditional

§ 157. As in Skt, the cond. is formally a pret. to the fut. It is used as the irrealis of the pres. and the past. Excepting in compounds, the augment seems to be obligatory. The inflection is as in Skt, only the 3 pl. derives its ending *-amsu* from the aor. (§ 159.III). Examples are: 1 sg. *abhavissam* Ja I 470,15 = *abhaviṣyam*; *adassam* Ja III 30,6 = *adāsyam*; *apāpessam* (from caus. of *āp* = *pra*) Ja II 11,18; *olokessam* 'I would watch' or 'I would have watched' Ja I 470,15. 2 sg. *abhavissa* Ja II 11,18, III 30,6 = *abhaviṣyas*; *āpajissa* Dhp-a III 137,17. 3 sg. *abhavissa* 'would be' or 'would have been' Vin I 13,38, D II 57,6, M III 163,11, Ud 80,24, Ja II 112,16 (should it be read *nābhavissa*?), V 164,1 = *abhaviṣyat*; *anassissa*² 'he would have died' Ja II 112,17; *adassa* Ja V 264,1; *uppajjissa* Dhp-a III 137,19, *payojayissa*, *pabbajissa*, *pāpunissa*, *patīṭhahissa* Dhp-a III 131,16, *akarissa* Dhp-a I 147,19, *asakkhissa* Dhp-a I 147,20 (should it be read *nāsakkhissa*?), III 3,23, *alabhissa* Dhp-a III 4,1. 1 pl. *alabhissāma* and *āgamissāma* Ja III 35,10,11. 3 pl. *abhvissamsu* Vin I 13,31, S III 69,31. Here should be mentioned a series of mid. forms of the cond. in the 3 sg. occurring in D II 63,3 foll.: *okkamissatha* 'would have climbed down', *samucchissatha*³ 'would have originated', *nibbattissatha* (root *vart*) 'would have come about', *āpajissatha* 'would have been attained', *alabhissatha* 'would have attained'. The suffix is *-tha* as against Skt *-ta* as in the pres. opt. (§ 129) and the aor. (§ 159.II)

¹*pāp-* was no longer felt to be a compound, hence the augment.

²It should be read as Speyer does (Ved. u. Skt Syntax, p. 60, note 2): *nassissā ti* (more properly, *yev' anassissā ti*). Cf also D. Andersen, PR, p. 119.

³E. Windisch, Buddha's Geburt, p. 39, footnote, hesitatingly derives the form from Skt *sam mūrch*. In that case we would have to read *samuccussatha*. Not so R.O. Franke, WZKM, 8, p. 327.

4. Aorist

§ 158. The aor. of Pali is derived from old impf.s and aor.s. Apart from the endings, it is characterised by the augment, which is however frequently left out. Wackernagel¹ has succeeded in formulating definite rules according to which the augment is retained or dropped:

1. The augment is retained by monosyllabic verbal forms: *adām* 'I gave', *agā* 'he went'. Also *acc-agā*, *saṃajjh-agām* (beside *adhi-gam* Thī 122).

2. The augment is always retained, also in the later language, by dissyllabic forms derived from the impf., the simple aor. or the s-aor.: *agama* 'he went', *adāsi* 'he gave', *akāsi* 'he did' *avocum* 'they spoke'. Also *ajjh-agamā*, *pacc-assosi*, *pāyāsi*.

3. In the two oldest periods of the language the use of the augment is arbitrary in dissyllabic forms derived from the *-iṣ-* aor.: *alabhim* 'I received' beside *labhi* 'he received'. Omission of the augment is the rule in post-canonical prose: *khādi* 'he ate', *bhindi* 'he broke'.

4. The augment is always retained by trisyllabic forms (a) of the extended type (§ 165) such as *agamāsi* 'he went', *addasāsim* 'I saw' or (b) derived from thematic impf.s and aor.s, such as *abhāsatha* 'he spoke'.

5. For the rest, forms of three or more syllables began early to drop the augment, at first quite at random, but regularly later in post-canonical prose. Thus in the Gathā language we have still *apucchimsu* 'they asked' beside *pucchimsu*; but the forms which later predominate and finally take over completely are *desesim* 'I taught', *khādimha* 'we ate', *kathayimsu* 'they related'.

¹Wortumfang und Wortform, GN, 1906, pp. 154 foll. It was held hitherto

that the use of the augment was quite arbitrary as laid down by Kacc. Cf. e.g. V Henry, *Précis de Gramm. Pâlie*, p. 88, § 220.

§ 159. The different types of aor.¹ may be classified according to their origin.

Type I. Example: the root *da* 'to give'.

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>adām</i> Ja III 41,10*	(<i>adāmha</i>) Ja II 71,4*
2.	<i>ado</i> (<i>adā</i>) Ja IV 240,14*	(<i>adattha</i>) Ja II 166,21
3.	<i>adā</i> Sn 303, Mhv 7.70	<i>adū</i> , <i>adum</i>

This type is derived from the root aor., Skt *adām*, *adās*, *adāt* ... *adus*. The forms of the 1 and 2 pl. are however taken from type III (as against Skt *adāma*, *adāta*).

Type II. Example: the root *gam* 'to go'.

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>agamam</i> Th 258	<i>agamāma</i> (<i>agamamha</i> Sn 349)
2.	<i>agamā</i> Sn 834	<i>agamatha</i> (<i>agamattha</i>)
3.	<i>agamā</i> Sn 408	<i>agamum</i> Sn 290

This type is based on the *a*-aor. (Skt *asicam*, *asics*, *asicat* ... *asican*) or the thematic impf. (*asīcam*, etc.). The endings *-amha*, *-athā* are taken from type III. But there occur also the endings *-āma*, *-ātha*: *akarāma* 'we did', *addasama* 'we saw', *addasatha* 'you saw'. Cf. § 162.1, 3. There are also mid. forms of this type: 3 sg. *-tha*: *abhāsatha* 'he spoke' Sn 30, *vindatha* 'he found' Thī 420; 1 pl. *-mhase*: *akaramhase* Ja III 26,18*; 3 pl. *-re*, *-rum*: *abajjhare* 'they were bound' Ja I 428,1*, *amaññarum* 'they thought' Ja III 488,2*. The suffix *-tha* again shows (cf. §§ 129, 157) the aspirate instead of the unaspirate. For *amhase* (type III) cf. § 126; *-re* and *-rum* correspond to the Ved. endings *-re* and *-ran* or *-ram*².

Type III. Example: the root *śru* 'to hear', *kar* 'to do'.

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>assosim</i> Th 131	<i>assumha</i> S I 157,12
2.	<i>assosi</i>	<i>assuttha</i> D II 272,2 (sic!)
3.	<i>assosi</i> D I 87,11	<i>assosum</i> D I 111,10
1.	<i>akāsim</i> Thī 74, Vv 1,5	<i>akamha</i> Ja III 47,4*
2.	<i>akāsi</i> Vv 1,3	<i>akaitha</i> Vv 84,38
3.	<i>akāsi</i> Ja III 188,24	<i>akāsum</i> Mhv 31,99 (v.l.), <i>akamsu</i> Sn 882

This type is derived from the Skt *s*-aor.: *asrauṣam*, *akārṣam*; *asrauṣīs*, *akārṣīs*; *asrauṣīt*, *akārṣīt*; *asrauṣma*, *akārṣma*; *asrauṣṭa*, *akārṣṭa*; *asrauṣus*, *akārṣus*. The *u* in *assumha*, *assuttha* is to be explained according to § 15; the suffix *-mha* according to § 50,4 or § 58,2. The ending *-tha* = *ṣṭa*, instead of the expected *-ṭṭha*, is remarkable. The middle forms are: 3 sg. *-tha*: *udapattha* 'flew up' (root *pat*) Ja V 255,14* (conjecture by Fausböll), *pāpattha* 'he fell' Ja V 255,20*; a new formation based on this *pāpautha* is to be found in the 1 sg. *pāpattam* 'I fell' Ja VI 16,29*; *mā laddhā* 'she should not receive' Ja III 138,21* (cty: *mā latthā ti*) = Skt *alabdha*, but also *alaittha*³ 'he received' Ja IV 310,2*, M II 49,3. The *s* has been dropped in all these forms as in Skt.

Type IV. Example: the root *gam* 'to go'.

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>agamisam</i> , <i>agamim</i> Th 9	<i>agamunha</i> S I 202,33*
2.	<i>agami</i> Sn 339	<i>agamuttha</i> Ja I 263,4
3.	<i>agami</i> D II 264,9	<i>agamusum</i> , <i>agamimsu</i> Ja II 416,23

This type is derived from the Skt *iṣ*-aor. *abhoodīsam*, *abodhīs*, *abodhit*, *abodhiṣṭa*, *abodhiṣus*. The form *agamim* is derived from the Ved. 'contracted' forms such as *akramim*, *avadhīm*⁴. Instead of *-isam* we find also *-issam* in 1 sg. exactly as also in Pkt (Pischel, § 516), e.g. *adhigacchissam* Sn 446; *nandissam* S I 176,12*.⁵ Besides *-isum*, *-imsu* there is also *-um* in 3 pl., taken from type II. Also impf.s with *i* in 2 and 3 sg. have contributed to the building up of this type. Thus *abrahī*

Sn 355 and *abruvī* Ja III 62,20* 'he spoke' = *abratvī* (its 1 sg. is then *abratvī* Cp 2.6.8; 3 pl. *abratvūm* Ja V 112,30*). Also *asi* 'he was' Sn 286 = *āsīt* (its 1 sg. *āsim*, *āsi* Th 157, but 1 pl. *āsum* Th 224; 3 pl. *āsum* Sn 284). mid. forms: 2 sg. *-ittho* = *iṣṭhas*; *mā pātisevittho* 'do not expose yourself (to poison!)' Ja IV 222,9*, *pucchittho* 'you asked' D II 284,2, *amaññutho* Th 280 (cf. Ja II 29,17*), *vihaññittho* Th 385; 3 sg. *-ittha* = *iṣṭa*; *pucchittha* Mhv 17.33; *mā jīyittha* 'may it not disappear' Ja I 468,2*; *sandittha* 'flowed' (root *syand*) D II 129,33; *mā vo āvuso evam ruccittha* 'may it not please you to do so!' Dhp-a I 13,23. From passive stems: *suyittha* 'was heard' Dhp-a I 16,3; *adissittha* 'showed himself' Th 170, *diyittha* 'was given' S I 58,9. Here again we find dentals in the place of expected cerebrals.⁶

Type V. There are some traces of the reduplicated aor.

Type VI. There are examples of forms in -e, identical to the opt., being used as an aor.

In Pkt only AMg has retained aor. forms; see Pischel (§§ 516 foll.).

²Macdonell, Ved. Gr., §412 a.

³The change of the voiced group into an unvoiced one is explained by the influence of forms *h̄k* *apatha* in conjunction with those like *abhāsatha*.

⁴Whitney, Skt Gr., §904a, Macdonell, Ved. Gr., §529a, 3.

⁵In these forms the doubling of -ss- is probably metri causa.

⁶Such forms with *th* instead of *dh* are found also in Pkt. Cf. AMg *sevīthā*, *bhuñjīthā*. Pischel (§517) doubts whether these forms belonged to the aor. from the beginning. Cf. also Johansson, KZ, 32, pp. 450 foll. Both endings are found in the Aśokan inscriptions; see Bloch, 1950, §39.

Type I

§ 160. The forms of type I belong for the most part to the Gāthā language, individual forms occurring also in canonical and post-canonical prose. Mostly roots in vowels use forms of this type.

1. The root *gā* 'to go': 1 sg. *ajjhagā* Th 405, *adhigā* Th 122, *samajjhagā* S I 103,10; 2 sg. *ajjhagā* Vv 34.7; 3 sg. *agā* Sn 538, *ajjhagā* D I 223,3; 3 pl. *aythagū* Ja I 256,7*, *upaccagū* A I 142,21*. To these belongs also the 1 pl. *agamhā* Sn 597, although formally of type III.

2. The root *stha* 'to stand': 3 sg. *āsthā* Sn 429 = *asthāt*.

3. The root *bhu* 'to be': 1 sg. *ahum* Ja III 411,5*, as against Skt *abhūvam* on the analogy of *adām*; 2 sg. *ahū* Th 57 = *abhus*; 3 sg. *ahū* Dhp 228, *ahud-eva* S IV 350,12 = *abhūt*; 3 pl. *ahū*, *ahum* D II 256,8* as against Skt *abhūvan* on the analogy of *adum*. As for 1 pl. there is *ahum* Th 225. The form *ahumha* belongs to § 163,3.

4. The form *akā* 'did' Ja V 29,2* (cty: *akasi*) = Ved. *akar* is also historical. On the analogy of *adā*: *adām* there was formed 1 sg. *akām* Ja V 160,1* (cty: *akarīm*) to *akā*. Similarly *assum* 'I heard' Ja III 542,1*, *assu* 'you heard' Ja III 541,10* (cty: *assosim*, *assosi*) presupposes 3 sg **assu* = Ved. *asrot*. Also historical are 3 sg. *addā* 'he saw' Th 1244 = Ved. *adrāk*, and 3 pl. *āgu* (root *gā* + *ā*) D II 258,8 = *āguh* (new formation 3 sg. *āga* D II 258,20 on the analogy of *āha*: *āhu*), and perhaps *pāvā* Sn 782 from root *vac* + *pra*.¹

¹For the suggestion that *pāvā* is perhaps based upon a Skt imperfect form *prāvuk(i)*, see Norman, 1992B, p. 302.

Type II

§ 161. 1. What has been said at the beginning of the preceding paragraph applies also to the use of type II in the different periods of the language. Examples:

- (a) Forms of impf. origin are 1 sg. *kasām* 'I ploughed', *pavapām* 'I sowed' Th 112, *pāpatām* 'I fell' Ja V 70,12*; *amaññām* 'I thought' Ja V 215,6*, *adadam* 'I gave' Vv 34.8; 2 sg. with primary ending *apucchasi* 'you asked' Sn 1050; 3 sg. *pāpatā* Vin III 17,26, *asarā* 'went' Ja VI 199,7*, *amarā* 'died' (Ved. *marati*, cf. § 137) Ja III 389,18*; 2 pl. *amaññatha* 'you meant' Th 143. Moreover 3 sg. mid. *ajāyatha* 'originated' Dip 5.40, *samatpajjatha* 'became' Ja V 71,30*, *upamatpajjatha* 'originated' Th 30, *abhassatha* 'fell down' Sn 449, *samatkampatha* 'shook' Ja VI 570,12*, *abhāsatha* 'said' Vism 312,34*.
- (b) The forms in 2 sg. with the ending -o are aor. forms: *mā pamādo* 'do not tire!' Dhp 371; ² *asado* 'you came in, reached' Ja I 414,6*; 3 sg. *abhida* 'broke to pieces' Ja III 29,17* or *abbhida* Ja I 247,29* =

abhidat, accida 'tore asunder' Sn 357, *āsadā* Th 774; 3 pl. *accidum* S I 35.14.

2. A remarkable innovation³ has taken its origin from the middle forms *alattha, papaitha* of type III (§ 159.III). As these forms came to be regarded as analogous to *abhida* there were formed after them also the 1 sg. *alattham* Th 747; 2 sg. *alattha* S I 114.14; 1 pl. *alatthamha* M II 63.1; 3 pl. *alatthum* D II 274.22*. Beside them there is also *alatthamsu* S I 48.34 after type III. In the same way, from *asayittha* of type IV (§ 169. 1), there has been evolved 1 sg. *asayittham* A I 136.29, and *alabhittham* Th 217 from **alabhittha*.

¹ See Gombrich, 1988, p. 170.

² For original *pāmudo*. See Brough, 1962, p. 194.

³ See E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 111; R.O. Franke, BB, 22, p. 216.

§ 162. 1. The aor. of type II of the root *kar* 'to do' is derived from the Ved. impf. *ákaram* etc.: 1 sg. *akaram* Ja III 206.21*; 2 sg. *akară* Ja III 135.17*; 3 sg. *akară* Ja II 230.15*; 1 pl. *akarāma* M II 214.27 and *akaramha* M II 214.28; 3 pl. *akarum* D II 256.4*.

2. The following forms of the root *bhū* 'to become' are derived from an impf. of Cl. VI (* *huvati*, cf. § 131.2 with f.n. 4): 1 sg. *ahuvā* S I 36.2*; 2 sg. *ahuvā* S I 36.9*; 3 sg. *ahuvā* Ja II 106.1*; 1 pl. *ahuvāma* M I 93.13 and *ahuvamha* M I 93.14; 2 pl. *ahuvattha* S IV 112.6.

3. The root *dars* 'to see' forms an aor. from the base *dras*: 1 sg. *addasam* Sn 837 and, with primary ending, *addasāmi*¹ Th 1253; 2 sg. *addasā* S I 115.10; 3 sg. *addasā* Vin II 192.7; 1 pl. *addasāma* Sn 31; 2 pl. *addasatha* M II 108.32 and (for metrical reasons) *addasātha* Ja V 55.23*; 3 pl. *addasum* D II 256.7*.

4. The aor. of the root *vac* shows two series of forms. One series is derived from a thematic impf. **avacam*, the other from the aor. *avocam*: 1 sg. *avacam* Ja III 280.19 and *avocam* Th 124 and *avoca* Th 494; 1 pl. *avacumha* and *avocumhă* M II 91.28; 2 pl. *avacuttha* Vin II 297.10 and *avocuttha*, Milp 9.11; 3 pl. *avacum* Ja V 260.4* and *avocum* M II 147.29.

¹ Cf. R.O. Franke, ZDMG, 63, p. 6.

