

A PĀLI GRAMMAR

by

Wilhelm Geiger

translated into English

by

Batakrişna 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 Geiger's Introduction has been replaced by a new Introduction written by Professor Richard Gombrich.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-Māgadhī
aor.	aorist
Apa.	Apabhraṃśa
Av.	Avestan
BB	<i>Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen</i> (ed. Bezzenger)
Beitr.	E. Kuhn, <i>Beiträge zur Pāli-Grummatik</i>
BHS(G, D)	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (Grammar, Dictionary)</i> = Edgerton, 1953A, 1953B
BR	<i>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch</i> von O. Böhtlingk und R. Roth, 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 Pāli</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 Taurinensia</i>
JAs	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JMāh.	Jain Māhārāṣṭrī
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
Māg.	Māgadhī
Māh.	Māhārāṣṭrī
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>
Nām.	Subhūti, Nāmamālā
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
PGL	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 Pāli 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
Ś.	Śaurasenī
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)
Ṭ.	Ṭikā
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 Pāli 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-bhāsā* means “the language (*bhāsā*) 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 Māgadhi, 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 Māgadhī 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 Māgadhī (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 Pali and Buddhist Studies* (Nagoya) 1, 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 edicts 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 no. 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 Pāli 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 Vaṭṭagāmaṇī 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 *Tipiṭaka*) 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. Shōzen Kumōi 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 Pāli, very much as we know it and as it is described in this book.

How, then, does this Pāli, the language in which the *Tipiṭaka* 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 Pāli 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, Pāli 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 Pāli its name might seem to imply that. The Pāli language is not coterminous, we have said, with the language found in the Pāli 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 Pāli, 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 Pāli 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 Pāli without changing its meaning. For the

¹ Nayeros Pou, “Sanskrit, Pāli and Khmero-Pāli in Cambodia”, pp. 13–28 in H. de Casparis (ed.), *Sanskrit outside India, Panels of the VIIIth 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, Pāli is not so much a "dead" language as an artificial language that has been repeatedly reshaped.¹

A PĀLI GRAMMAR

A. PHONOLOGY

1. 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 Pāli; 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 *aṃ, iṃ, uṃ.*
2. Consonants: Gutturals (or Velars): *k, kh, g, gh, ṅ*
Palatals: *c, ch, j, jh, ñ*
Retroflexes (or Cerebrals): *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ*
Dentals: *t, th, d, dh, n*
Labials: *p, ph, b, bh, m*
Liquids: *r, l, ḷ, ḷh¹*
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 (*ṃ*) 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 *ḷ* stands for intervocalic *ḍ*, and *ḷh* for intervocalic *dh*. In the Mss *l* and *ḷ* are always confused. Some spellings seem to be arbitrary. Thus *kāḷa* 'black' is mostly written with *ḷ*, although it is equivalent to Sanskrit *kāla*, probably to distinguish it from *kāla* 'time'. It would seem preferable to write *ḷ* everywhere where an etymological connection with retroflex sounds is obvious.

4. Where it stands alone, *h* 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 *ḷ + h.*

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 *ṛ* and *ḷ*, as well as the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, in all dialects, and the vowel *ṛ* in most of the dialects except Apabhraṃśa.¹ Moreover Pkt like Pāli possesses the retroflex consonant *ḷ* and the ambiguous-length vowels *e* and *o*. Most Pkt dialects like Pāli have only the dental *s*; the retroflex *ṣ* 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 vṛddhi-vowels. Thus forms are found which have originated inside Pāli, such as *tepiṭaka* 'devoted to the *Tipiṭaka*' Dh-p-a III 384.18 from *tipiṭaka*, 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 *ṛ* (*prthagjana*). Cf. *sosānika* 'relating to a cemetery' Pp 69.27 from *susāna = Skt śmaśāna*. In *gelaṇṇa* 'illness' D II 99.16 from *gilāna = Skt glāna*, and in *sovatthika* 'bringing prosperity' Vv 18.7 from *suvatthi = 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 **viyāvata = Skt vāpṛta*; *veyyākaraṇa* 'answering' D I 51.5 from *viyākaroti = Skt vyākaroti*.⁴

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

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 idiosyncrasy.

³Pischel (§ 45).

⁴Cf. Skt *vaiyākaraṇa*, as the vṛddhi form of *vyākaraṇa*.