Type III

§ 163. Many historical forms of this type were retained in all periods of the language.

1. Aor. of roots in *ā*. Thus from *jñā* 'to know' (*ajñāsīt*) 1 sg. *abbhaññāsum* Vin III 5.23; 3 sg. *aññasi* Sn 540; 3 pl. *abbhaññāsum* S IV 11.30 or *abbhaññamsu* D II 150.31 or (under the influence of type IV) *aññumsu* Ja III 303.17. Also 3 sg. *pāyāsi* D II 73.8; 3 pl. *abhiyamsu* S I 216.10 and *pāyumsu* D II 96.24 from the root *yā* 'to go' (*ayāsīt*); 3 sg. *pahāsi* Sn 1057 from the root *hā* 'to leave' (*ahāsīt*). Similarly from the root *dā* 'to give': 1 sg. *adasim* Ja I 167.9; 2 sg. *adāsi*; 3 sg. *adasi* Ja I 279.17; 1 pl. *adamha* Vv 65.4 and (with transfer to type IV) *adāsimha* Th 518; 2 pl. *adattha* Ja II 166.21; 3 pl. *adamsu* Ja I 22.9. From the root *sīhā* 'to stand': 1 sg. *aīthāsim* Th 73; 3 sg. *aīthāsīl* Vin II 195.25; 3 pl. *aīthamsu* D II 84.28. From the root *pā* 'to drink': 3 pl. *apamsu* (sic!) Ud 78.11. From the root *mā* 'to measure': 3 pl. *pāmimsu* Th 469.

2. Aor. of roots in *ī*. From the root *nī* 'to lead' (*unaisīt*): 3 sg. *nesi* Ja V 281.23; 3 pl. *ānesum* Ja IV 137.22. From the root *ji* 'to conquer' (*ajaisīt*): 3 sg. *ajesi* Vin II 1.12. From the root *hi* 'to send' (*ahaiśīt*): 3 sg. *pāhesi* Th 564; 3 pl. *pāhesum* Mhv 25.104. Forms of 1 and 2 pl. are not attested. On aor. IV of uncontracted stems, see § 167. 1.

3. Aor. of roots in *ū*. Cf. § 159.III. From the root *dhū* 'to shake' (*adhauśīt*): 3 sg. *adhosi* Sn 787. Following this pattern there was also constructed that aor. of the root *bhū* 'to be, to become' which became the predominant one in the course of the development of the language: 1 sg. *ahosim* Th 620; 2 sg. *ahosi* Ja I 107.9; 3 sg. *ahosi* Sn 835, *anubhosī* Ja III 112.24, *adhibhosī* S IV 185.32; 1 pl. *ahumha* Ja I 362.19*; 3 pl. *ahesum*² Vv 74.4. The 3 pl. form *adhibhamsu* S IV 185.31 as compared with the sg. *adhibhosī* is to be explained on the analogy of *adamsu*.

4. Aor. of roots in *r*. Cf. *kar* § 159.III.³ From the root *har* 'to take away' (*ahārsīt*): 1 sg. *pahāsim* Th 99, *vihasim* Th 513; 3 sg. *ahāsi* Dhp 3, *pahāsi* Ja III 85.12*; 3 pl. *ahamsu* Ja V 200.6*, also *vihamsu* Th 925.

¹Cf. AMg *thaū*; see Pischel (§ 516).

²AMg 3 sg. *ahesi*

³AMg 2 sg. *akasi*

§ 164. Historical forms are preserved also by roots in mutes and sibilants. Thus 3 sg. *acchechhi*¹ 'cut off' Sn 355 = *acchaitisit* from the root *chid*. In the same way, (*a*)*sakkhi* 'was able to do' D I 96,10, may be derived from **asakṣit* from the root *śak* (whence 2 sg. (*a*)*sakkhum* Th 88; 2 sg. *asakkhi* Dhp-a I 16,15); *akkocchi* 'howled' Dhp 3 from **akrauksit* from the root *kruś*; *pāvekkhi* 'entered' Ja III 460,2* from **pra-avaiksit* from the root *viś*. Old aor. forms of the root *dars* 'to see' (*adrāksam*, -*kṣīs*, -*kṣit*, -*kṣus*) are quite numerous: 1 sg. (*ad*) *dakkhum* Sn 938; 2 sg. *addakkhi* Ja III 189,23*; 3 sg. *addakkhi* Sn 208; 3 pl. *addakkhum*² D II 256,6*. The form *addā* 'saw' Th 986 is also very old. It is Ved. *adrāk*. On the analogy of *adā*: *adām* there was formed 1 sg. *addam* Ja III 380,6* (city: *addasam*).

¹Also in S IV 205,17, 207,13, It 47,10 we have to read *acchechhi tanham*.

²Cf. AMg *addakkhu*; see Pischel (§ 516).

§ 165. 1. Double forms such as *akā*: *akāsi*, *adā*: *adāsi* have given rise to new formations which are based on type II, but are brought about by the transfer of forms of this type to the mode of inflection characteristic of type III.¹ Thus from *addasā* 'he saw' (§ 162,3) there was formed *addasāsi* Ja V 158,16* (city: *addasa*), and also 1 sg. *addasāsim* Th 287; 3 pl. *addasāsum* M II 98,7 and *addasāmsu* M I 79,5. Similarly *agamāsi* 'went' Th 490 beside *agamā*; 3 pl. *agamāmsu* Vv 80,6. In the same way 1 sg. *ahuvāsi(m)* Vv 82,6 beside *ahuvā* (§ 162,2); 2 sg. *avacāsi* 'you spoke' Vv 35,7 and 3 sg. *avacāsi* Ja VI 525,14* beside *avacā*; 1 sg. *pivāsim* 'I drank' Ud 42,14; 3 sg. *viramāsi* 'ceased' Thī 397.

2. Type III has been greatly extended due to the fact that *e*-stems of various origins form their aor. on the analogy of *ajesi*, *anesi* (§ 163,2) just as the *ā*- and *o*-stems form their aor. after *akasi*, *assosi*. A few examples will suffice: 1 sg. *sesim* 'I lay' Ja V 70,14* (from *seti* § 140,4), *vadesim* 'I spoke' Dhp-a III 174,16 (§ 139,2), *kathesim* 'I related' Ja III 369,17 (§ 139,1), *cintesi(m)* 'I thought' Ja VI 570,19*, *kāresim* 'I had ... made' Ja III 11,21; 2 sg. *vadesi* Dhp-a III 173,21, *paccesi* M I 445,29 (from *eti* § 140,3); 3 sg. *pujesi* 'he worshipped' Ja I

422,31, *kathesi* Vin I 15,26, *pidhesi* 'covered' Mhv 24,52 (the stem *dhe*, § 142,2, from the root *dhā* with *pi*), *aggahesi* 'seized' Ja I 52,25, *kāresi*, *kārāpesi* Ja I 63,4, *samgāmesi* (§ 187,1) Ja V 417,17; 3 pl. *samesum* 'they assembled' Ja II 30,16, *pujesum* Dip 16,31, *kathesum* Ja II 256,16, *aggahesum* Sn 847, *kāresum* Ja III 1,10. Forms of 1 and 2 pl. are not attested. For aor. IV of uncontracted stems see § 168,4.

¹Johansson, Monde Oriental 1907/8, pp. 95 foll. Aors. of the same construction occur also in AMg; see Pischel (§ 516).

Type IV

§ 166. The aor. stems of type IV occur most frequently in canonical and non-canonical prose. Quite a number of forms may be regarded as historical. Thus from the root *khād* 'to eat': 3 sg. *khādi* Mhv 6,21 = *akhādīt*; from *grah* 'to seize': 1 sg. *aggahim* Th 97 = Ved. *agrabhīm*, 3 sg. *aggahī* Ja V 91,4* = *āgrabhīt*. Similarly from the root *kram* 'to stride' (*ākramīsam*, *ākramūt*), with optional lengthening of the radical vowel as is found also in Skt in the case of various roots with a medial *a*: 1 sg. *pakkāmīm* Th 34, 3 sg. *pakkāmi* Vin I 8,10 and *pakkami* Mhv 19,56; 1 pl. *upasamkamimha* S IV 97,8, 3 pl. *pakkānum* Sn 1010 and *pakkamīsu* Ja I 150,15. From the root *tras* 'to fear': 2 sg. *mā vitthāsi* Vin I 94,34. Various compounds of the root *pad*: 1 sg. *udapadim* 'I was born' D I 13,23, 3 sg. *udapādi* Ja III 29,5*; 3 pl. *āpādu* 'fell into ...' D II 273,20*. Of the roots in *ar* the forms in *ā* may be regarded as historical. Thus from the root *car* 'to live, do, carry on' (Skt *acāriṣam*): 1 sg. (*a*) *cāri(m)* Th 428; 3 sg. *acāri* Dhp 326; 3 pl. *acārisum* Sn 284. From the root *tar* 'to cross': 3 sg. *atāri* Sn 355 (= Ved. *ātārīt*); 3 pl. *atāru(m)* Sn 1045. There are also forms with *ā*, which probably have to be judged according to § 167: 1 sg. (*a*)*carim* Thī 107, Ja V 10,16*; 3 sg. *acari* Sn 344 and *atarī* Ja III 453,16*, *otari* Ja II 154,21; 1 pl. *vicarimha* Thī 305; 3 pl. *acarīmsu* Sn 809, *vicarīmsu* Ja II 96,27 and *atarīmsu*¹ Sn 1046. Similarly from the root *kar*: 1 sg. *karim* Ja III 393,29; 2 sg. *kari* Thī 432; 3 sg. *akarī* D II 157,13*; 2 pl. *karittha* Ja I 263,5; 3 pl. *karūmsu* Ja II 352,8. Here are a number of forms, some of which are historical: 1 sg. (*a*) *labhim* 'I attained' Th 218, *udikkhusam* 'I noticed' Th 268, *paccavekkhūm* 'I observed' Th 395 (cf. Skt *aikṣiṣṭa*), *nandissam*² 'I was pleased' S I 176,12* (Skt *anandit*), *adassim* 'I saw' Cp 1.2.2, *samdhāvissam* 'I ran through' Th 78, *asevissam* 'I visited' Ja

IV 178,4* (Skt *asevista*); 2 sg. *mā vadi* 'do not say!' Ja II 133,11; 3 sg. *vedi* 'he knew' Dhp 419 (= *avedīt*), *vandi* 'he praised' Sn 252, *vasi* 'he lived' Sn 977, *pabbaji* 'he left the life of the laity' D II 29,30 (but Skt *avrājīt*), *pāvassi* 'poured rain' Sn 30 (Skt *avarsīt*); 1 pl. *patikkosimha* 'we disputed' M I 85,8, *labhimha* D II 147,18, *avasimha* Vv 65,4, *avasimhase* Ja IV 98,14*; 3 pl. *khādīmsu* 'they ate' Ja II 129,23, *avatumsu* 'they existed' Sn 298, *vaddhiṃsu* 'they grew' (Skt *avardhusta*) Ja II 105,17, *patikkosimsu* M I 84,19. With the exception of pass., caus. and denom. verbs (§ 168, 3,4), the secondary stems — the desid. (§ 184) and the intens. verbs (§ 185) — form their aor. after type IV: 1 sg. *abhisimsim* Vv 81,18, *cankamim* Th 272; 3 pl. *sussūsimsu* Vin I 10,8.

It is quite clear that the variation between *acārimsu* and *acarimsu* was partly determined by the word-rhythm.

² As in this and the following examples is metri causa. See Norman, 1969, p. 141.

§ 167. Type IV became very productive, because aor. stems of this type could be derived from all pres. stems with the exception of those in long vowels (§§ 163, 165, 2) in every period of the language.¹

Examples: thematic conjugation:

1. Cl. I. With reference to § 130,4: *parilehisam* 'I licked' Vv 81,21. With reference to § 131: the roots in ॑ form aor. IV from the uncontracted stem (aor. III from the contracted stem, § 165,2): 3 sg. *ānayi* Mhv 1,30 (beside *ānesi*); 1 pl. *ānayimha* Ja III 127,15, 3 pl. *ānayimsu* Ja IV 138,3 (beside *ānesum*). Also from the root *bhū*: 3 pl. *bhavimsu* Dhp-a IV 15,5 (Skt *abhāviṣus*) beside the (possibly contracted) form *aheśum*.

With reference to § 132: 1 sg. *nisdīm* Thī 44, *patīthahim* Cp 3,7,3; 3 sg. *apivi* Mhv 6,21, *nisdī* Vin I 1,8, *utthahi* Ja III 104,23, *adhitthahi* Th 113,1; 3 pl. *nisdīsum* Mhv 7,40 and *nisdīmsu* D I 118,28, *utthahimsu* Ja I 202,21.

With reference to § 133 I: 1 sg. *agacchisam* Th 258, *adhigacchissam* Sn 446, *upagacchim* Thī 69; 3 sg. *āgacchi* Sn 379, *samāgacchi* Vin I 96,15; 2 pl. *upagacchittha* Mhv 5,101; 3 pl. *upagacchimsu* Vin I 92,10. There are besides, particularly in Sinhalese manuscripts, forms

with *ñch* instead of *cch*²: 3 sg. *agañchi* Sn 979, *upagañchi* Cp. 2,6,9, 3 pl. *upagañchum* D II 99,1.

With reference to § 133,3: 3 sg. *aruhi* Mhv 35,26; 3 pl. *āruhum* Mhv 11,8.

2. Cl. VI. With reference to § 134: 1 sg. *pāvisim* Th 60, *apucchim* Cp 2,6,5 and *apucchissam* Sn 1116; 2 sg. *mā gili* 'do not devour!' Dhp 371; 3 sg. *phusi* S I 120,24, (*a)pucchi* Sn 698, *ākiri* Mhv 15,25, *supi* Mil 89,4; 1 pl. *apucchimhā* Sn 875; 3 pl. *pavisimsu* Mhv 18,56, *pucchimsu* Ja I 221,29 and *pucchisum* Mhv 10,2, *supimsu* Vin II 78,2. Also 2 sg. *abbuhi* 'you drew out' Thī 52 (v.l. Dhp-a I 30,17: *abbahi*) from the root *bahr* (*bṛhati*) with *ā*.

With reference to § 135,1: 1 sg. *icchim* Ja I 267,20* and *icchisam* S I 176,12*; 3 sg. *icchi* Ja I 492,27.

With reference to § 135,2: 1 sg. *acchisam* Th 487.

With reference to § 135,3: 1 sg. *nibbind'aham* 'I felt aversion' Thī 26 (from *vindati*); 3 sg. *osiñci* Vv 83,8; 3 pl. *muñcimsu* Ja IV 142,5, *abhiñcimsu* Mhv 11,41.

¹ Aors of other types are often replaced by those of type IV in the cities; thus *akkocchi* Dhp 4 by *akkosi* Dhp-a I 43,20, *ahamsu* in Ja V 200,6* by *āharimsu*, *akamha* in Ja III 47,4* by *karimha*, etc.

²Cf. Trenckner, Notes, p. 123.

§ 168. Thematic conjugation:

3. Cl. IV. With reference to § 136,3: 3 sg. *nīlīyi* 'sat down' Ja II 208,8; pl. 3 *nīlīyimsu* Ja II 200,26, *allīyimsu* Ja I 347,32. Also 1 sg. *amaññissam* D II 352,13; 2 sg. *āpajji* Ja III 83,4*, *pamajji* Mhv 17,15; 3 sg. *kuppi* Ja I 437,15, *nipajji* Ja I 279,4, *vijjhi* Ja II 18,16, *rucci* Vin II 188,32; 1 pl. *upapajjimha* Thī 519; 3 pl. *naccimsu* Ja I 362,6 or *anaccum* Th 164, *nipajjisum* Mhv 7,29 or *nipajjimsu* Ja I 61,20, *amaññisum* Sn 286.

With reference to § 136,3: 1 sg. *apassi* Thī-a 52,26; 3 sg. *passi* Ja II 66,18; 1 pl. *passimha* Ja III 278,7; 3 pl. *passimsu* Ja IV 141,14.

With reference to § 136,4 (pass.s and denom.s): 3 sg. *chiji* 'ceased' Ja I 329,27, with mid. ending *bhijittha* Ja I 468,10, *dayhittha* Ja I 215,18, *khiyi* Ja I 489,18 and *khuyittha* Vin I 57,33, *sampūri* 'was filled' Ja IV 458,29; 3 pl. *muccimsu* Ja II 66,16, *haññumsu* D I 142,33. Also 1 sg. *namassi* Thī 87; 3 pl. *namassimsu* Sn 287.

With reference to § 137: 3 sg. *jīyittha* Ja I 468.2*.

With reference to § 138: 1 sg. *bhāyim* Dhp-a III 187.3; 2 sg. *bhāyi* Th 764, Ja I 222.26; Dhp-a III 187.2; 3 sg. *jāyi* Ja III 391.20 and mid. *ajāyittha* Dīp 5.16, *anupariyāyi* 'transformed' Dhp-a III 202.17, *vāyi* S IV 290.1, *parinibbāyi* D II 156.34; 3 pl. *jāyimsu* Mhv 28.40 and *ajāyisum* Mhv 4.45; *gāyimsu* Ja I 362.6. In the same way: 2 sg. *palāyi* Ja II 26.19, 3 sg. *palāyi* Ja III 72.31, mid. *palāyittha* Vin I 23.9, Ja III 76.26; 3 pl. *pulāyimsu* Mhv 24.20 (cf. Skt *apalāyiṣṭa*); 3 sg. *dhūpāyi* (§ 186.2) Ja I 347.20.

4. Cl. X. With reference to § 139: The verbs of Cl. X, the caus. verbs and the *aya*-denom. verbs form aor. IV from the uncontracted stem: 1 sg. *kampayim* 'I shook' Th 1164; *paññāpayim* 'I set aright' Th 428; 2 sg. *mā cintayi* 'do not think!' Dhp-a 16.19; 3 sg. *pakāsayi* 'proclaimed' Sn 251, *adesayi* 'taught' Sn 233; *pūjayi* 'worshipped' Mil 222.14; mid. *amohayittha* 'was befooled' Sn 332; *arocayittha* 'was pleasing' Sn 252; 1 pl. *pāpayimha* 'we had ... attained' Dhp-a III 39.22; 2 pl. *mā vaddhayittha* 'do not increase!' Dhp-a I 93.4, *mā dassayittha* 'do not show!' Dhp-a III 201.7; 3 pl. *pātayimsu* 'they felled' Th 252, *akappayimsu* 'they performed' Sn 458 and *akappayum* Sn 295, *parivārayimsu* 'they surrounded' Ja II 253.13, *kathayimsu* 'they related' Ja II 216.26. For aor. III from the contracted stem, see § 165.2. In verse the choice between forms after one type or the other is often determined by the metre.

§ 169. Athematic conjugation:

1. Cl. II. With reference to § 140.1: 3 sg. *hani* Mhv 26.42, *ravi* Ja II 110.9, *aravi* Mhv 32.79 and the historical form *arāvi* Mhv 10.69; 3 pl. *hanimsu* Sn 295, *ravimsu* Ja I 202.28; from the root *i* + *sam* (*sameti*) 3 pl. *samimsu* S II 154.25.

With reference to § 140.4: 3 sg. A I 136.28 from *sayati* (beside *settha* Sn 970 from *seti*).

2. Cl. III. With reference to § 142: 1 sg. *pajahim* M III 160.30, *juhim* Th 341; 3 sg. *vijahi* Ja I 489.29, *saddahi* Ja II 38.6, mid. *saddahittha* Dhp-a I 117.24; 3 pl. *jahimsu* Ja III 19.23 and *jahum*¹ Ja III 19.23, *pidahumsu* Mhv 31.119, *patijaggimsu* Ja III 127.5.

With reference to § 143: 2 pl. *dadittha* Ja III 171.3.

3. Cl. VII. With reference to § 144: 1 sg. *bhuñjum* Mil 47.23, *anuyuñjusam* Th 157; 3 sg. *acchundi* Mhv 5.240, (a)*bhundi* A IV 312.3*, Ja I 467.15, *rundhi* Ja I 409.20; 1 pl. *pajahimhā* M I 448.15; 2 pl. *anuyuñjutha* Th 414; 3 pl. *acchindimsu* Vin I 88.29, *bhundimsu* Dīp 7.54, *abhuñjusum* Th 922 and *abhuñjusum* Mhv 7.25.

4. Cl. IX and V. With reference to § 145: 1 sg. *pañjanum* Dhp-a I 21.2, *abhijanissam* Th 915; 3 sg. *ajani* Sn 536, *samyani* Sv I 261.29 (cf. *ajini* 'conquered' Ja III 212.6*); 3 pl. *janimsu* Ja II 105.4 (cf. *hūnimsu* Sn 290).

With reference to § 146: 2 sg. *gañhu* Ja VI 337.12; 3 sg. *ganhi* Ja VI 337.10; 2 pl. *gañhittha* Ja I 254.4; 3 pl. *gañhimsu* Ja III 127.18. From *bandhati*: 1 sg. *anubandim* Sn 446 and *anubandhissam* Ja VI 508.30.

With reference to § 147.1,2: 3 sg. *pahuṇi* Ja I 290.25; 3 pl. *pahinimsu* Ja II 21.11, *vinicchinimsu* Ja I 2.9.

With reference to § 148: 1 sg. *pāpūnūm* Th 865; 3 sg. *sakkūṇi* Mhv 7.14, *pāpūni* Ja I 151.3; 3 pl. *pāpūnūmsu* Ja II 111.23.

With reference to § 149: 3 pl. *anuttunūmsu* D III 86.22.

¹ Wackernagel, GN, 1906, p. 157, considers it to be a perf. 3 pl. = Skt *jahus*, which is, of course, formally possible.

§ 170. There still remain for discussion a few isolated forms which may be interpreted in different ways. Thus we have in Thī-a 85.26* (verse from Ap) the form *dakkhisam* 'I saw'. As *dakkh-* = *drāky-* is already itself a stem of type III (cf. § 164), the transfer to the inflectional mode of type IV is effected by means of the ending *-isam*. Probably the parallel forms in *-isam* and *-im* of type IV have led to the new formation out of *adakkhim*. Similarly (a)*sakkhissam* 'I was able to' M III 179.28, 1 pl. *sakkhimha* D II 155.2, 3 pl. *sakkhimsu* Mhv 8.23 and *sakkhisum* Mhv 23.11. Of course it may also be assumed that the fut. stem of the roots *dars* and *śak* provided the basis to these new formations. *Dakkhati* and *sakkhati* were no longer felt as fut.s, but as pres.s (cf. § 136.3), which now formed their aor. after type IV. An aor. stem of type III is however doubtless the basis of the form *adasimhā* 'we gave' Thī 518 (Thī-a 295.17: *adamhā*), as well as of the form *ahesunha* 'we existed' M I 265.1.4. All the forms referred to should probably be considered as 'double constructions' in which both the types III and IV have become conflated. This hypothesis seems to be more likely than the assumption that these are forms of the *sīs*-aor. of

Skt. Also *pamādassam* ‘I was unexerting’ M III 179,29 is probably nothing but an elaboration of **pamādam* (type II, § 161) after type IV, which might have been facilitated by the form *sakkhissam* which immediately precedes it.

Type V

§ 170A. There are traces of a reduplicated aorist. All the examples are from the verb *patati* with the prefixes *adhi-*, *ud-* and *pra-*.¹ The tradition has misunderstood the forms, and has frequently corrupted them, usually into past part.s or absol.s of *prāp-*, leaving an unexplained augment.

Examples: *ajjhapatā* S V 147,11 = Skt *adhyapaptat* (here the correct ending *-ā* was doubtless retained because the subject is feminine; elsewhere *-ā* or *-am* is sometimes changed to *-o* to “agree” with a masculine subject, e.g. *ajjhapatto* Sn 1134 = *ajjhapatām* = Skt *adhyapaptam*);² *udāpatvā* Ja V 255,17* = *udapattā* = Skt *udapaptat*; (*-ā* is sometimes changed to *-o* to “agree” with a masculine subject, e.g. *udapatto* Ja III 484,22*, V 71,11*); *pāpattam* Ap 494,16 and (v.l. for *pāpattham*) Ja VI 16,29* = Skt *prāpaptam*.

¹ See von Hinüber, 1974, pp. 65–72.

² See Norman, 1992B, p. 387.

Type VI

§ 170B. Forms in *-e*,¹ identical in appearance to the opt., are sometimes used as an aor., as in Pkt² and BHS³: 1 sg. *abhivādaye* Ap 1,10 (v.l. in Ap-a for *abhivādayim*); *āhare* Ap 1,12; *māpaye* Ap 1,13; *āhane* Ap 5,25; *upatīhahe* Ap 437,22. 2 sg. *nibbāpaye* Ja III 157,8* (cty: *nibbāpayi*); 3 sg. *upanāmaye* Ja IV 408,7*; *apakkame* S I 124,7* (cty: *apagaccheyya*); *paṭiggahe* Sn 689.⁴ 3 sg. mid. *āsimsetha* Ja III 251,11* (cty: *asimsi*).

¹ See Bechert, 1958, p. 313 and von Hinüber, 1977. At Ja VI 515,19* the opt. *dajjam* seems to be used in the sense of an aor. See Norman, 1981, pp. 168–69.

² See Pischel (§ 466).

³ Edgerton states: “[BHS] uses forms identical with the optative as aorists” (BHS § 32.85).

⁴ See Norman, 1992B, p. 231.

5. Perfect

§ 171. With the exception of a few fossilised forms, the perf. has been almost completely eliminated from the Pāli language.¹ Forms like *bubodha*, *susoca*² (but cf. also *jagāma* Ja VI 203,2*, *babhuva* Ja VI 282,22*)³ as they are found, for instance, in artificial poetry, are merely learned reminiscences. To set forth a paradigm for the perf., as is done by the grammarians, is therefore unnecessary. The last vestiges of the perf. are: *āha* ‘he has said’ (= *āha*) Sn 790 and its pl. *āhu* (= *āhus*) Th 188, to which was added the new formation *āhamṣu* (after *adamsu*) Ja I 121,12. Finally, there is also *vidū* or *vidum* ‘they know’ (= *vidus*) Sn 758. The sg. corresponding to it is the form *vedi* (§ 166), which is very probably = Skt *avedit*.⁴

¹ See von Hinüber, 1986, § 480.

² Cf. Childers, PD, s.v. *bujjhau*; E. Müller, PGr., p. 117. On the paradigm cf. Minayeff, PGr., § 182, p. 65; E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 114. On *jahuṇi* see § 169.2 with f.n.

³ See Bechert, 1955.

⁴ Perhaps °*uppatitalomavāsaso* D III 155,9* hides the perfect form *āsa*, as H. Smith suggested (see von Hinüber, 1977, p. 46, f.n. 6).

6. Periphrastic Constructions

§ 172. There are traces of the use of the periphrastic fut. in Pāli, as in Skt. Thus *āgantāro punabbhavāṇi* (the copula has to be supplied) Sn 754.¹ Cf. M II 130,16. A periphrastic opt. is to be found in ... *iti ce*, *bhikkhave*, *pucchitāro assu* ‘if, monks, you would ask this’ Sn p. 140,6; cf. also *bhavanti vattāro* ‘they will say’ M I 469,14 and *bhavanti upasamkamitāro* ‘they will come along’ M III 111,9. There is also *tassa kumbhe patitami* ‘I will throw myself on his head’ Ja III 113,24, where we have either to read *patitā mhi* or to accept analogical contamination by the inflection of the simple fut. (*patissāmi*).²

¹ See Norman, 1992B, p. 293.

²Cf. also the form *vañcitammi* in § 173.2.

§ 173. A periphrastic perf. arises out of the combination of the past part. with the copula.¹ In the third pers. the copula *atti* is always omitted, and *hoti* is often so. Examples are numerous in every period of the language.

1. For intrans. verbs we have: 1 sg. *pabbajito* 'mhi 'I have retired from worldly life' Th 72; *otinno* 'mhi 'I have dismounted' M I 192,6; *sitibhuto* 'smi 'I have been forsaken' Th 79, fem. *sitibhūt* 'amhi (= -tā 'mhi) Th I 15; *āgato* 'mhi 'I have come' Ja II 20,13; 2 sg. *phuto* 'si 'you are standing' Ja III 53,12, fem. *sitibhūtāsi* Th I 16, *gatasi* 'you are gone' Ja II 416,8; 3 sg. *uppannam* (*hoti*) 'is originated' M I 130,5,10; *nahāto* 'has bathed' Ja I 184,29. 1 pl. *vutth* 'amha (= *vutthā amha*) 'we have lived' Ja IV 243,11, *sitibhūt* 'amha (fem.) Th I 66, *āgat* 'amhāse D II 275,11*; 2 pl. *āgat* 'attha Ja I 20,11, *jāt* 'attha 'you have become' Dhp-a III 59,4; 3 pl. *āgatā* Mhv 14,12.

2. In the case of trans. verbs the periphrastic perf. has naturally a passive meaning: 1 sg. fem. *mutt* 'amhi (= *muttd amhi*) 'I am released' Th I 11; *vañcit* 'ammi (sic!) = *vañcītā amhi* fem.) 'I am betrayed' Ja I 287,26; *nimantit* 'amha, *nimantit* 'attha 'we, you, have been invited' Vin III 10,37. The agent is in the instr. or in the gen.dat.,² as, for instance, in *Mahākaccāno Sathu c' eva samvaññito sambhāvito* 'M. has been praised and honoured by the Master himself' M III 194,2, or *patto me dsavakkhayo* 'I have achieved the conquest of carnal weaknesses'³ Th 116. In the case of certain trans. verbs the periphrastic perf. however sometimes assumes an act. meaning: *patto* 'si *nibbānam* 'you have attained Nirvāna' Dhp 134. Cf. Vv 53,20.

3. Other tenses and moods may also be expressed by the combination of the past part. with the auxiliary verb. Thus we have a pluperf. pot. in *patto abhavissam* 'I would have attained' Ja I 470,15, or a fut. perf. in *gato bhavissati* 'he will have gone' Ja II 214,4.

¹These forms are used in Pkt exclusively to express past tense, except in AMg; see Pischel (§ 519).

²Cf. R.O. Franke, BB, 16, p. 111.

³According to R.O. Franke, D.trsl., p. 83, f.n. 1.

§ 174. Periphrastic constructions are also employed when continuous action, whether of the past or the pres., has to be expressed. Formally they are combinations of part. pres. or absol. with the copula or verbs with an indefinite meaning.¹ There occur:

1. part. pres. with copula; e.g. *sayano* 'mhi 'I am lying' M I 57,1 (as also immediately preceding *thito* 'mhi, *nisinno* 'mhi).

2. part. pres. with *tiññhati*. Thus *te aññam-aññam patvā sarīrāni lehentā atthamsu* 'they were licking each others' bodies' Ja II 31,18, in which however the original meaning 'they stood there licking ...' can still be distinctly felt. Likewise in Dhp-a III 93,2.

3. absol. with *tiññhati*. Thus *mūlam pi tesam palikhañña tiññhe* 'attempt should be made to pull out even their roots' Sn 968; *mahantam phanam karitvā atthāsi* 'he formed an enormous hood' Vin I 3,18; *hatthilāñdam ... ekasmim gunhe laggitvā atthāsi* 'remained hanging from a bush'. Cf. S IV 60,15.

4. part. pres. with *carati* or *vicarati*. Thus *nāññesam pihuyam care* 'one should not be jealous of others' Dhp 365; *Bodhisatto ekam upamam upadhārento vicarati* 'B. was busy thinking out a simile' Ja III 102,16. Cf. D I 26,24.

5. absol. with *viharati*. Thus *pañhamajjhānam upasampajja viharati* 'he has attained the first stage of the trance (and is continuing to be in that stage)' D I 37,3. Cf. M I 33,26.

6. absol. with *vattati*. Thus *Gotama ime dhamme anavasesam samādāya vattati* 'G. is observing these rules to the letter' D I 164,5. Cf. D I 230,14.

7. absol. with *voharati*. Thus *so tadeva abhinvissa voharati* 'he is holding on to it firmly' M III 210,28. Cf. M I 410,18.

¹Many of these constructions are reminiscent of the similar usage in Singhalese. Cf. Geiger, LSpRS, § 67. Thus, for instance, *kim pana te imam dhanam gahevā va na gaminsu* 'why have they not taken their money with them (in death)?' Dhp-a III 87,15. Sgh. *gen-enu, gena-yanu*

7. Passive

§ 175. The pass. may be formed in two ways: by means of *-ya*, or by means of *-īya*.¹ The pass. formed with *-ya* formally coincides with the pres. class IV (§ 136.4). The *-ya* is retained unchanged after vowels; it is assimilated to the final consonant of a root according to the appropriate phonetic laws.

1. Roots in vowels: Roots in ā: *ñayati* 'becomes known' Mil 25.8; *paññayati* D I 93.3 = *prajñayate*; the roots *dā* and *dhā* have *diyati* (*diyyati*) Thī 467 and *dhiyati* (*dhiyyati*) D I 73.23 = *diyate*, *dhiyate*. In *adiyati* (*samād-*, *upād-*) 'takes unto himself' (§ 136.4) the pass. has a mid. meaning.² Cf. Skt *ādatte*, as well as § 176.1. The root *hā* has beside *hīyati* (*hiyyati*) also *hayati* Ja I 181.20*. From the root *syā* 'to congeal' there is *sīyati* Th 312 = *sīyate*. Roots in ī and ū: *jīyate*; *parājīyati* 'goes under' Ja I 290.20; *nīyati* (*niyyati*) 'is led' Sn 580 = *nīyate*; *parikkhīyanti* 'they are being annihilated' Thī 347 = *kṣīyate*. Root *bhū*: *anubhuyyati* 'is enjoyed' Vv-a 181.29; the root *śru* 'to hear': *sūyati* (*suyyati*) Ja IV 141.20*.

2. Roots in r: the root *kar* 'to do': *kayirati* (§ 47.2) Dhp 292 = **karyate*; the root *par* 'to fill': *pūrati*³ Dhp 121 = *pūryate*; cf. moreover forms of the root *har*: *paṭīhīrati* 'is avoided' Thī 453, *samīhīrati* 'is fettered' M III 188.28, and also of the root *bhar*: *anubhīrati*⁴ 'is carried to' M III 123.20.

3. Roots in consonants: *vuccati* 'is spoken' Dhp 63 = *ucyate*; *paccati* 'is cooked' = *pacyate*; *lujjati* 'falls to pieces' (§ 44) = *rujyate*; *kacchati* 'is related' M I 253.21 = *kathyate*; *vijjati* 'exists' Th 132 = *vidyate*; *bajjhati* 'is bound' Th 137 = *badhyate*; *bhaññati* 'is spoken' Vin I 11.33 = *bhanyate*; *haññati* 'is killed' = *hanyate*; *patāyanti* (root *tan*) 'they arise out of ...' D III 201.17* = *pratāyante*; *vuppati* 'is sown' Th 530 = *upyate*; *dissati* 'is seen' Th 44 = *dr̥syate*; *kassate* 'is ploughed' Th 530 = *kṛṣyate*; *gayhati* 'is seized' (§ 49) Vin I 88.35 = *grhyate*; *dayhati* 'is burnt' Sn 63 (*vilayhase* Ja II 220.12) = *dahyate*; *vuyhati* 'is carried away' Th 98 (*nubbuyhati* 'saves himself' Thī 468) = *uhyate*.