§ 4. Nothing has been handed down to us about the nature of the Pāli 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): *jiṇṇa* 'old, exhausted' = Skt *jīrṇa*. Likewise *maṃsa* 'flesh' = Skt *māṃsa*, and the final in *nadīm* 'the river' (acc.) = Skt *nadīm*. In such cases the vowels *e* and *o* are short: *sēmha* 'catarrh' = Skt *śleṣman*; *oṭṭha* 'lip' = Skt *oṣṭha*.

Examples of (b): *lākhā* 'lac' = Skt *lākṣā*; *dīgha* 'long' = Skt *dīrgha*. In the case of the vowels *e* and *o* the orthography in the Mss not infrequently varies, e.g. *apēkkhā* and *apēkhā* 'expectation' = Skt *apekṣā*; *upēkkhā* and *upēkhā* 'indifference' = Skt *upekṣā*; *vimōkka* and *vimōkha* '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 *sūkti* '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; *sāsapa* 'mustard seed' (instead of **sass-*)² Dh 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 *ābḥati*;⁴ *niḍḍa* 'nest' Dh 148 (AMg *nēḍḍa*) = Skt *nīḍa*; *udukkhala* 'mortar and pestle' Vin III 6,26 (AMg *udukkhala* beside *udūhala*) = Skt *udūkhala*; *kubbara* 'pole of a carriage' A IV 191,6 = Skt *kūbara*, *kūvara*; *pētṭika* 'fatherly' D II 232,10 for **pētika* = Skt *paitṛka* (by analogy with which *mettika* has been subsequently formed). Cf. also *mahabbala*, *mahapphala* = 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: *maṃkuna* 'bug' Ja III 423,13 instead of **māk-*, **makk-* = Skt *matkuna*; *saṃvarī* 'night' D III 196,22* instead of **sāvarī*, **sabbarī* = Skt *śarvarī*; *saṃka* 'toll' (AMg *ussuṃka*) instead of **sūka*, **sukka* = Skt *śulka*; *ghaṃsati* 'rubs' instead of **ghās-*, **ghass-* = Skt *gharṣati*; *vidaṃsentī* 'she who shows' Th 74 instead of **vidās-*, **vidass-* = Skt *vidarśayantī*. On the other hand: *vīsati*, *vīsam* 'twenty' = Skt *viṃśati*; *sīha* 'lion' = Skt *siṃha*; *sārambha* 'audacity' (beside *saṃrambha* Dāth 4,34) = Skt *saṃrambha*;⁷ and other words beginning with *saṃ-* (before *r*).

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 *śvastana*, Johansson, Monde Oriental, 1907-08, pp. 106 foll.

⁴This may be from a guṇa grade formation **ābrahati*. 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; *naṃgara* instead of *nagara*, *gaṃchi* (*gañchī*) instead of *gacchi*, etc. Cf. *uḷumpa* 'raft' D II 89,15 = *udupa*.

⁷via **saṃ-rambha*; see § 52.6.

§ 7. Sometimes a long vowel is retained before a double consonant, particularly in contractions, as in *sājja* = *sā ajja* Thī 75, *yathājjhāsayena* = *yathā ajjhāsayena* 'according to desire' Ja IV 243,8. Also in derivatives such as *dussīlya* from *dussīla*. Cf. *bālya* 'stupidity' Dh-p-a II 30,3, as a variant reading for *balya*. These are clearly examples of learned orthography. There are also sporadic cases like *dābbī* (name of a plant) Abh 586 = Skt *dārvī*; *dātta* 'sickle' Abh 448, Mil 33,3,6 = Skt *dātra*.¹ Quite frequent is *svākkhāta* 'well proclaimed' Vin I 12,24 = Skt *su-ākhyāta*.

¹See Turner, CP, pp. 432-35. Childers also gives *ājjava* 'straightness' beside *ajjava*. *Sākya* Mhv 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-morae syllable: *suriya* 'sun' (instead of **sūrya*) = 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.

¹As a rule it is different in Pkt, cf. AMg *sūriya*, *vīriya*, etc. But still AMg, JMāh. *veruliya* = *vaidūrya* (Pāli *veḷurya*). In Pāli we have *sīliya*, Ja III 7,1* only metri causa.