¹ Both the constructions are known also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 535).

² Such forms are probably not pass.s, but show palatalisation of *-ayati* to *-īyati*. See Norman, 1976A, pp. 337–38.

³ Cf. § 52.5. Also Mah. *pūrai*.

⁴ Probably *hriyate*, *bhriyate* at first became **huryate*, **bhuryate* through metathesis, and then *hirati*, *bhirati* like *pūrati*. In the same way is formed also *karati* 'is treated' Th 143 from root *kar*.

⁵ E. Müller, PGr., p. 121. Not so R.O. Franke, WZKM, 8, p. 323.

§ 176. The construction with *-īya* is found very frequently.

1. In caus. (and analogous) stems.¹ Thus *bhājiyati* 'is divided' Ud 48.24 from *bhājeti* (root *bhaj*) = *bhajyate*; *paricāriyati* 'is served' Vin I 15.4 from *paricāreti*; *dassiyati* 'is shown' D II 124.10 from *dasseti* = *darśyate*; *addiyati* 'is pained' Thī 140 = *ardyate*; *paññāpiyati* 'is elucidated' As 113.14 from *paññāpeti* (root *jñā*); *vesiyati* 'is introduced' M I 88.25 from *veseti*; *sodhiyati* 'is purified' Bv 2.40 from *sodheti* = *sodhyate*; *posiyati* 'is nourished' Ja III 289.7* from *poseti*. Similarly *sāriyati* 'is reminded', *māriyati* 'is killed', *codiyati* 'is impelled', etc. Also *pūjiyati* 'is worshipped' Mhv 17.17 from *pūjeti* of Cl. X. Sometimes the caus. meaning cannot be traced in such pass.s. Thus *vediyati* 'is made to experience, feels' M I 59.12 from *vedeti* (root *vid*); *vādiyati* 'is made to speak, speaks' Sn 824.² The pass. has a mid. meaning in *sādiyati* 'enjoys himself, takes pleasure in' Vin II 294.20 from **sādeti* (= Skt *svādayati*) from the root *svad*.³

2. pass.s may be constructed with *-īya* also from various pres. stems.⁴ Firstly, in the case of a number of verbs of which the pres. stem is the same as the root. Thus *yācīyati* 'is asked for' Mhv 7.14 from the root *yāc*; *pucchiyati* 'is asked' Dhp-a I 10.10 from the weak grade of the root *pr̥ch*; *samanugāhiyamāna* 'interrogated regarding motives' A V 156.5 from the root *gāh*, etc. In the words quoted above the Pāli form is distinguished from the Skt form only by the svarabhakti; cf. Skt *yācyate*, *pr̥cchyate*, *gāhyate*. But we have also *hariyati* 'is carried away' M III 148.13 from *harati*, as against Skt *hriyate* = *hīrati*; *yuñjīyati* in *samanuyuñjīyamāna* 'extorted, interrogated' A V 156.5 from *yuñjati* (§ 144).

3. There is a "double construction" in which a new pass. in *-īya* is derived from a pass. stem formed according to § 175.3 in *parichijjīyamāna* 'clearly marked off' Dhp-a I 22.1 from *chijjati* = *chidyate*. There is a similar double construction in *an-upalabbīyamāna* from *upa-labhati* = *upa-labhyate* S III 112.6.

The corresponding forms in Pkt are Mah. *kārijjai*, *cheijjanti*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 543).

²Such forms are probably not pass.s, but show palatalisation of -ayati to -iyati. See Norman, 1976A, pp. 337–38.

³In Sn 281, *abhinibbjiyātha* ‘avoid!’ from root *varj*, *varjayati* should perhaps be read, and the pass. form explained in the same way. If *abhinibbjiyātha* (root *vid*) is read, then it would be a case of ‘double-construction’. See Norman, 1992B, p. 202.

⁴These forms are more frequent in Pkt than in Pāli. See Pischel (§§ 536 foll.).

§ 177. The inflection of the pass. is like that of a verb of Cl. IV. For the pres. system cf. § 136.4, for the fut. § 155.3, for the aor.¹ § 168.3. The 3 sg. aor. pass. in *i* derived from the strong-grade form of the root has been retained in a few isolated forms: *abhedi* ‘was destroyed’ and *nirodhi* Ud 93,12* = *abhedi*, *arodhi*; *samatāni* ‘stretched itself out’ D III 85,1 = *atāni*.

¹An aor. from the pass. stem is found only in AMg in Pkt, but a fut. in almost all the dialects. See Pischel (§ 549).

8. Causatives

§ 178. Many caus. verbs in Pāli are historical continuations of corresponding constructions in Skt. The suffix *aya* may be contracted to *e*.¹

1. Unmodified roots: *pāpeti* ‘makes attain’ Ja I 223,14 (root *āp* with *pra*) = *prāpayati*; *samsandeti* ‘joins together’ Ja I 403,19 = *syandayati*. Similarly with roots with medial *r* and *l*: *dasseti* ‘shows’ Th 86 = *darśayati*; *kappeti* ‘performs’ Sn 295 = *kalpayati*. Cf. *chaddeti* = *chardayati*; *vatteti* = *vartayati*; *vaddheti* = *vardhayati*; *vissajjeti* = *visarjayati*; *hamseti* = *harsayati*.

2. Roots with medial *a* before a single consonant:

(a) the *a* is lengthened as in Skt. Thus *yadeti* ‘makes speak, plays (musical instrument)’ Sn 1010 = *vadayati*; *ubbaheti* ‘heaves up’ D II 347,17 = *udvāhayati*; *hāseti* ‘makes laugh’ Vin III 84,21 = *hāsayati*. Similarly *gāheti* = *grāhayati*; *tāpeti* = *tapayati*; *pateti* = *pātayati*;

padeti = *padayati*; *yādeti* (§ 38.3) = *yatayati*; *vaseti* = *vāsayati*; *sadeti* = *sadayati*; *sameti* = *śāmayati*. For **labheti* as against *lambhayati* we have *labbheti* ‘lets attain’ Vin IV 5,38*. From roots with final *r*: *kareti* ‘causes to do’ Ja III 394,7* = *karayati*; *pureti* ‘fills’ Sn 30 = *purayati*. Similarly *tareti* = *tarayati*; *-thareti* = *-starayati*; *dhāreti* = *dharayati*; *mareti* = *marayati*; *vareti* ‘holds back’ and ‘chooses’ = *varayati*; *sareti* = *sarayati*; *sareti* = *smarayati*.

(b) The *a* remains short as also in Skt in *gmeti* ‘makes go’ M III 166,21 (*āgameti* ‘waits’ Vin I 78,6) = *gamayati*. Similarly *janeti* = *janayati*, *dameti* = *damayati*; *yameti* Dhp 37 = *yamayati*; *bhameti* Mhv 23,80 = *bhrāmayati*.

(c) The quantity varies: *jāleti* ‘kindles’ (ā Mil 47,2, ā Ja II 44,1) = *javālayati*; *namayanti* ‘they bend’ Dhp 80, but *pañāmeti* ‘sends away, stretches out’ Ja II 28,12 (in Skt only *namavati*); *nikkhāmeti* ‘lets go out’ (ā Ja II 112,12, ā Vin I 187,35) = *kramayati*, *niskrāmayati*.

¹For the sake of brevity the form in *e* is always given in the following sections.

§ 179. Caus. stems.

3. Of roots with non-final *i*, *u*: *chedeti* ‘causes to be cut off’ Ja III 179,17 = *chedayati* (root *chid*); *deseti* ‘shows, teaches’ Sn 722 = *deśayati* (root *diś*); *paveseti* ‘lets enter, introduces’ Vin III 29,2 = *praveśayati*; *codeti* ‘pushes forward’ Dhp 379 = *codayati* (root *cud*); *sodheti* ‘purifies’ Dhp 141 = *sodhayati*. Similarly *peseti* = *preśayati* (root *īś* with *pra*); *ceteti* Vv 84,40 = *cetayati* (root *cit*); *vedeti* = *vedayati*; *sineheti* ‘makes tender’ Mil 172,6 = *snehayati*; *poseti* = *pośayati*; *āroceti* = *ārocayati*; *bhojeti* = *bhojayati*; *yojeti* = *yojayati*; *palobheti* = *pralobhayati*; *soceti* = *śocayati*.

4. From roots with final *ī*, *ū*: *bhāyayate* ‘frightens’ Ja III 99,14 = *bhāyayati* (root *bhī*); *cāveti* ‘drives forth’ Sn 442 = *cyāvayati* (root *cyu*); *bhāveti* ‘brings about’ Th 83 = *bhāvayati*; *saveti* ‘lets hear, proclaims’ Ja III 437,13 = *śrāvayati*. Also *nayeti* = *nayayati* from the root *nī*,¹ as well as *opilāpeti* (§ 39.6) = *plāvayati* and *hāpeti* (ibid.) = *hāvayati* from roots *plu*, *hu*.

5. Miscellaneous: in agreement with Skt the root *dus* (*dussati* ‘is defiled’ Vin I 188,17) forms the caus. *dūseti* ‘defiles, insults’ Ja I 454,16 = *dūśayati*; *padoseti* Sn 659, M I 186,13 (in the parallel passage

M I 129,16 *-dus-*); from *han* we have *ghāteti* 'causes to be killed' Sn 629 = *ghatayati*; from the root *prī*: *pīneti* 'pleases' D I 51,15 = *prīnayati*. The caus. is based on the pres. stem in *naceti* 'causes to dance' D I 135,27 from *naccati* (§ 136); *laggeti* 'hangs up' Ja III 107,14 from *laggati* (*ibid.*).

¹In Minayeff, PGr., § 208.

§ 180. As in Skt the roots in *ā* take the element *paya*, *pe*. And as in Skt some roots may shorten the *ā*, the vowel in some cases is of variable quantity, even in those roots which are never shortened in Skt.¹

1. Examples: *dāpeti* 'causes to give' Vin I 55,37 = *dāpayati*, but *samādāpeti* 'causes to take, exhorts'; *nidhāpeti* 'causes to lay down' Mhv 20,12, *niddhāpeti* 'turns out' Ja IV 41,26 = *dhāpayati*; *vijjhāpeti* 'extinguishes' Vin I 31,26 (root *kṣa* § 56.2); *ñāpeti* 'causes to know, informs' Vin I 56,10, *paññāpeti* 'explains, designates', *āñāpeti* 'orders' (§ 63.2), etc. = *jñāpayati*; *māpeti* 'causes to measure', *nimmāpeti* 'causes to build' = *māpayati*; *yāpeti* 'passes (time), lives on ...' Ja VI 532,15 = *yāpayati*; *nibbāpeti* 'extinguishes' D II 164,17 = *nirvāpayati*; *thāpeti* 'establishes' (a) Dhp 40, (ā) Sn 112 with numerous compounds = *sthāpayati*; *nahāpeti* 'bathes (trans.)' D I 93,6 = *snāpayati*; *hāpeti* 'causes to leave, releases' (JPTS 1906–7, p. 163) = *hāpayati*.²

2. The course of this type was taken also by some other roots, as also in Skt. Thus *ropeti* 'plants' Sn 208, *āropeti* 'causes to climb up', (v)*oropeti* 'robs' = *ropayati* (beside *rohayati*) from the root *ruh*; *ussapeti* 'raises up' (§ 58.3) = *ucchrapayati* from the root *śri* with *ud*; *japeti* 'causes to conquer' S I 116,19 = *jāpayati* from the root *ji*. Peculiar to Pāli is the form *āñāpeti*³ 'causes to be brought' Vin I 116,37 from the root *nī* with *ā*.

3. From the root *pā* there is *pāyeti* 'gives to drink' Vin II 289,30 (Skt *payayati*).

Also in Pkt, e.g. *phāvei*; see Pischel (§ 551).

²On *hāpeti* = *hāvayati* see § 179.4.

³Often wrongly written with *ñ* through the influence of *āñāpeti* 'orders'.

§ 181. Numerous new forms were constructed after the caus. stems of roots in *ā*. The formative elements *āpaya*, *āpe* serve: 1. to form caus. verbs out of all pres. stems, and 2. to form new double caus. forms out of older caus. verbs. These new formations are not yet current in the Gāthā language, but are met with already in canonical prose and are unusually numerous later.

1. Caus. verbs from pres. stems.¹

With reference to § 130: *vasāpeti* Ja I 290,12; *paccāpeti* Ja II 15,24; *khamāpeti* 'excuses' Vin I 54,13; *sandāpeti* Mil 122,2; *harāpeti* Ja II 38,6; *uddharāpeti* 'causes to bring out' Vin IV 39,17; *sarāpeti* 'causes to remember' Vin III 44,8.

With reference to § 132: *nisidāpeti* Ja III 392,7.

With reference to § 133: *dasāpeti* Ja II 31,3.

With reference to § 134: *khipāpeti* Ja II 36,21; *pucchāpeti* Mhv 10,75; *okirāpeti* Sp 98,12.

With reference to § 135: *icchāpeti* Spk I 277,1; *muñcāpeti* D I 148,3; *vilimpāpeti* Ja I 254,7; *siñcāpeti* Ja II 20,3.

With reference to § 136: *nipajjāpeti* Ja I 492,30; *bujjhāpeti* 'leads to true knowledge' Ja I 407,13; *vijjhāpeti* 'causes to be bored through' Mhv 25,70. The form *chejjapessāmi* Mil 90,11, which is however doubtful, would seem to be derived from a pass. stem. The form expected is *chijjāpessāmi*.²

With reference to § 137: *jīrāpeti* 'digest' Ja I 419,29.

With reference to § 138: *gāyāpeti* Dhp-a III 231,14, *dāyāpeti* 'causes (crops) to be mowed' Dhp-a III 285,1 from the root *dā* (dyati); *palāpeti* 'chases away' Ja II 69,22.

With reference to § 140: *hanāpeti* Ja I 262,28; *sayāpeti* 'lays down' Ja I 245,12.

With reference to § 142.2: *nidahāpeti* 'causes to lay down' Ja II 38,3; *saddahāpeti* Ja I 294,16.

With reference to § 144: *chindāpeti* Ja I 438,16; *bhindāpeti* Ja I 290,22; *himṣāpeti* Pv-a I 23,16.

With reference to § 145: *janāpeti* Ja I 452,20.

With reference to § 146: *gañhapeti* Ja I 264,6.

With reference to § 147: *suñāpeti* Dhp-a I 206,13. From the desid. *tikicchatī* (§ 183) is derived *tikicchapehi* 'cause to be cured'! Dhp-a I 25,13.

¹See Pischel (§ 552) for the corresponding forms in Pkt.

²R.O. Franke, BB, 22, p. 220. But *nibbija-pema* Sn 448 = S I 124,8* and *nibbija-petha* S I 127,17* are to be divided *nibbija* + *apema* (*apetha*) as Fausböll. (Sn G.oss., p. 335) has already done following the ety.

§ 182. The number of double caus.s is very large :

2. With reference to § 178.1,2: *kappapeti* D I 49,22, *chaddāpeti* Ja I 357,15; *vadhdāpeti* Ja I 455,28; *vissajjāpeti* Ja I 294,28; *gāhāpeti* Ja I 166,19; *patiyādāpeti* D II 88,14; *adhivasapeti* Ja I 254,22; *kārāpeti* Vin I 89,18; *ohārāpeti* 'causes to decrease' Vin I 22,12; *mārāpeti* Ja II 417,9; *pārapeti* Mhv 35,7.

With reference to § 179: *chedapeti* D I 52,22; *sodhāpeti* Ja I 305,3; *yojāpeti* D II 95,18; *posāpeti* Ja I 290,14; *ārocāpeti* D II 127,6; *ghātāpeti* Vin I 277,7; *laggapeti* Mhv 33,11.

With reference to § 180: *ṭhapāpeti* Ja II 20,17; *ropāpeti* D II 179,16. The form *cetāpeti* 'causes to collect' Vin IV 250,13 is remarkable. Formally it is a double caus. from *cetati*, but, as the meaning shows, it belongs to the root *ci* 'to collect'. The double caus. meaning has often become obscure in the forms reviewed above, but in some cases it is still quite clear, e.g. when in Vin I 49,15 *vinodāpeti* occurs in the immediate vicinity of *vinodeti*, or when the simple caus. is derived from a basic trans. verb and through further suffixation becomes a double trans., as in the case of *ṭhāpeti* and *ṭhapāpeti* 'erects' and 'causes to erect'.

§ 183. Inflection of the caus.: for the pres. system see § 139; for the fut. § 151 and § 155; for the aor. § 165.2 and § 168.4; for the pass. of the caus. § 176.1.

9. Desideratives

§ 184. The desid. verbs of Pāli are stems derived from an older stage of the language.¹ The construction of desid.s is no longer an active function in Pāli. Examples: *jigucchatī* 'dislikes, loathes' Sn 215 = *jugupsate* from the root *gup*; *jighacchatī* 'wishes to eat' D II 266,1* = *jighatsati* from the root *ghas* (*jighacchā* 'hunger' Dhp 203); *vicikicchatī* 'hesitates' D I 106,1 = *vicikitsati* from the root *cit*, but *tikicchatī* 'treats (medically)' Vin I 71,36 and *tikicchā* 'medical

treatment', *tekipcha* 'curable' (§ 41.2); *jigimsati*, *jigisati* 'wishes to attain, conquer' Sn 700 = *jigisati* from the root *ji*;² *titikkhatī* 'tolerates' Dhp 321 = *titikṣati* from the root *tij*; *pivāsati* 'wishes to drink' (Kacc. III 2,3, Senart, p. 434) = *pipāsati* from the root *pa*; *bubhukkhatī* 'wishes to eat' (Kacc. III 2,3.) = *bubhukṣate* from the root *bhuj*; *vīmaṇasati* 'puts to test' M I 125,16 = *mimāṇasati* (§ 46.4) from the root *man*; *vavakkhatī* 'wishes to speak' D II 256,9* = *vivakṣati* from the root *vac*; *sussūsati*³ 'wishes to hear' D I 230,13 = *śuśruṣate* from the root *śru*. Weakened and shortened stems too are met with as in Skt: *dicchati* 'wishes to give' S I 18,27* = *ditsati*, pl. 3. *dicchare* S I 18,37, from the root *dā*; *sikkhatī* 'wishes to succeed, learns' (JPTS, 1909, p. 157) = *siksate* from the root *sak*; perhaps also *simsati* 'wishes to go' Vv 64,7 = *(si)sīrṣati* from the root *sar*.⁴ Skt *icchatī* and *ipsati* have coincided in Pāli *icchati*. On the inflection see §§ 130.6, 154.4, 166 (end), 181,1 (end).

¹Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 555).

²According to Kacc. III 2,3 (Senart, p. 434) from root *har* (Skt *jhīrsuti*).

³The spelling *sussūyatī* M III 221,8, etc., is probab.y wrong.

⁴But *(pac)cāsimasati* is derived from Skt *sams*.

10. Intensives

§ 185. The intens. verbs of Pāli are also derived from Skt stems.¹ Of very frequent occurrence is *cāṅkamati* 'walks up and down' Vin I 15,25 = *cāṅkramate* from the root *kram*. Cf. further *daddallati* 'lights up, sparkles' S I 127,18* = *jājvalyate* (§ 41.2) from the root *jval*; *lālappati*² 'chatters' Sn 580 (*lalappita* 'conversation' Ja VI 498,17) = *lālapyate* from the root *lap*. The substantive *loluppa* 'desire' Ja I 429,27 (cf. Skt *lolupa* 'desirous') is derived from a root *lup*. Cf. also *kākacchati* Ja I 61,24, probably meaning 'talks (in one's sleep)' from the verb *kathayati*. Sometimes the stem in Pāli ends in *a* as against *ya* in Skt: *jaṅgamati* against *jaṅgamyate* from the root *gam* 'to go', *caṅcalati* against *caṅcalyate* from the root *cal* 'to move';³ *momuhati* Sn 841 (beside the adj. *momuha* § 37) as against *momuhyate* from the root *muh* 'to lose control over one's own mind'. On *jāgarati*, *jaggati* = *jāgartī* see § 142.4. For the inflection of intens.s cf. §§ 130.6, 154.4, 166 (end).

¹For Pkt see Pischel (§ 556).

²Cf. the v.l. of the text: *lālapatam*.

³E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 118; E. Müller, PGr., p. 122.

11. Denominatives

§ 186. The number of denom. verbs with the formative element *aya* is very large:

1. From adjectives in *a*: *cirāyati* 'hesitates' Ja I 426,30 = *cirāyati*, -te; *dandhāyati* 'is slow' Ja III 141,10 from *dandha* (§ 38, f.n. 4); *piyayati* 'loves' Thī 285 from Skt *priya*; *maccharāyati* 'is jealous' Ja III 158,2 from Skt *matsura*; *sukhāyati* 'is happy' Ja II 31,4 = *sukhayate*.

2. From substantives in *a*: *kukkuccāyati* 'feels remorse' Vin I 191,32 from *kukkuccha*; *dhūpāyati* 'spits forth smoke' Vin I 180,27 = *dhūmāyati*; *dhūmāyati* 'smokes' M III 184,13 = *dhūmāyati*, -te; *mahāyati* 'honours by a festival' Ja IV 236,2 from *maha*; *rahayati* 'wishes to be alone' M I 119,29 from *raha*(s); *verāyati* 'rages' Dīp 15,67; *saddayati* 'makes a noise' Ud 61,6 = *śabdāyate*; *sārājjāyati* 'is embarrassed' S III 92,31 from *sāruja*. In Kacc. III 2,4 (Senart, p. 434), *pabbatāyati* 'he is like a mountain' from *pabbata* and III 2,24 (Senart p 442) *samuddāyati* 'resembles the ocean' from *samudda*. Anomalous is the case of *harāyati* 'feels shame' Vin I 87,1 from *hūri* = *hrī*.

3. From a pronom. form: *mamāyati* 'loves, worships' Th I 1150 = *mamāyate*.

4. Onomatopoeic expressions¹ are quite numerous: *kiñakināyati* 'rings' Ja III 315,9 (cty: *kiñikiñāyati*); *gaggarāyati* 'gurgles' Mil 3,7 from Skt *gargara*; *gañagañāyati* 'trickles' Th 189; *ghurughurāyati* 'snores' Ja III 538,21 = *ghurughurāyate*; *ciccitāyati* or *cijicitāyati* (§ 20) 'rustles'; *tañatañāyati* '(voice) shakes (with anger)' Ja I 347,12; *tintināyati* 'sighs, groans' Ja I 244,3; *daddabhāyati* 'crackles' Ja III 77,10; *dhamadhamāyati* 'hums, roars' Mil 117,21.

5. Here are to be included also forms like *uggahāyanti* 'they learn' Sn 791, which is connected with Ved. *grbhāyati*;² *phusāyati* 'touches' (beside *phusati*) S I 104,3; *pacalayati* 'shakes the head (in sleep)' Th 200; *ocinayati* 'turns back' Ja VI 4,19; *patāyanti* 'go out of' Ja III 283,16 (cty: *nikkhamanti*); perhaps also *sañkasāyati* 'accommodates oneself to' S I 202,23 (S II 277,12 *sañkasayati*).

¹Morris, JPTS, 1884, pp. 106 foll. These constructions are found in large

numbers also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 558).

²Whitney, Skt Gr. § 1066b.

§ 187. Denom. verbs with the formative element *aya* (contracted to *e*) or *apaya* (contracted to *ape*), after the manner of the caus. verbs:

1. With *aya* (*e*): *gopayati*, *gopeti* 'protects' Dhp 315 = *gopayati*, -te; *vijāyati* 'unravels' Mil 3,17 from *jañā*; *tīreti* 'leads to the goal' Ud 13,5 = *tīrayati*; *theneti* 'steals' Ja II 410,10 = *stenayati*; *thometi* 'praises' Vv-a 102,21 = *stomayati*; *dhūmayati* 'smokes' Sp 65,1 beside *dhumayati*; *patthayati*, -eti 'prays for' Th 51 = *prārthayate*; (*sam*)-*piñdeti* 'heaps up, collects' Ja I 230,25 = *pindayati*; *pihayati*, -eti 'desires' Dhp 94 = *sprhāyati*; *baleti* 'strengthens' Ja III 225,14 = *balayati*; *bhuseti* 'increases' Ja V 218,28 (cty: *bhusum* *karoti*, *vaddheti*), Skt *bhrśāyate*; *maggayati* 'pursues' Thī 384 from *magga*; *mantayati*, *manteti* 'takes counsel' A I 199,15* and *āmanteti* 'invites, demands' Th 34 = *āmantrayati*; *yanteti* 'hurls' Ja I 418,14 = *yantrayati*; *sañgāmeti* 'fights' It 75,16; *samodhāneti* 'connects' Ja I 9,36 from *samodhāna*; *sākaccheti* 'talks with somebody' (JPTS, 1909, p. 137) from *sakacchā*; *sukhetti* 'makes happy' D I 51,15 = *sukhayati*.¹

2. With *āpaya* (*āpe*): *ussukkāpeti* 'exerts himself' Thī-a 5,30 beside *ussukkati* from *ussukka*; *muramurāpeti* (onomatopoeic) 'crackles' Ja III 134,24; *opuñjāpeti* 'heaps up with something' Vin III 161,19 from *puñja*, Skt *puñjayati*. The caus. meaning is quite clear in *āmantāpeti* 'causes to call' D I 134,30 and in *sukhāpeti* 'makes happy', *dukkhāpeti* 'makes unhappy' D II 202,12.

¹Further examples in Kacc. III 2,8 (Senart, p. 437): *auhatthayati* 'covers the distance on the back of an elephant', *upavīñayati* 'accompanies with the lute', *dālhayati* 'makes firm', *visuddhayati* 'becomes purified'.

§ 188. Denom. verbs:

1. With the stem vowel *a*: *atricchati* 'desires this and that' Ja I 414,6 from *atriccha*; *usuyati*, *usuyyati* 'is jealous' from *usūyā* (§ 26 1b) = *asūyati*; *ussukkati* 'takes interest in' D I 230,21 from *ussukka*; *paripañhati* 'questions' M I 223,33 from *pañha*; *vijotalati* 'sparkles' M I 86,31; *sajjhāyati*, 'recites' Mil 10,10 from *sajjhāya* = *svādhyāya*

(whence the caus. *sajjhāpayati*, *sajjhāpeti* Ja III 28.21* and *sajjhayapeti* Mil 10.8). Further *tintinati* Ja I 243.6 beside *tintinayati* (§ 186.4), *dandhati* Ja III 141.2 beside *dandhayati* (§ 186.1), *dhupati* Mhv 12.14 beside *dhūpāyati* (§ 186.2), *sārajjati* A IV 359.8 beside *sarajjayati* (§ 186.2).

2. With the stem in *ya*: from substantives in *ā*: *karuṇāyati* ‘takes pity’ Vv-a 100.6 from *karuṇā* (or according to § 186.1 from *karuṇa*) = *karunāyate*; *mettāyati* ‘acts like a friend’ Ja I 365.17 from *mettā* (or directly from the adj. *metta*). From a substantive in *i*: *vyādhīyati* ‘becomes ill’ A II 17.27. After *u*, *y* becomes *v* in *kaṇḍuvati* (§ 46.1) = *kaṇḍūyati*; it is assimilated to the preceding consonant in *tapassati* ‘practises austerities’ Dhp-a I 53.3 = *tapasyati*; *namassati* ‘makes obeisance’ = *namasyati*.

3. With stems in *īya*: *āṭiyati* ‘suffers’ S I 131.12* from *āṭta* = *ārta*; *patiseniyati* ‘behaves like an enemy’ Sn 390 from *patisenā* = *pratisenā* ‘enemy army’¹ (SBE X.2, p. 64). Also in Kacc. III 2.5 and 6 (Senart, p. 435): *puttīyati* ‘treats like a son’, *pattīyati* ‘desires an alms-bowl for himself’, *dhanīyati* ‘desires money’, etc.

¹ For an alternative suggestion, see Norman, 1992B, p. 220.

§ 189. For the inflection of denom. verbs see:

1. Pres. system: §§ 136.4, 138 (at the end), 139;
2. Fut.: §§ 151.3, 154.3, 155 (at the end);
3. Aor.: §§ 165.2, 168.3 and 4.

12. Verbal Nouns

1. Pres. and fut. act. participles

§ 190. The pres. part.s in *-nt(a)* (inflection according to § 97) are derived from various pres. stems.¹ Examples:

With reference to § 130: *vasant(a)* Sn 43; *jivant* Sn 427; *khādanta* Ja III 276.25; *carant(a)* Dhp 61. From desid. stems: *jigucchanta* Ja I 422.32; *vicikicchanta* Nett 11.27; *tikicchanta* S I 162.33*. From intens.

stems: *caṇkamanta* Vin I 133.23.

With reference to § 131: *jinant* S I 116.19; *bhavant* (§ 98.3); *pahonta* ‘sufficing’ Dhp-a III 137.11; *abhisambhonta* Th 351; *a-sambhunanta* Sn 396.

With reference to § 132: *pivant(a)* Dhp 205; *tittihant* Sn 151 and *thahanta* Vin I 9.6.

With reference to § 133: *gacchant(a)* Sn 579.

With reference to § 134: *phusant* It 68.1*; *supanta* Vin I 15.10.

With reference to § 135: *icchant* Th 167; *muñcant* Sn 791; *vilumpanta* Ja III 277.7.

With reference to § 136 and § 137: *naccant(a)* Ja VI 497.7; *sussanta* Ja I 503.3; *passant(a)* Sn 837. From pass. stems with pass. meaning: *muccanta* Ja I 118.8 (read *nalātato sede mucante*); *khajjant* ‘one who is being devoured’ Th 315; *yāciyanta* ‘he who is being implored’ Mhv 7.14; *vāriyanta* ‘he who is being dissuaded’ Mhv 34.86. From denom. stems (§ 188.2): *namassanta* D II 208.16*.

With reference to § 138: *jhāyant(a)* ‘meditating’ Th 85; *upavāyantu* Th 544. From denom. stems (§ 186.1): *cirāyanta* Ja VI 521.11, *dhūmāyanta* Mhv 25.31.

With reference to § 139: *nandayanta* ‘gladdening’, *socayanta* ‘depressing’ Mil 226.26; *bhāvayant* Th 166; *nivārayant* Th 730; *vihethayanta* ‘injuring’ Dhp 184; *pācenta* D I 52.31; *kārenta* Ja I 107.21; *dāpenta* D I 52.33; *ghātentā* D I 52.30.

With reference to § 140: *hanant(a)* Ja II 407.1; *paccakkhant* (nom. sg. -*akkham*) Th 407 (root *khyā*); *enta* (root *i*) Ja VI 365.6; *sayant(a)* Sn 193.

With reference to § 141: *sant(a)* see § 98.2.

With reference to § 142 and § 143: *samadahant* S V 312.11; *saddhanta* Ja I 222.5; *jāgarant* Dhp 39 and *jaggant* S I 111.2*; *dadant* Sn 187, *dadanta* Vv 83.13 and *denta* Pv-a 11.8.

With reference to §§ 144–48: *bhuñyanta* Ja III 277.11; *bhindanta* Mhv 5.185; *jānant* Sn 320 and *jānanta* Ja I 223.3; *ganhanta* Ja III 52.15; *vicinanta* Ja III 188.12; *sunanta* Sn 102.3 and (according to Cl. I) *savant* Ja III 244.22; *sakkonta* Mil 27.25; *kubbant* Th 323 (= *kurvant*), *karont* (sg. gen. *karoto*, pl. gen. *karotam* § 97.1), *karonta* Ja I 98.11 (the usual form in post-canonical prose) and *karant* Th 146

¹The stem forms *-nt* and *-nta* respectively are given according to the passages quoted. On the feminine in *-ntī*, cf. § 98, f.n. 4

§ 191. In every period of the language the pres. part.s in *-māna*, even from non-mid. verbs, are found in very large numbers, often along with the part. in *-nt*.

With reference to § 130: *vasamāna* Ja I 291,13; *labhamāna* Sn 924; *jīvamāna* Ja I 307,18; *caramāna* Sn 413. From desid. stems: *sussūsamāna* Sn 383. From intens. stems: *jāgaramāna* Dhp 226; *daddallamāna* S I 127,18*. From denom. stems (§ 188.1): *sārājamāna* A IV 359,8.

With reference to §§ 131–35: *an-abhisambhuñamāna* D I 101,3; *tīṭhamāna* Ja I 52,27; *gacchamāna* Ja IV 3,3; *saṃphusamāna* Sn 671.

With reference to § 136: frequently from pass. stems (see § 175 foll.): *diyyamāna* Dhp-a III 191,12 (= *diyamāna*); *hiyyamāna* (root *hā*) Th 114; *dīyamāna* S I 127,8*; *kayiramāna* Vin II 289,17; *anubhīramāna* M III 123,20; *vuccamāna* Vin I 60,2; *vijjamāna* Ja I 214,4; *bhaññamāna* Vin I 11,33; *tappamāna* Th 32; *gayhamāna* As 18,15 (= *grhyamāna*); *vuyhamāna* Th 88; *dayhamāna* Th 39; *desiyamāna* Vin I 17,2; *posiyamāna* Ja I 492,12; *sāriyamāna* Vin III 221,34; *vāriyamāna* Ja IV 2,22; *dassiyamāna* D II 124,10; *pūjiyamāna* Bodh 141,10; *vutṭhāpiyamāna* A I 139,21; *pucchiyamāna* Dhp-a I 10,10; *yāciyamāna* Ja IV 138,27; even from a double pass.: *-chijiyamāna* (§ 76.2 at the end). From denom. stems (§ 188.2,3): *aṭṭiyamāna* Vin II 292,17; *namassamāna* Vin I 3,25.

With reference to §§ 137–38: *jīramāna* Th 32 or *jiyyamāna* M III 246,22; (= *jīramāṇa*); *miyyamāna* M III 246,22; *jhāyamāna* ‘burning’ Ud 93,3. From denom. stems (§ 186.1): *sukhāyamāna* Ja II 31,4.

With reference to § 139: Only from uncontracted stems: *sārayamāna* Ja I 50,1, *kārayamāna* Ja I 149,16. From denominative stems (§ 187.1): *patthayamāna* Ja I 279,20.

With reference to § 140 and § 142 foll.: *sayamāna* Th 95 and *semana* Ja I 180,1; *sāmdahamāna* As 113,2; *dadamāna* S I 19,3* (Ved. *dādamāna*).