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

³Lengthening takes place only metri causa, thus *sirimant* Th 94, *sirīdhara* Mhv 5,16.

⁴*sassirika* Ja I 504,29, *nissirika* Ja VI 456,1.

3. THE VOWELS \tilde{a} , \tilde{i} , \tilde{u}

§ 9. Occasionally *e* appears for *a* before a double consonant: *pheggu* '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 *adhasthāt*, but from **adheṣṭhāt*,³ as is shown by the retroflex *-tṭh-*.

¹There were perhaps intermediate forms such as **phiggu*, **siyyā* (Pkt *sejjā* with the frequent v.l. *sijjā*). Cf. *minjā* '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.

²So already Lassen, Instit. Linguae Præcriticæ, p. 129. Cf. E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 21. Pischel (§ 107) thinks of a connection with Vedic *itthā*. Note, however, the v.l. *ubhayettha* for *ubhayattha* Dh-p-a I 29,13. Both *itra* and *etra* are found in Gāndhārī: see Konow, Kharoshthī Inscriptions, Index, s.vv.

³Pischel (§ 107).

§ 10. 1. The vowels *i* and *u* are lengthened in the inflectional endings *-hi*, *-ūhi* and *-isu*, *-ūsū* of the *-i* and *-u* declensions (§ 82).

2. Not infrequently *i* and *u* become \tilde{e} and \tilde{o} before a double consonant or consonant group¹: *Veṅhu* (JMāh. *Vinhu*) D II 259,22 = Skt *Vṅgu*;² *nekkha* '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*; *Okkā mukha* (proper name) = Skt *Ulkāmukha*.³ In such words as *rāmaṇeyya* 'charming' = Skt *raṃaṇīya*, *dakkhiṇeyya* 'worthy of veneration' = Skt *dakṣiṇīya*, an intermediate stage with **-iyya* has to be imagined. The change into *e* takes place even when *i* is derived from *ṣ*, e.g. *gheppati* 'grasps', if it is to be derived from **ghippati* < **ghṛpyati* as Pischel has suggested for Pkt *gheppai*.⁴ The double consonant following after \tilde{e} and \tilde{o} may be secondarily simplified according to the Law of Morae with an accompanying lengthening of *e* and *o*: *Uruvelā* (place-name) through **Uruvellā*, **Uruvillā* = Skt *Uruvilvā*; *ojā* 'strength' D II 285,10 through **ōjā*, **ujjā* = Skt *ūrjā*. In *vihesati* 'injures, insults' Ud 44,30 (beside

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

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

²In S I 52,10 too *Veṇhu* should be read instead of *Veṇḍu*.

³But always *ukkā* 'flame, meteor' D I 49,31, Ja IV 290,23, D I 10,17 = *ulkā*. The name *Okkāka* = *Ikṣvāka*, which is connected by the Buddhists with *ikṣu* 'sugarcane' is in fact derived from **Ukkhāka* (**ukku* side-form of *ucchu*). The analogical influence of *Okkāma* 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*, *edikka* (*erikka*) 'such a one' Sn 313 (beside *īdisa*, etc., Mhv 5.93) through **iddi*, **ēddi*, etc. = Skt *īdrś*, *īdrśā*, *īdrkṣa*;¹ *āvelā* 'garland' Vv 36.2 (Pkt *āmelā*) through **āviddā*, **āvēddā* = Skt *āpīdā*;² *gaḷocī* (a plant; Pkt *gaḷoī*) Abh 581 through **gaḷuccī*, **gaḷōccī* = Skt *gudūcī*; *jambonada* 'gold' Dhp 230 through *-*unnada*, *-*ōnnada* = Skt *jambūnada*. *Mahesī* '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 *kīdi*, *kīdisa*, 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*, *netvā* 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 *r, l*

§ 12. The vowel *r* 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. *r > a*: *accha* 'bear' Ja VI 507,5* = Skt *r̥kya*; *pasada* 'spotted antelope' Ja VI 537,31* = Skt *pr̥ṣata*; *vaka* 'wolf' Sn 201 = Skt *vr̥ka*; *hadaya* 'heart' = Skt *hr̥daya*.

2. *r > i*: *ikka* 'bear' Ja VI 538,1* (cty: *accha*) = Skt *r̥kya* (cf. § 62,2); *ina* 'debt' (AMg *aṇa*) Sn 120 = Skt *r̥ṇa*; *vicchika* 'scorpion' D I 9,8 = Skt *vr̥ścika*; *sipāṇikā* 'seed-house' M I 306,2 = Skt *sr̥pāṇikā*.