With reference to §§ 144–48: *bhuñjamāna* Th 12; *jānamāna* Sn 1064; *pariganhamāna* Ja II 2,28; *añhamāna* ‘eating’ Sn 239 (from **añhana* = *aśnāna*); *sunamāna* Ja III 215,17; *kubbamāna* Sn 897 and *kurumāna* Ja I 291,15. The suffix *-māna* has been pleonastically added to past part.s in *padutthamāna* Dhp-a I 179,9 = *paduṭṭha*; *vibhātamāna* Dhp-a I 165,11 = *vibhāta*, *aladdhamāna* Ras I 35,10 = *aladdha*. These are the constructions of a later age.

§ 192. Pres. part.s in *-āna*¹ are rarer. They belong to the Gāthā language, although occasionally forms may also be found in canonical prose. Examples are: *esāna* ‘seeking, desiring’ Dhp 131 (Skt *esamana*); *abhisambudhāna* ‘attaining the highest knowledge’ Dhp 46; *an-uṭṭhahāna* ‘not getting up’ Dhp 280; *a-hethayana* ‘not injuring’ S IV 179,3*; *paṭṭhayāna* ‘begging for’ Sn 976; *sayana* ‘lying’ Ja III 95,17* (= *śayana*); *saddahāna* ‘faithful’ S I 20,25* and *samadahāna* S I 169,16* (= *dadhana*); *kubbāna* ‘making’ Dhp 217 (= *kurvāna*) and *a-saṅkharāna* S I 126,26*, *purekkharana* Sn 910. From a pass. stem: *paripucchiyana* ‘interrogated’ Sn 696. The root *ās* ‘to sit’ has *āśina* Dhp 227 as in Skt. The form is however archaic.

¹ In Pkt these part. forms are quite rare; see Pischel (§ 562, at the end).

§ 193. The construction of fut. part.s in *-nt* from the fut. stem is very rare. Thus sg. acc. *marissam*¹ (for the dropping of *-nt* cf. § 97.2) Ja III 214,11* for *marissantam* (cty so in exegesis) = *mariṣyantam* (cty: *yo idāni marissati tam*); *paccessam* ‘one who will return’ Vin I 255,24 (root *i* + *prati*).²

¹ E. Müller, PGr., p. 123 quotes from Dāth 3,80 the form *karissam*. It is, however, clearly the 1 sg. = *karisyāmi*. The Sinhalese paraphrase has *keremu*. For the fut. act. part. in Pkt, see Pischel (§ 560).

² The second example seems rather to be a fut. 1 sg. in *-am*. See Norman, 1990A, pp. 222–23.

§ 193A. There is a small number of fut. part. forms in *esi(n)*,¹ as in Pkt²: *sambhavesi(n)* opposed to *bhuta* Sn 147, *taresi(n)* opposed to *tinna* Ja III 230,21*, *phalesi(n)* (used of *dūma*) Th 527, *vibhavesi(n)* M I 330,13*. There is also *pāragavesi(n)* opposed to *pāragū* Dhp 355, which suggests that *-gavesin* is for *-gamesin* (for *n/v* see § 46.4).

¹ See Smith 1952, pp. 171–72 and Sadd Index, s.v. *taresin* (where *up(a)pattiya* Kv 270,5 with a -ya suffix [cty: *up(a)pattūm esati*] is included in this category, although this seems problematical), Cailat, 1970, pp. 15–16, and Norman, 1969, p. 205.

² Cf. AMg *āgemesi(n)*.

§ 193B. There is a very rare fut. part. mid.: *bhāsesamāna* Ja V 404,6* (cty: *bhāsitu-kāma*).

2. Past participles

§ 194. The past part. in *-ta* has mostly a pass. meaning in the case of trans. verbs, and an act. meaning in the case of intrans. verbs. There are numerous forms of historical origin.

Thus from roots in ī and ā: *ita* 'gone' (*samita*, *atita*, *peta*, etc.), *jita*, *nita* as in Skt; *suta* = *śruta*, *bhuta* = *bhuta*. As there is *suta* from *sunāti*, so there is *pariyāputa* S III 203,6 from *pariyapuṇati* 'learns'.

From roots in ā: *ñāta* = *jñāta*; *sinata* Ja V 330,3* = *snata*; *gīta* 'sung' D I 99,11 = *guta*; *sthita* = *sthita*; *hita* (*ohita*, *pihita*, *vihita*, etc.) = *hita*; *atta* 'seized' in *attadāṇḍa* Dhp 406 = *āṭṭa* (root *dā* with ā).

Roots in r: *kata* = *kyta*, *mata* = *mṛta*; *samsita* 'one who has wandered about (in the existences)' Sn 730 = *samsṛta*; *samvuta* 'restricted' = *samvṛta*; *nibbuta* 'tranquil' Dhp 406 = *nirvṛta*;¹ *haṭa* = *hṛta*; *aṭṭa* (§ 64) = *āṭṭa* (the root *ar* with ā). Also from the root *star* 'to stretch out' we have *atthata*, *samthata*, *vitthata* as against Skt *stṛṇa*.

Roots in nasals: *hata*, *mata*, *tata*; *nata*, *gata*; *nikhata* Sn 28 as also in Skt. Similarly *santa* 'quieted' = *śānta* (root *śam*); *santa* 'tired' = *śrānta*; *kanta* 'dear, charming' = *kānta*; *nikkhanta* 'gone out', *pakkanta*, etc. = *krānta*; *jāta* 'born, originated' from *jan*.

Roots in unvoiced and voiced mutes: *sitta* Th 110 = *sikta*; *vutta* = *ukta*, *durutta* = *durukta*; *bhutta* = *bhukta*; *yutta* = *yukta*; *puṭṭha* 'interrogated' = *prṣṭa*; *yitṭha* 'sacrificed' Ja VI 522,6* = *iṣṭa* (root *yaj*); *samsatṭha* = *saṣṭa* (root *sarj*), *suddha* 'purified' = *śuddha*; *khitta* 'thrown' = *kṣipta*; *vutta* 'sown' Ja I 340,19 = *upta*; *sutta* 'one who has slept' Dhp 29 = *supta*. On *vatta*, *vatta* = *vṛtta*² see § 64.1.

Roots in aspirates: *duddha* 'milked' Sn 18 = *dugdha*; *siniddha* 'oily, smooth' Ja I 89,23* = *snigdha*; *daddha* (§ 42.3) = *dagdha*; *vuḍḍha*, *vuddha*, etc. (§ 64) = *vṛḍḍha*; *laddha* 'attained' = *labdha*; *luḍḍha* 'eager' It 1,10* = *lubdha*.

Roots in sibilants: *diṭṭha* = *drṣṭa*; *phuṭṭha* 'touched' = *spṛṣṭa*; *naṭṭha* 'destroyed' = *naṣṭa*; *kaṭṭha* 'ploughed' S I 173,3* = *krṣṭa*; *sattha* 'taught, commanded' Ja II 298,23* = *śāsta*; *samtatta* 'frightened' Ja III 77,25* = *-trasta*.

Roots in h = Indo-Iranian žh: *vūṭha* (§ 35) = *ūḍha*; *muṭha* 'foolish' It 2,16* = *mūḍha*; *samyūṭha* (*saññūḍha*) 'spoken, composed' D II 267,19 (*saṃvūṭha* Sv I 38,8) = *sam-ūḍha* (root *uh*); *abbuṭha* 'torn out' Sn 593 from the root *abbahati* = ā-bṛhati.

¹ But the users of the language felt that (*pari*)*nibbuta* was the past part. of (*pari*)*nubbāyati*.

² Instead of *kanta* 'spun' M III 253,9 it would be possible to read *katta* = Skt *kṛtta*.

§ 195. Past parts in *-ta* too have been handed down in large numbers in historical forms.

Examples: *patita*, *carita*; *khadita*, *samdhāvita* D II 90,14, as in Skt; *sayita* 'laid down to rest' D II 353,8 = *śayita*; *paritasita* 'thirsty' Mil 253,26 = *trṣita* (root *tarṣ*); *vusita* Th 258 (beside *vuttha* Ja I 183,22*) = *uṣita* from the root *vas* 'to dwell'; *gahita* = *grhita*.

Often from caus. verbs: *dassita* = *darśita*; *pesita* = *preṣita*; *kārita*, *codita*, *dāpita* as in Skt; *addita* 'pained' Thī 77 = *ardita*.¹ Similarly from desid. verbs: *jighacchita* 'hungry' M III 186,2 = *jighatsita*; *jigucchita* 'scared' Mhv 6,3 = *jugupsita*. From intens. verbs: *cankamita* Mhv 15,208 = *caṅkramita*.

From denom. verbs, § 186: *cirāyita* Dhp -a III 305,1, *dhūpāyita* Th 448, *mamāyita* Dhp-a I 11,10* as in Skt.

With reference to § 187: *paithita* Ja I 408,26 = *prārthita*; *mantita* Th 9 = *mantrita*; *dukkhita* Thī 29 = *duḥkhita*.

¹ From the causative of root *jñā* we have *ñatta* Dhp 72; *āñatta* 'ordered' Dip 6,75; *paññatta* 'declared, fixed legally' Vin I 83,23 = *jñapti*, *ājñapti*, *prajñapti* respectively.

§ 196. The type of past part. in *-ita* has been very productive because new forms were evolved after it from every kind of pres. stem.¹ They are met with in every period of the language.

With reference to §§ 130–33: *kilamita* 'tired' Ja III 36,26 (beside *kilanta* = *klānta*); *samtasita* (root *tras*) Mil 92,2 (beside *-tatta*); *vasita* 'inhabited' Mhv 20,14 (beside *vusita* and *vuttha* § 195); *āharita* S IV 59,25 (beside *āhaṭa* § 194); *samsarita* Thī 496 (beside *samsita* § 194); *jinita* Ja II 251,20 (beside *jita*); *gacchita* Thī-a 126,11 (as explanation of *gata*).

With reference to §§ 134–35: *phusita* Thī 158 (beside *phuttha*); *pucchita* Ja II 9,18 (beside *putṭha*); *supita*, Sn 331 (beside *sutta*), *icchita* Thī 46 (beside *iṭṭha*); *sampaticchita* Dhp-a III 439,3, *pamuñcita* Vv 53,8 (or *panuccita* Vv-a 237,11?).

With reference to §§ 136–38: *gijjhita* ‘desired’ Th 152; *samāpajjita* D II 109,27 (beside *samāpanna*), *muññita* M III 246,12. Even *chijjita* Ja III 389,17* from the pass. stem *chijja-* (cty: *chinna*); *vāyita* ‘woven’ M III 253,9 (beside *vāta*); *gāyita* ‘sung’ Dhp-a III 233,17 (beside *gīta*).

With reference to §§ 142–45: *jahita* Ja III 32,3; *saddahita* M I 170,30; *patijaggita* Dhp-a III 138,19; *sañjanita* in the abstract noun *sañjanitatta* Dhs 4 (in explanation of *sañña*). Also *khadayita* ‘fed’ Vin I 278,12 (caus. of *khād*); *patthayita* ‘implored’ Ja III 218,25* (cty: *patthita*).

¹Analogous constructions from the pres. stem also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 565).

§ 197. Many past part.s are made with the suffix *-na* as in Skt.

From roots in *d*: *chinna*, *bhingga*, *-panna*, *-sanna* (but *nisinna* = *nisanña*); *pakkhanna* ‘fallen into something’ Th 95 = *praskanna*; *tunna* ‘goaded’ Th 162 and *nunna* ‘pushed, propelled’ A II 41,13, as in Skt; *runna* ‘bewailing’ Ja VI 525,4*, ‘wail, lamentation’ Th 554 (beside *ronna* Th 555) as against Skt *rudita* (root *rud*).¹

From certain roots in *ā*, *ī*, *ū*: *hīna* (JPTS, 1907, p. 163) from the root *hā*, *sīna* ‘frozen’ M I 79,29* = *sīna* (root *śyā*); *līna* (*a-līna* ‘unattached, passionless’ Dhp 245), *nilīna* ‘concealed’ Vin III 35,4, *patisallīna* ‘withdrawn’ Vin I 4,33) = *līna* (root *lī*); *vikkhīna* ‘destroyed’ Th 22 = *vikṣīna*; *lūna* ‘cut off’ Th 107 = *luna*.

From certain roots in *r*: *jinna*, *tinna*, *pūnna* = *jīrṇa*, *tīrṇa*, *pūrṇa*. Also *patthīnna* ‘spread out’ Vin I 286,34 = *prastīrṇa* (beside *patthata* § 194), as well as *cīnna* ‘done, performed’ Sn 181 (*ācīnna* ‘done, customary’ M I 372,10, *parcīnna* Th 178) beside *carita* as Skt *cīrṇa* and *carita*.

From some roots in *j* and *g*: (*sam*)*bhagga* ‘broken’ Dhp 154 = *bhagna*; *nimugga* ‘drowned’ (§ 18) Vin I 6,31 = *nimagna* (root *majj*); *sañvigga* ‘disturbed, anxious’ D I 50,1, *ubbigga* Ja I 486,10 = *vigna* (root *vij*); *olagga* ‘bound fast’ Th 356 = *avalagna*.

The root *dā* ‘to give’ has *dinna* = Pkt *dīnna*, *dinna*² against Skt *datta* (e.g. *dattūpajīvin* ‘one who lives on what he receives as charity’ Dhp-a IV 99,18 as well as in proper names like *Brahmadatta*, as also in *atta* § 194).

There is the dialectal form *pañmukka* ‘bound down’ S IV 92,1 (opposite of *ummukka* S IV 92,7) as against Skt *pratimukta*.³

¹Also Māh. *runna*; see Pischel (§ 566).

²Kieckers, IF, 32, pp. 88 foll.

³As a v.l. to *mutta* there occurs *mukka* in M III 61,15, corresponding to *mukka* in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 566).

§ 198. Past part.s active.

1. The meagre traces of the part. in *-vas* have been discussed in § 100.

2. There is not a large number of part.s made by affixing *-vant* to participles in *-ta*. Thus *vusitavant* ‘he who has lived’ in the transferred sense ‘perfect, complete’ sg. nom. -*vā* Sn 514, pl. gen. - *vatam* D II 223,19; *bhuttavant* ‘he who has enjoyed’ sg. gen. - *vato* Vv-a 244,6. In Kacc. IV 2. 6 (Senart, p. 483) is listed *hutavā*. Of analogous construction is the sg. nom. *ādinnavā* ‘he who has seized, utilised’¹ Mhv 7,42.

3. The part.s in *-tāvin* (inflection according to § 95) are an innovation of Pāli: *bhuttāvin* ‘he who has eaten’, sg. acc. - *vīm* D I 109,35, gen. - *vissa* D II 195,32; *vijitāvin* ‘he who has been victorious’, sg. nom. - *vī* Th 5, acc. - *vinam* Dhp 422, pl. gen. - *vīnam* A III 151,26; *kātāvin* ‘expert’ sg. nom. - *vī* M I 69,7; *kilitāvin* ‘he who has played’, sg. nom. *a-nikīlitāvī* S 19,6, pl. nom. - *vino* S IV 110,27; *samitāvin* ‘he who has come to rest’, sg. nom. - *vī* S I 188,4*; *sutāvin* ‘he who has heard and learnt, learned’, pl. nom. *a-ssutāvino* Th 955.

¹D. Andersen, PR, p. 112,31 (PGI s.v.) reads *ādīnnavā* ‘he who has torn asunder’, Skt *dīrṇa* from root *dar*.

3. Future passive participles

§ 199. Of fut. pass. part.s those in *-tabba*¹ are the most numerous.

1. The following are some of the historical forms: *dātabba* ‘that which has to be given’ Vin I 46,6 = *dātavya*, *pahatabba* Sn 558 (root *ha* ‘to forsake’) = *-hatavya*; *saddhātabba* Ja II 37,25 = *śraddhātavya*; *paccuṭṭhātabba* ‘he who is to be greeted by standing up’ M III 205,17 = *-sthātavya*; *netabba* = *netavya*; *sotabba* = *śrotavya*; *gantabba* Vin I 46,19 = *gantavya*; *vatthabba* Mhv 3,12 (root *vas* ‘to live’) = *vastavya*; *datthabba* Pv-a 10,18 (root *darś* ‘to see’) = *draṣṭavya*; *kattabba* Dhp 53 and (§ 6,1) *katabba* Vin I 47,20 = *kartavya*; *vihibabba* (from *viharati*) M III 294,27 = *hartavya*. Similarly also forms with *i*: *bhavatabba* Ja I

440.4 = *bhavitavya*; *tikicchitabba* Dhp-a III 264.1 = *cikitsitavya*; *rakkhitabba* Ja III 52.2 = *rakṣitavya*.

2. After this latter type are constructed numerous new forms from pres. stems.²

With reference to §§ 130–32: *vasitabba* Sn 678 from *vasati*; *pacitabba* Vin I 50.5 from *pacati* as against *paktavya*; *-kamitabba* Vin I 50.11 from *-kamati*; *uddharitabba* Vin I 47.6 from *uddharati*, *samharitabba* Vin I 46.29 (from the root *har*), *jinitabba* Dhp-a III 313.9 (from the root *ji*); *nisiditabba* Vin I 47.19 (from the root *sad*).

With reference to § 134–38: *-khupitabba* Vin I 46.25 as against *kṣeptavya*; *pucchitabba* Vin I 46.33 from *pucchati* as against *prāṣṭavya*; *-visitabba* Vin I 47.16 as against *veṣṭavya*; *ālimpitabba* Vin II 267.1 (from the root *lip*); *āsiñcitabba* Vin I 49.11 (from the root *sic*); *-pajitabba* Vin I 164.10 from *-pajati* (root *pad*); *paṭivijjhutabba* ‘that which is to be comprehended’ Sv 20.25 from *-vijjhati* (root *vyadh*). From pass. *-bhijjati*; *bhijitatba* Ja III 56.23 as against *bhettavya*; from *jāyati* ‘is born, originated’: *jāyitabba* Thī 455.

With reference to §§ 142, 144: *vijahitabba* Vin III 200.17 (from the root *hā*); *nidahitabba* Vin I 46.28; *saddahitabba* Mil 310.2 from *dahati* (root *dhā*); *bhañjitabba* Vin I 74.10 (from *bhaj*, *bhañj*); *bhuñjitabba* Mhv 5.127 (from the root *bhuj*).

¹The suffix may occasionally be extended by *ka*. Cf. *khāditabbaka* Dhp-a III 137.9.

²As in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 570)

§ 200. The fut. pass. part. of the root *bhū* too may be constructed on the pres. stem¹: *hotabba* Vin I 46.19, *paribhotabba* ‘that which should be deprecated’ S I 69.2 from *hoti*, *-bhoti* (§ 131.2). The *aya* stems (Cl. X, caus.s, denom.s) too derive it in the same way directly from the contracted *e*-stem.² Examples are numerous: *codetabba* Vin II 2.21 as against *coditavya*; *sāretabba* Vin II 2.22 from *sāreti* (root *smar*); *pūjetabba* M III 205.20 (the stem *pūjay-*); *lañchetabba* Vin II 267.3 from *lañcheti* ‘seals’; *ñapetabba* Vin II 2.23 from *ñāpeti* (*jñā*); *ghaṁsapetabba* Vin II 266.28 from *ghaṁsapeti* ‘causes to rub’ (root *ghars*); *koṭṭapetabba* Vin II 266.29 from *koṭṭapeti* ‘causes to hit’; *paṭiggahetabba* ‘that which should be accepted’ Vin I 46.13 from *gaheti* (§ 139.2), etc. A whole list of such forms is to be found in Vin I 46–50, e.g. *otapetabba* ‘that which is to be heated’, *paṭiyadetabba* ‘that which

is to be constructed’ (root *yat*), *thapetabba* ‘that which is to be erected’ (root *sthā*), *thaketabba* ‘that which is to be closed’ (root *sthag*, § 39.1), etc. There is a curious form in *chedatabba* ‘that which is to be cut off’ Vin I 50.15, the expected form being *chedetabba*. There is also *chedāpetabba*.³

¹As in AMg, JMāh. *heyava*, Š. Māg. *hedavva* besides Š. *bhavidavva*; see Pischel (§ 570)

²Cf. AMg *paritāreyavva*, *dameyarva*.

³Instead of *tuvañtabba* Vin II 124.11 from *tuvañteti* ‘lies down’ one would expect *tuvañtabba*.

§ 201. Moreover there are in Pāli fut. pass. part.s in *-aniya* or *-aneyya*¹ = Skt *-aniya*. Thus *labhaniya* Thī 513 (*alabbhaneyya* ‘unattainable’ Ja III 205.9* is due to contamination of *labba* [§ 202] with *labhaniya*); *pūjanīya* Sn 259 or *-neyya* Th 186 = *pūjanīya*; *anatthaneyya* ‘what should not be striven after, useless’ Th 1073 from *arihay-*; *dassanīya* ‘that which is worth seeing, charming’ Vin I 38.25 and *dassaneyya* Dīp 15.39 = *darsanīya*. These forms very often have a substantive meaning.² Thus *karaṇīya* ‘task, duty’; *mohaneyya* ‘enchantment’ Ja III 499.10, *yāpanīya* ‘sustenance’ Ja VI 224.13*; *bhojanīya* ‘liquid food’ and *khādanīya* ‘solid food’ Vin I 18.29, Skt *karaṇīya*, *mohaniya*, etc.; *khamaniya* ‘toleration’ Vin I 59.10 = *kṣamāṇīya*.

¹In Pkt *-añija* and *-ania*. Cf. AMg *pūyanīja*, *dumṣanīja*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 571).

²See Norman, 1989A, pp. 220–21.

§ 202. The fut. pass. part. in *-ya* mostly belongs to the two oldest periods of the language.¹ Hence, for instance, *hañña* ‘he who should be killed’ Ja IV 273.27* is explained in the cty by *hanitabba*, *saddheyya* ‘worthy of credence’ Ja III 62.18* by *saddhātabba*.

Examples from roots in a vowel: *neyya* ‘that which should be led’ Sn 803 = *neya* (root *ni*); *bhabba* ‘capable of’ Vin I 17.18 = *bhavyu* (root *bhu*); *pameyya* ‘that which is to be measured’ A I 266.18 = *prameyya* (root *mā*); similarly *viñneyya* ‘that which can be perceived’ Vin I 184.20, *deyya* Sn 982, *peyya* ‘drinkable’ D I 244.14 = *vijñleya*, *deya*, *peya*. Also *suppahāya* ‘that which should be easily forsaken’ Sn 772 (root *ha*); cf. RV 10.103.5 *vijñāya*.

From roots in *r*: *a-kariya* 'unfeasible' Dhp 176 = *kārya* (beside *kicca* 'that which should be done, task, duty' Dhp 276 = *kṛtya*), *a-samhariya* 'indestructible' S V 219,2 = *harya*, both with svarabhakti.

From other consonant roots: *khajja* 'masticable' and *bhojja* 'edible' Mil 2,14 = *khadya*, *bhojya*; *vajja* 'that which should be avoided, sin' Dhp 252 = *varjya*; *vujha* 'he who must be killed' Ja VI 528,2* = *vadhyā*; *a-bhejja* 'inseparable' Ja III 51,4 = *bhedya*; *labbha* 'attainable, possible' D II 118,29 = *labhya*; *sayha* 'that which is to be endured' Sn 253 = *sahya*. From the root *lh* 'to lick' we have in Mil 2,14 *leyya* instead of **teyha* = *lehya*, due to the attraction of *peyya* occurring with it. Svarabhakti occurs in *a-sādhiya* 'incurable' Mhv 5,218 = *sādhya*. We have a new construction in *a-sakkuṇeyya* 'impossible' Ja I 55,3 from the pres. *sakkunāil*, after the pattern of *deyya* from *dadāti*.

¹For the corresponding Prākrit forms (cf. AMg *bhavva*, *pejja*. JMāh. *neya* = *jñeya*) see Pischel (§ 572).

§ 203. The fut. pass. part.s in -tāya, -tayya or -teyya are a peculiarity of Pāli.¹

Examples from the two oldest periods of the language: *ñātayya*, *dat̄hayya*, *pattayya* 'that which is to be known, seen, attained' S IV 93,6, *ñāteyya*, *dat̄heyya*, *patteyya* S I 61,26 (root *jñā*, *darś*, *āp* with *pra*); *a-tasitāya* 'where one need not fear' S III 57,27.

From caus.s: *ghātetāya* 'to be killed', *jāpetāya* 'to be conquered', *pabbājetāya* 'to be banished' (root *vraj*) M I 231,2.

Also *lujjitatāya*² 'that of which one has to be ashamed' Dhp 316.

¹R.O. Franke, PGr., p. 35, f.n. 4. IF; Trenckner, Notes, p. 117.

²So read (cty: *lajjatabba*), as Trenckner points out (Notes, p. 117, f.n. 27).

Norman in his edition of Dhp-a III 490 wrongly divides the words into *alajjutā ye* and *lajjitā ye*.

4. Infinitives

§ 204.1. The inf.s in -tave = Ved. -tave or -tavai, as well as some forms in -tāye, -tuye¹ are confined to the Gāthā language (and artificial poetry).

(a) inf.s in -tave. From roots in a vowel: *netave* Dhp 180, S I 107,24*; *sotave* Kacc. IV 2,12 (Senart, p. 485); *dātave* Sn 286, Ja I 190,3*, *yātave* Sn 834, *hatave* Dhp 34, Sn 817. Also *nidhetave* Ja III 17,6* (cty:

nidhānatthāya) from the *e* stem of the root *dhā*. From other *e*-stems: *rajetave* Th 1155 from *rajeti* 'colours, paints', *lapetave* Ud 21,14* from *lapeti* 'speaks, addresses'. From roots ending in a consonant: *gantave* 'to go' Thī 332, Ja IV 221,26* (cty: *gantum*), *vattave* 'to say' S I 205,2* = *gántave*, *váktave*.

(b) inf.s in -tuye: *katuye* Thī 418 (root *kar*, cty: *kātum*); *marituye* Thi 426; *ganetuye* Bv 4,28 from *ganeti* 'counts'; *hetuye* Bv 2,10 from *hoti*.²

(c) inf.s. in -tāye³: *dakkhitāye* D II 254,7* from the new pres. stem *dakkha-* derived from the fut. of *darś*; *jagghitāye* 'to laugh' Ja III 226,10* (cty: *hasitvā*, or *hasitena*), *pucchitāye* 'in order to ask' Ja V 137,6* (cty: *pucchitum*); *khāditāye* 'to eat' Ja V 33,7* governed by *arahati*.⁴

2. A rare and archaic inf. form is to be found in *etase* Thī 291 'to go' (cty: *etum*, *gantum*), governed by *nāsakkhim*.

3. The dat. of verbal nouns is not infrequently used as an inf.: *savanāya* (governed by *labhati*) '(is fortunate enough) to hear' D III 80,16; *dassanāya* (governed by *pahoti*) '(is in a position) to see' M I 131,24; *karanāya* (governed by *arahati*) '(can) do' Ja III 172,23; *idhāgamanāya* (governed by *pariyāyam akāsi*) '(has made it possible) to come here' D I 179,18; *vicakkhukammāya* 'in order to dazzle' S I 112,13; *adubbhāya* (governed by *sapassu*) '(swear) not to injure' S I 225,19.

¹In Pkt there are corresponding inf.s in -ttae, -ittae, such as AMg *ittae*, *hottae*, *pucchatae*; E. Müller, Beitr. z. Pkt Gr., p. 61; see Pischel (§ 578).

²For the suggestion that these forms are for -tu(m) + ye (Pkt -um je), see Norman, 1971A, pp. 154–55.

³For the suggestion that these forms are the dat. of abstract nouns in -itā, see von Hinüber, 1986, § 497. It is also possible that they are dat.s of purpose of past part.s used as action nouns. See Sakamoto-Goto, 1989, pp. 399–400.

⁴In *jānitaye* Ja IV 463,9* (cty: *jānitum*), governed by *arahasi*, there is probably shortening of ā metri causa

§ 205. The inf. which is most current in every period of the language is however that in -tum. The number of historical forms is very large.

Thus from roots ending in vowels: *dātum*, *saddhātum*, *flātum* from the roots *da*, *dhā*, *jñā*; *nibbātum* 'to die' Mhv 5,219 (root *vā*); *vinetum* Ja I

504,18 (root *nī*); *etum* Thī-a 224,29 (root *i*); *ketum* 'to buy' Ja III 282,14*, *vikketum* 'to sell' Ja III 283,12 = (*vi*)*kretum*; *ocetum* 'to collect' Th 199 = *avacetum*; *sotum* Sn 384 = *śrotum*.

From roots in *r*: *katum* = *kartum*; *uddhātum* 'to draw out' Th 88, *āhattum* M I 395,5 = *hartum* (root *har*).

From roots in a nasal: *gantum*.

From roots in a mute: *vattum* Sn 431 = *vaktum*; *pūṭhum* Sn 91 = *prastum*; *avabhottum* 'to enjoy' Ja III 272,23 = *bhoktum* (root *bhuj*); *yatthum* 'to sacrifice' Sn 461 = *yaṣṭum* (root *yaj*); *chettum*¹ Th 188 = *chettum*; *pattum* 'to attain' Dhp-a III 399,4 = *prāptum*; *sottum* S I 111,2*, clearly derived directly from *svaptum* 'to sleep'; *laddhum* 'to attain' Ja II 352,14 = *labdhum*

From roots in a sibilant: *daiṭhum* = *draṣṭum*.

Also constructions with *i* are quite numerous: *jīvitum* Ja I 263,3 = *jīvitum*; *kīṣitum* Ja III 188,28 = *krīditum*; *bhavitum* Ja IV 137,25 = *bhavutum*; *uddharitum* (beside *uddhātum*) Ja I 313,6 from the root *har* (Skt *haritum* beside *hartum*).

From desid.s: *tikicchitum* Ja I 485,11 = *cikititum*; *vīmamsitum* Mhv 37,234 = *mīmāṃsitum*.

From a caus.: *dhārayitum* Anāg (JPTS, 1886) 35,23 = *dhārayitum*.

From a denom.: *gopayitum* Dhp-a III 488,10.

¹At Th 1121 *chettu* shows loss of -*m* metri causa.

§ 206. The inf. is very often derived directly from the pres. stem.¹ Thus *pappotum* 'to attain' Thī 60 from *pappoti*; *hotum* from *hoti*. Also in the case of *e*-stems (caus.s, etc.) the inf. may be directly derived from the pres. stem: *sodhetum* Vin II 34,5; *bhāvetum* Dhp-a III 171,10; *vāretum* Ja IV 2,18; *gahetum* Vin I 92,37 (cf. § 139,2), *gāhetum* Mhv 33,48 and *gāhāpetum* Ja I 506,28; *thapetum* Vin II 194,33; *kārāpetum* Mhv 5,80. The form *tārayetum* Sn 319 is a double construction, a conflation of *tārayitum* and *tāretum*. The type in *-itum* has been very productive. In later literature it has in many cases supplanted the historical forms in *-tum*. The form *bhottum*, for instance (see § 205), has been explained in the cty by *bhuñjatum*. Examples of new constructions:

With reference to §§ 130–32: *cajitum* Ja III 69,4 as against *tyaktum* (root *tyaj* 'to forsake'); *maritum* D II 330,8, as against *martum*; *abhivijinitum* M I 71,32 (root *ji*); *nisiditum* Dīp 1,55; *utthahitum* Ja II 22,17, *upaṭṭhahitum* Dhp-a III 269,20 from *thahati*.

With reference to §§ 134–35: *pucchitum* Sn 510; *ukkhipitum* Ja I 264,9 as against *kseptum*; *phusitum* Th 945 as against *spraṣṭum*; *pavisitum* Ja III 26,6 as against *veṣṭum*; *supitum* Th 193; *paticchitum* Ja IV 137,26; *muñcitum* D I 96,10; *siñcitum* Ja VI 583,27; *nibbinditum* 'to feel disgust' D II 198,22 from the root *vid*, *vindati*.

With reference to §§ 136–38: *naccitum* Dhp-a III 102,7; *-payitum* Th 1140; *pamajitum* Th 452; *virajitum* 'to be free' D II 198,22; *vijhitum* Mhv 6,28; *passitum* Ja I 222,7. Also from a pass. stem: *pamuccitum* 'to free oneself' Th 253; *vimucchitum* D II 198,22. Further: *sinayitum* M I 39,6; *jhāyitum* 'to meditate' Vin II 147,34*; *palāyitum* Ja II 19,26; *sajjhāyitum* (§ 188,1) Dhp-a III 445,21.

With reference to § 142: *jahitum* Ja I 138,9; *saṃvidahitum* Vin I 287,13 from the root *dhā*; *paṭijaggitum* Th 193.

With reference to §§ 144–48: *bhañjitum* Th 488; *bhuñjitum* (see above); *chinditum* Vv-a 119,7; *kinitum* Ja III 282,10 and *vikkinitum* Ja III 293,23 (in the explanation of *vikketum*); *bandhitum* Thī 299; *gañhitum* Ja II 159,4; *suṇitum* Mil 91,16; *pāpunitum* A II 49,16.

¹Corresponding innovations also in Pkt. Cf. AMg *vāreum*, Māh. JMāh. *marium*, Māh. *pucchium*, Š. *bhuñjidum*, *suṇidum*, etc.; see Pischel (§§ 573 foll).

§ 207. As in Skt, in cpds with *-kāma* the inf. has the ending *-tu*¹: *jīvitukāma* 'wishing to live' Dhp 123; *pabbajitukāma* 'wishing to forsake the world' Dhp-a III 273,8; *gantukāma* 'wishing to go' Ja I 222,13; *daiṭhukama* 'wishing to see' Sn 685; *amaritukāma* 'not wishing to die' D II 330,8.

¹Similarly also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 577).

5. Absolutives

§ 208. The absol.s are formed with the suffixes *-tvā*¹ and *-ya*, for the first of which there often appears, particularly in the Gāthā language, also the suffix *-tvāna*. There are also traces of absol.s in *-ttā*, *-tā* and *-tu*. The suffix *-ya* appears particularly after compound verbs, but this rule is not so strictly followed in Pali as in Skt. The suffix *-tva(na)* is clearly widening its sphere progressively, and is by no means confined only to the simplex. According to statistics prepared on the basis of a large section of the Jātaka cty, the absol.s in *-tvā* occur 8 to 9 times more frequently than those in *-ya*. In canonical prose the difference is not so

great. In the cities too the forms in -ya are readily replaced by those in -tvā, as *saddhaya* Ja V 176,8*, by *saddahitva*, *aññaya* Ja I 368,21* by *ājānutvā*. The few forms in -tūna² are confined to the Gāthā language, as are also those in -yāna, which is evidently a new construction on the analogy of -tva: -tvana.³ There are also examples of absol.s in -am, which follow the pattern of the Skt *namul* absol.

¹For the view that the absol. in -tvā is an artificial feature in Pāli, see von Hinüber, 1982, p. 137.

²The same suffix occurs also in Pkt in the form -tūna, -ūna; see Pischel (§§ 584, 586) and Norman, 1958, p. 46. The distinction made in Skt between the use of -tvā and -ya is unknown in Pkt also; see Pischel (§ 581).