3. *r > u*: *uju* or *ujju* (Ja VI 518,8*) 'straight' = Skt *r̥ju*; *usabha* 'bull' Dhp 422 = Skt *r̥sabha* (beside *vasabha* = Skt *vr̥sabha*); *pucchati* 'asks' = Skt *pr̥cchati*; *muḷāla* Ja I 100,7 and *muḷāli* Ja VI 530,16* 'lotus-stalk' = Skt *mṛṇāla*; *pāvusa* 'rainy season' Th 597 = Skt *pr̥āvṛṣa*.

4. Sometimes the development varies: there is, beside *accha*, the dialectal form *ikka* 'bear'; Skt *vr̥ddhi* has been differentiated into *vaḍḍhi* 'blessing' and *vuddhi* 'growth'; Skt *mṛga* has been differentiated into *maga* 'animal' Sn 275 and *miga* 'gazelle' passim.² Beside *ina* there is *an-aṇa* 'debtless' M II 105,16 and *sāṇa* (= *sa-aṇa*) 'indebted' M III 127,7, probably through vowel-assimilation³ (but *sa-y-ina* or *sa-ina* Mhv 36.39). Beside *kaṇha* 'black' (= Skt *kṛṣṇa*) a v.l. *kl̥ha* D I 90,15 is found. Skt *pr̥thivī* appears as *pathavī*, *paṭhavī*, *puṭhavī*, *puṭhuvī*, *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*, *mātughātaka*, 'patricide, matricide' Vin I 88,20 with *pitipakkhato*, *mātipakkhato* 'from the paternal side, from the maternal side', etc.

¹In Pkt initial *r* usually becomes *r* + vowel; see Pischel (§ 56). Pāli has *iraveda* Dīp 5.62 or *irubbedā* Sv 247,19 = *Rgveda*, where *r* 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 *sākhāmiga* 'monkey' Ja III 98.14*, *migacakka* 'animal magic' D J 9.10, Sv 94.6.

³Trenckner, Notes, p. 129.

§ 13. In some cases the *r*-vowel appears to become a consonant + vowel: *brahant*, *brahā*^v 'big' Th 31 = Skt *bṛhant*; *brūheti* 'devotes himself to a cause' Dh 285 = Skt *bṛmhayati*, *vṛmhayati*.¹ Despite the appearance *ru* is probably not from *vṛ* in *rukkha* 'tree' = Skt *vṛkṣa*² or in *pāruta* 'covered, concealed' Th 153 = Skt *prāvṛta* and *upāruta* '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 *rukkha* 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 *pārupati*. See Norman, 1988, p. 54.

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

¹E. Leumann, GGA, Nr. 8, p. 594.

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

³Buddhaghosa, however, explains: *soḷasannaṃ nāṭakittihīnaṃ thatvā naccayoggaṃ unṇāmayapaccātharaṇaṃ* (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*: *Erāvaṇa* (the name of Indra's elephant) = Skt *Airāvaṇa*; *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 *ubhinnaṃ* 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 *aiśvarya*; *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 *tottra*;⁴ *sussam* (v.l. *sossam*) 'I shall hear' Sn 694 = Skt *śrośyāmi*; *gunnam*, gen. pl. of *go* 'cow' = Skt *gonām*.

4. *u* from *o* = original *au*: *ussukka* 'zeal' = Skt *ausukya*; *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 *avaśyāya* the *u* is derived from *o* < *ava*.

¹For Pkt see Pischel (§ 84).

²Beitr. p. 28.

³CE Ś. *duvenam*, *duvehl*, *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 *kiṣku*;² *susu* 'young' = Skt *śiṣu* (nasalised form in *suṃsumāra* 'crocodile' = Skt *śiṣumāra*). In *kukkusa* 'powder in rice-ears' Vin II 280,20 = Skt *kiknasa*³ the intermediate steps are **kikkasa*, **kikkusa* (§ 19.2). Here belongs *niṭṭhubhati*, *niṭṭhuhati* 'spits out' Vin II 175,7 (beside *niṭṭhubhati* Ud 50,18, *niṭṭhuhati* Dh-p-a II 36,7) from a root **stubbh* with *ni*.⁴

(b) *u* becomes *u* before a following *u*: *sumugga* 'basket' Ja I 265,28 (beside *samugga*) = Skt *samudga*; *usūyā*, *usuyyā* 'envy' S I 127,8, (§ 6.2) = Skt *usūyā*.

(c) *u* becomes *i* before a following *i*: *siriṃsapa* 'snake' = Skt *sarīṣpa*; *timissā* 'moonless night' Ja III 433,10 = Skt *tamīrā*.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, PGr. p. 9.

³VT III, p. 367, f.n. 4.

⁴Pischel (§ 120).

⁵Also *timisā* D II 175,17, M III 174,26, which presupposes **tamiṣā*.

§ 17. There is further:

2. The influence of the preceding vowel:

(a) *u* becomes *u* after a preceding *u*: *uḷuṅka* 'ladle' Ja I 235,23 = Skt *uḷaṅka*; *kuruṅga* (kind of gazelle) Ja I 173,15 = Skt *kuraṅga*; *pukkusa* (designation of a low caste) Ja III 194,30* = Skt *pukkaśa*; *puṭhujjana* 'ordinary (not converted) people' = Skt *pṛthagjana*.

(b) *i* becomes *u* after a preceding *a*: *arañjara* 'water pot' Abh 456 = Skt *aliñjara*; *kākaṇikā* (small coin) Ja I 120,20 = Skt *kākaṇikā*; *pokkharāṇī* 'lotus-tank' = Skt *puṣkarīṇī*; *sākhalla*, *sākhalya* 'friendship' (§ 3) from *sakhila*.¹

(c) *u* becomes *a* after a preceding *u*: *āyasmant* 'venerable' = Skt *āyusmant*; *matthaluṅga* 'brain' Ja I 493,10 = Skt *mastuluṅga*; *sakkhalī*, *sakkhalikā* 'ear-lobe' (JPTS, 1909, p. 17) = Skt *śaṣkulī*.

(d) *a* becomes *i* after a preceding *i*: *siṅgivera* 'ginger' = Skt *śiṅgavera*; *nisinna* 'sitting' (but *pasanna*, *saṃsanna*) = Skt *niṣaṇṇa*.²

¹Similarly *kosajja* 'slowness' Dh-p 241, A I 11,29 (from *kuṣita*) as opposed to *kausīdya*.

²It is possible that *nisinna* is based upon the present stem *niṣid + na*. Also in *pathavī* (-th-) and *puṭhuvī* (§ 12.4) = *pythivī* we have vowel-assimilation; *puṭhavī* 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 *saṃmujjanī*, *-muñjanī* 'broom' Dh-p-a III 169,6 beside *saṃmajjanī* Dh-p-a III 7,19 = Skt *saṃmārjanī*. 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*: *kiṃ su*, *kena ssu*, etc., S I 36,20 foll.

2. The vowel *i* usually appears in the neighbourhood of palatals²; cf. *mimjā* '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 *bhīyyoso* '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 *jegucchā* '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*; *puttimā* nom. sg. 'endowed with sons' Sn 33 = **putramān*; *majjhima* 'middle' = Skt *madhyama*;³ *saccika* 'true' Mil 226,17 = Skt *satyaka*.⁴ Cf. the forms *ahimkāra*, *mamimkāra* 'self-consciousness' M III 32,34 beside *ahamkāra*, *mamamkāra*. It is possible that the same explanation should be given for future forms such as *dakkhisi* 'you will see', *kāhisi* 'you will do' (beside *dakkhasi*, *kāhasi*), *ehisi* 'you will go', etc., as opposed to Skt *drakṣyasi*, **karṣyasi*, *eṣyasi*.⁵

2. After the accented syllable *a* becomes *u*: *navutī* 'ninety' (AMg *navūim*) = Skt *navati*; *pāpuraṇa* 'mantle' S I 175 foll. through *pāvuraṇa* M I 359,13 (AMg *pāvuraṇa*) = Skt *prāvuraṇa*; *saṃmuti* 'consent' (beside *saṃmata*) = *saṃmuti* (cf. above § 18.1). In the inflectional system (§ 92.3) *brahmunā*, *brahmunō*; *kammunā*, *kammunō* (also AMg *kammunā*, *kammunō*); *addhunā*, *addhunō* = Skt *brahmaṇā*, *brahmaṇas*; *karmaṇā*, *karmaṇas*; *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*; *pekhuna* 'wing' Th 211 = Skt *preṅkhana* 'swing';⁸ *sajjulasa* 'resin' Vin I 202,1 = Skt *sarjarasa*.