³For the -na(m) extension see Norman, 1958, p. 50.

§ 209. There are many historical forms among the absol.s in -tvā, -tvāna.

From roots in vowel: *hatvā*, *ñatvāna* = *jñātvā*, *nāhatvā* = *snātvā*, *datvā* = *dattvā* (by analogy with these forms also *pidhatvā* Thī 480 from the root *dhā* as against (*d*)*hitvā*, and *thatvā* from the root *sthā* as against *sthutvā*); *pītvā(na)* Dhp 205 = *pītvā* (root *pā*); *hitvā(na)* Sn 60 = *hitvā* (root *hā*). Also *jitvā* Th 336 from the root *ji*; *sutvā* = *śrutvā*, *hutvā* = *bhūtvā*.

From roots in r: *katvā(na)* = *kṛtvā* (*purakkhatvā* D II 207,23 or *purakkhitvā* Vv 84,49).

From roots in mutes: *mutvā* (§ 58.3) Ja I 375,5* = *muktvā* (root *muc*); *vatvā* = **vaktvā*; *bhutvā(na)* Th 23 = *bhuktvā* (the o of *bhotvā* S IV 74,7* is to be explained according to § 10.2); *chetvā(na)* Dhp 283 = *chittvā* (e according to § 10.2, or due to analogy of *jetvā*, *netvā*, § 210); *bhetvā(na)* Th 753 = *bhūtvā*; ¹ *patvā* from the root *āp* (Skt *āptvā*) with *pra*; *laddhā(na)* Sn 67, *paṭiladdhā* Vv 80,7 = *labdhvā*.

From the root *darś* the absol. is *disvā(na)* = *dṛṣtvā*.²

The roots in n, m retain the nasal through the influence of forms like Skt *śāntvā*. Thus we have also *hantvā* as against *hatvā*; *mantvā* Mhv 12,50 (beside *mantā*³ Vv 63,6) as against *matvā*; *gantvā(na)* (*āgantvā* Sn 415) as against *gatvā*.

Historical forms in -tvā: *patitvā*, *pacitvā*, *vanditvā*, *khāditvā* as in Skt; *nikkhamitvā* Ja III 26,14, *akkamitvā* Vin I 188,28 = *kramitva* (beside *krantvā*); *sayitvā* Ja II 77,14 = *śayitvā* (the root *śi*). Similarly from the causative⁴: *bhojayitvāna* Ja VI 577,29* = *bhojayitvā*;

gāhayitva Mhv 10,31 = *grāhayitvā*; *ghatayitvā* Mil 219,16 from *ghāteti* (root *han*); *janayitvā* Mil 218,21 as in Skt; *thapayitvāna* Mhv 19,31 = *stāpayitva*; and in the same way from double caus.s: *gāhapayitvā* Mhv 7,49, etc.

From desid.s, intens.s and denom.s: *a-jigucchitvā* Ja I 422,20 = *jugupsitvā*; *vimamsitvā* Ja VI 308,2 = *mumamsitvā*; *vavakkhitvā* D II 256,9* = *vivaksitvā*; *cirāyitvā* Vv-a 208,15, etc.

¹Also in Pkt AMg *chettā*, *bhettā*; see Pischel (§ 582).

²As AMg *dissā*; see Pischel (§ 334), and von Hinüber, 1982, p. 137. The form *dṛṣtvā* is retained in *dṛṣṭhā* Ja V 215,28* (cty: *disvāna*), the same form is to be seen in *adṛṣṭhā* (cty: *adisvā*), which is v.l. for *adṛṣṭhā* Ja IV 192,6*, according to H. Kern (Toevoegselen op 't Woordenboek van Childers, I, p. 63).

³As AMg *hantā*, *mantā*.

⁴As AMg *uttāsattā*, *vigovaittā*.

§ 210. New constructions from pres. stems are again quite frequent. Thus we have forms from caus.s, denom.s, etc., with the contracted e-stem, and in fact these forms are more frequent than those in -aytvā. Examples: *dosetvā* Ja I 152,10; *codetvā* Vin II 2,22; *sāretvā* (root *smar*) ibid.; *bhāvetvā* A V 195,15; *ghātētvā* Mhv 25,7; *thapetvā* Dhp 40; *gahetvā* (§ 139,2); *vandāpetvā* Vin I 82,23, *kārāpetvā* ibid.; *āmantetvā* (§ 187,1) Th 34; *a-ganetvā* Ja II 229,11 occurring very frequently. The roots in ī too take after them: *jetvā* Sn 439 from *jeti* (root *ji*) as against Skt *jitvā*; *netvā(na)* Sn 295 as against *nītvā*. Also *abhibhotvāna* Th 429, from *abhibhoti* 'overcomes'. The number of new constructions in -tvā¹ derived from pres. stems is extraordinarily large.

With reference to § 130: *labhitvā* Ja I 150,20 as against Skt *labdhvā*; *vasitvā* Ja I 78,26 as against *uśitvā*; *uddharitvā* D I 234,6, *samharitvā* Ja I 265,27 from *harati* as against *hṛtvā*; *otaritvā* Ja I 223,19 as against *tīrtvā*; *saritvā* Thī 40 as against *sṛtvā*; *ghāmsitvā* Ja III 226,1 as against *ghṛṣtvā*.

With reference to § 131: *vinayitvāna* Sn 485 beside *netvana*; *a-jinitvā* Mhv 32,18 beside *jetvā*; *-bhavitvā* Sn 52 as against *bhūtvā*

With reference to § 132: *pivitvā* Ja I 419,20 beside *pītvā*; *nisiđitvā* passim; (v) *uṭṭhahitvā* Vin I 2,29. Also *ghayitvā* Dhp-a III 270,3 as against Skt *jighṛtvā*.

With reference to § 133: *arohityā* Vin I 15.16, *orohitva* Vin I 15.33 as against *rūdhvā*.

With reference to § 134: *pakkhipitvā* Ja I 265.3 as against *kṣiptva*; *ādisitvāna* Thī 311 from the root *diś*; *pavisitvā* D II 331.19 from the root *viś*; *gilitvā* Mhv 31.52; *okiritvā* Ja III 59.14; *supitvāna* Th 84 as against *suptvā*.

With reference to § 135: *icchityā* Ja I 256.17 from the root *īś*; *muñcitvā* Ja I 375.11, in explanation of *mutvā*; *siñcitvā* Sn 771; *vilimpitvā* Ja I 265.29 as against *liptvā*.

With reference to § 136: *niliyitvā* Ja I 500.13; *kujjhitvā* Mhv 5.141; *sañnayhitvā* D II 175.15; -*pajjitvā* Th 158; *sussitvā* Ja II 5.28; *pamajjitvā(na)* Dhp 172; *vijjhitvā* Ja I 150.18; *laggitvā* Ja II 19.22; *passitvā* Th 510; *chijjitvā(na)* Ja I 167.27; *namassitvā* S I 234.33*; *ādiyitvā* Ja I 430.26.

With reference to § 138: *jāyitvā* Sn 418; *nhāyitvā* Vin III 110.16; *nahāyitvā* Ja II 27.6; *gāyitvā* Dhp-a I 15.14; *sajjhāyitvā* (§ 188.1) Dhp-a III 447.19.

With reference to §§ 140 and 142 foll.: *hanityāna* Ja III 185.20; *a-vijahitvā* Thūp 8.37; *dahitvā* Vin I 287.16 from *dahati* (root *dhā*); *patijaggitvā* Dhp-a III 30.10; *dadityā* Th 532.

With reference to § 144 *chinditvā* D I 224.14, and *bhinditvā* Ja I 425.4 beside *chetvā*, *bhetvā*; *bhuñjivā* Ja III 53.20 in explanation of *bhutvā*; *riñcivā* Thī 93 as against *riktvā*.

With reference to § 145 foll.: *jānitvā* Ja I 293.14* beside *ñatvā*; *kinitvā* Mil 48.16; *gunhitvā* *passim*, as against *grhītvā*; *nimminitvā* Th 563; *bandhitvā* Vin I 46.17 as against *baddhvā*.

With reference to §§ 147–49: *vicinityā* Vin I 133.14 as against *citvā*; *sunītvā(na)* Thī 44; *a-pāpuṇitvāna* Thī 494; *karitvā* Sn 444 beside *katvā*.

¹For corresponding Pkt forms, particularly in AMg, see Pischel (§ 582). Cf. *vasittā*, *jinittā*, *bhavittā*, *jāñuttā*, *kiñuttā*, *guñhuttā*, *karittā*, etc.

§ 210A. There is some evidence for absol.s in -*ttā*, as in Pkt,¹ especially in conjunction with the verbs *abhijanati* and *sarati*: *sarasi ... kattā* Vin III 169.30 ‘do you remember having done?’. Their existence is probably due to doubt on the part of the recensionists, when converting earlier material to Pāli, about the precise nature of the construction with this verb, as is shown by the variants which occur.² A similar doubt probably explains the variation between *chetta* and *chetva* Sn 343 and Th

1263³ and between *katvā* and *katta* Ja II 317.14* and IV 274.2*.⁴ The absol.s in -*ta* are probably derived from -*ttā* metri causa: *sammasitā* Sn 69,⁵ *parivajjayitā* Sn 537, *aharitā* Ja III 399.2* (cty: *āharitvā*),⁶ *paccuggata* Ja VI 557.20* (cty: *paccuggantvā*).⁷

¹See Pischel (§ 582).

²See von Hinüber, 1982, pp. 135–37.

³See Norman, 1969, p. 297.

⁴See Norman, 1985, pp. 32–35.

⁵See Norman, 1992B, p. 156.

⁶See Norman, 1990B, pp. 145–46.

⁷See von Hinüber, 1986, § 498.

§ 210B. There is a very rare absol. in -*tu*, which is also found in the Aśokan inscriptions;¹ *datthu* Sn 424. This may, however, be an example of the inf. being used as an absol., as also in Pkt, with -*m* lost metri causa, as happens also in the inf.s (§§ 204, f.n. 2, 205).

¹See Norman, 1958, p. 46.

§ 211. Of examples of absol.s in -*tūna* there occur in Kacc. IV 3.15, 4.6 and 7 (Senart, p. 497, 503): *janitūna*, *kātūna* (*kattūna*), *gantūna*, *khantūna*, *hantūna*, *mantūna*. From literature can be quoted: *kātūna* Vin III 96.32, *hātūna* Ja IV 280.17* from the root *har* (cty: *haritvā*), *apakiritūna* Thī 447 (cty: *chaddetvā*), *nikkhamitūna* Th 73; *āpucchitūna* Thī 426. Also *chaddūna* Thī 469 from **chardtūna* (cty: *chaddetvā* ‘having thrown away’).

§ 212. Absolutives in -*ya*.¹ From roots ending in a vowel: *abhiññaya*,² *aññāya* = *abhi-*, *ā-jñāya*; *ādāya* (and other compounds of *dā*) = *ādāya*; *nidhāya*; Dhp 142 and other compounds of *dhā* = *nidhāya*; *uñhāya* (*paññāya* as postposition ‘starting from ...’) = *uñhāya*. From the root *l* (Skt -*itya*) there is *pecca* ‘having died’ Dhp 15 = *pretya*; *paricca* Thī 71 = *parītya*; *samecca* D II 273.10* = *sametya*; *paticca* ‘in consequence of’ = *pratītya*. From the root *bhū*: *abhibhuya* Dhp 328. By analogy with *abhibhoti* : *abhibhuya* there has been formed from *pappoti* an absolute *pappuya* Sn 593. In Vin II 156.28* there is *appuya* from the simplex **appoti* = *āpnoti*.

From the root *kar*: *nikacca* Vin III 90.24* = *nikṛtya*, *sakkacca* Vv 11.6 (usually *sakkacca*) = *satkṛtya*, *patigacca* (§ 38.1).

From roots in a nasal: *ahacca, uhacca* Ja II 71,16*, *nihacca* Thī 109 = *-hatya* (root *han*); *palikhañña* Sn 968 or *palikkhāya* S I 123,6* from the root *khan* with *pari* ‘to dig out, exterminate’ = Skt *-khanya* and *-khāya*; *āgamma, samgamma*, etc. = *-gamyā* Ja V 31,3* (cty: *gantvā*).

From roots in a mute: *apuccha* Thī 416 (cty: *āpucchitvā*), *sampuccha* S I 176,13* = *-pycchya*; *pariccajja* ‘after forsaking’ Ja III 194,20* = *parityajya*; *pavibhajja* ‘after separating’ Th 1242 = *-bhajya*; *samcicca* ‘having deliberated’ Vin I 97,2 = *samcitya*; *pabhijja* Th 1242 = *prabhidya*; *-pajja* = *-padya*; *-sajja* = *-sadya*; *panujja* ‘having frightened away’ Sn 359 = *pranudya*; *ativijjha* ‘having pierced through’ M I 112,1 = *-vidhya* (root *vyadh*); *ārabbha* ‘beginning with ...’ = *ārabhya*; *olubbha* ‘hankering after ...’ Thī 17 = *-lubhya*.³

From a root in a sibilant: *okkassa* ‘dragging after’ (§ 33, f.n. 4) D II 74,29 = *avakṣya*.

From roots in *h*: *ā-, abhi-, o-ruyha* Th 147 = *-ruhya*; *abbuyha* ‘having torn out’ Th 298 = *ābrhya*; *-gayha* = *-ghhya*; *pasayha* ‘forcibly’ D II 74,29 = *prasayha*. Besides *-gayha* there is also *gahāya* ‘having seized’ Sn 791, *samuggahāya* Sn 797, clearly from *gahāyatī* (§ 186,5). The equation *gaheti* : *gahāya* has also led to the formation of *anvāya* (postposition) ‘on account of, by means of’ D I 13,12 from *unveti*⁴ (root *i* with *anu*) and *uñchāya* ‘having searched’ Ja V 90,10* (cty: *uñchitvā*).

¹For corresponding Pkt forms see Pischel (§§ 589 foll.).

²On the contraction of *-āya* into *-ā*, see § 27,2.

³For an alternative derivation and translation see Burrow, 1956, p. 195.

⁴A double construction with the suffixes *-ya* and *-tvā* is to be found in *abhiruyhitvā* quoted in Kacc. II 6,5 (Senart, p. 321), as against the usual *abhirūhitvā* and *abhiruyha*. Similarly *ogayhitvā* from *ogāhatī* ‘dips in’ Mhv 38,102.

§ 213. Not infrequently the svarabhakti vowel *i* appears before the suffix *-ya*. Thus in *pakiriya* ‘letting (the hair) loose’ D II 139,30 = *prakīrya*; *lingiya* Thī 398 = *-lingya* (cty: *alingetvā*); *abhiruhiya* Thī 27 (beside *-ruyha*); (*saṁ)avekkhiya* Sn 115; *pekkhiya* Mhv 5,194 = *-ikṣya*; *nikujjiya* Thī 28 from *nikujjati* (Skt *kubj*) ‘turns round, upsets’; *vivajjiya* Thī 167 from *vivajjeti*; *virājiya* Thī 18 from *virājeti* ‘sends away from oneself, is displeased with’; *cintiya* Mhv 7,17 = *-cintya*; *kāriya* Mhv 3,5 = *-kārya*. On the analogy of *kareti, karetum* : *kāriya* there has been formed *nicchiya* ‘having decided’ Mhv 37,233 to

niccheti (= *nicchinati* § 131), *nicchetum* (§ 205). A new type of absol in *-iya* was originated in this way, and the new formation derived from the pres. stem took after this type.

Thus with reference to § 130: *sumariya* Mhv 4,66, as against *-smṛtya*; *atitariya* Sn 219 as against *-tīrya*.

With reference to § 135: *nisiṇciya* Mhv 7,8 as against *-sicya*.

With reference to § 136: *passiya* Thī 399.

With reference to § 144: *chindiya* Thī 480 as against *-chidya*.

With reference to § 145 foll: *avajaniya* Sn 713 as against *-jñāya*; *bandhiya* Thī 81 as against *-badhya*.

With reference to § 147 foll: *sunīya* Mhv 23,102 as against *-śrutya*; *kariya* Thī 402 as against *-krtya*. Also the new pres. stem *dakkha-* (§ 136,3) has given rise to *dakkiya* Thī 381.

§ 214. Examples of absol.s in *-yāna* are: *uttariyāna* Ja IV 441,8* (cty: *uttaritvā, avattharitvā*); *ovariyāna* Thī 367 (v.l. *ovadiyāna* in Thī-a 250,26 explained by *ovaditvā*); *pakkhandiyāna* Vv 84,11 (explained as *pakkhanditvā* in Vv-a 338,13) from the root *skand*. A nasal extension *-m* is to be found in *khādiyānam* ‘having eaten’ Ja V 24,4*, *anumodiyānam* ‘having been pleased’ Ja V 143,9*.

§ 215. There are also examples of an absol. in *-am* and, with a *-ka* extension, *-akam*, which are developments of the Skt *ṇamul* absol.¹: *jīva-gāham* S I 84,12, *anvesam* M I 140,4, *dantullehakam* M III 167,22 (cty: *ullehitvā*); the form *ura-ttālim* M I 86,3 seems to be the only example of an absol. in *-im*.²

¹See Norman, 1992B, pp. 299–300. As Whitney (Skt Gr., § 995) states, these are in origin action nouns used in the acc. as adverbs, and differ from other absolutives in that they do not necessarily refer to an action which is already completed.

²See Trenckner, Notes, p. 134 and cf. BHS *udaka-hārim* (BHSG, § 35,6).

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