3. Occasionally after the accent-syllable *i* becomes *u* and *u* becomes *i*: *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 *suṇisā* see § 31. 2.

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

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

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

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

⁵ Smith, 1952, suggests an alternative explanation, based on the alternation *yati*, i.e. *-syatil-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 Subhūti, Abh-Sūci 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 *jāgarati* through **jāg^arati*; *oka* 'water' Dh 34 from *udaka* through **ōkka*, **ukka*, **utka*, **ud^aka*; *agga* 'house' (in *uposathagga*, *khuragga*, *bhattagga*, 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: *ciccīṭāyati* 'rustles' Vin I 225,25 beside *cīcīṭāyati*; *sassara*, *babbhara* M I 128,25 (JPTS, 1889, p. 209) for **sa^asara*, **bha^abhara* beside *sarasara*, *bharabhara*. In enclisis *khalu* has become *kho* through **kh^alu*, **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 Māgadhī 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 *kāhāpaṇa* (a coin) (Pkt *kāhāvaṇa*) = Skt *kārṣāpaṇa*; perhaps also in *nigrodha* 'figus indica' = Skt *nyagrodha* and in *susāna* 'burial ground' from **śvaśāna*, a side-form of Skt *śmaśāna*.¹ Similar instances of *saṃprasāraṇa* 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 *dvibhūmika* 'consisting of two stories' Ja II 18,8. Forms like *thāpeti* (*utthāpeti*, 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 *krīṇāti*, on the analogy of *mināti*, *lunāti*.⁴

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

śmaśāna and derives the former from *śavaśayana* '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 *jñāpayati* shows the weak grade *jñā* of *jñā*, it is possible that *thāpeti* is similarly based upon a genuine historic weak grade *sthā* of *sthā*. See Burrow, 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 *-kṛtvas* and *adam* 'that' through **ado* = Skt *adas*. Cf. § 66.2b. Qualitative change (reduction) is in evidence in *saddhim* 'together with' = Skt *sārdham*,³ *sakkhi(ṇ)* or *sacchi* 'before one's eyes' (certainly not = Skt *sākṣāt*, but) = **sākṣam* (AMg *sakkham*⁴); *saṇim* 'slowly' Mhv 25.84 (not = Skt *śanais*, but) = **śanam*. Reduction to *u* under the influence of *u* in the preceding syllable (§ 17.2a) is found in *puṭhu* 'separate' Th 86 = Skt *pṛthak*. The Skt enclitic *svid* has become *su*, *ssu* by labialisation (§ 18.1): *kiṇ 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 *āgu*, inflected like *madhu*.

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

³Pischel (§ 103) suggests a derivation from Ved. *sadhṛim*. 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 *pāniya* (*pāniyāni* D I 148.4, *pāniyāni* Ja I 450.8) = Skt

pāniya (AMg, JMāh, *pāniya*); *vammika* 'ant-hill' Ja I 432.5 beside *vammika* Ja III 85.8 = Skt *vālmika*; *sāluka* 'lotus-root' Vin I 246.16 = Skt *śālūka*. Similarly *dutiya* 'second', *tatiya* 'third' = Skt *dvitīya*, *trītiya*.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*; *mutiṅga* 'drum' D I 79.13 (Pkt *mutiṅga*) = Skt *mṛdaṅga*. Cf. *meraya* 'intoxicating drink' DhP 247 = Skt *maireya*.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, Kalpasūtra (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*; *pāṭiyekka* '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*; *kummagga* '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 Kkh 131.37 where, however, the PTS edition reads *mukharo*.

³The example *suddiṭṭha* quoted in JPTS, 1909, p. 193 is = *su-uddiṭṭha*; *sakkāya* is not = *svakāya*, but = *sakāya* (Franke, D. trsl., p. 54, f.n. 4) and *cikkhalla* 'earthen', Vin II 122.31 not = *cikkhala* but = **caikkhalya* > **cēkkhalla* > **cēkkhalla* (E. Müller, PGr., p. 19).

8. SAMPRASĀRAṆA AND THE LOSS OF SYLLABLES THROUGH CONTRACTION

§ 25. Through samprasāraṇa:

1. *yā* becomes *ī* in a stressed syllable: *thīna* 'sloth' = Skt *styāna*; *dvīha*, *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* = *vyatī*-, *vi-ati*-, e.g., *vītivatta* = Skt *vyativṛtta*, etc.¹ Cf. *nīnka* (a kind of deer) Abh 619 = Skt *nyānku*. Instead of *ī* there is *e* in (*saṃ*)*pavedhati* 'shakes' Sn 928 from the root *vyath*. Often *yā* 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. *vā* 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 *kvaṃ*, *kvaṃ*, *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 *vā* is often retained with the assimilation of *v* to the preceding consonant, e.g., *assattha* 'figus religiosa' (AMg however has *assottha*, etc.) = Skt *aśvattha*.

3. Quite peculiar is *dosa* in which Skt *doṣa* 'fault' and *dveṣa* 'hatred' have coincided. Cf. *dosaniya* 'deserving hatred' A III 169.28 = Skt *dveṣāṇiya*.

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

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

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

⁴The intermediate stages seem to have been *īya* > *īyi* and *uva* > *uvu*; thus *dvyaha* > **dviyaha* > **dviyīha* > *dvīha*; *śvān* > **suvān* > **suvuna* > *sūna*, *soṇa*. Cf. *soṇna*, 'gold' beside *suvaṇṇa*.

§ 26. Through contraction *aya* can become *e* and *ava* can become *o*,¹ 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.; *ajjhena* 'study' Sn 242 = Skt *adhyayana*. Optionally also in causatives and other verbal stems in *aya*, such as *moceti*, *katheti*.² Further *terasa* 'thirteen' = **trayadaśa*, *tevīsa*(ti) = **trayaviṃśati*; *aya* is retained in *nayana* 'eye', *sayana* 'bed', etc. (but *senāsana* 'bed and seat' beside *sayanāsana* Sn 338).

2. *ava* becomes *o* in *odhi* 'limit' D II 160.32 = Skt *avadhi*; *omā* 'lowly' Sn 860 = Skt *avama*; *poṇa* 'sinking, inclined' Vin II 237.19 = Skt *pravāṇa*; *loṇa* 'salt' = *lavāṇa*; *hoti* 'is, becomes' (beside *bhavati*) and many other forms. Also optionally *o* = the prefix *ava-* (*orodha* 'harem' = Skt *avarodha*) and *vo* = the prefix *vyava-*, *vi-ava* (e.g. *vosita* 'fulfilled' Dhp 423 = Skt *vyavasita*). Cf. *uposatha* (Pkt *posaha*) = Skt *upavasatha*. But *ava* is retained in *lavāṇa* 'harvest', *savana* '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 *bhemi* 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 *pratisaṃlayana*; *sotthāna* 'welfare' Sn 258 = Skt *svastyayana* (§ 25.2).¹

2. *āya* becomes *ā*: *vehāsa* 'atmosphere' D I 95.10 = Skt *vaiḥāyasa*; *upaṭṭhāka* 'attendant' Vin I 72.17 = Skt *upasthāyaka* (but fem. *upaṭṭhāyikā* Dhp-a III 8.3); *Kaccāna* (beside *Kaccāyana*), *Moggallāna* = Skt *Kātyāyana*, *Maudgalyāyana*, etc.² Very frequently at the end of a word *-āya* is contracted into *-ā*,³ such as *sayaṃ abhiññā* 'knowing for oneself' instead of *-ññāya* = Skt *abhiññāya*, absol.; *apaṭipucchā* 'without hearing' Vin II 3.3 instead of *-pucchāya*, instr. sg. fem.; *esanā* '(goes) in search of' Ja II 34.16 instead of *esanāya*, dat. sg. masc.; *chamā* 'on the earth' instead of *chamāya*, loc. sg. fem.⁴ In the first syllable of words *āya* is especially likely to be retained: *vāyasa*, *jāyati*, etc.

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

4. *avā* becomes *ā* in *yāgu* 'rice-gruel' A III 250,12 = Skt *yavāgū*; *avā* remains uncontracted in *kavāta*, *pavāḷa*, 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 *ācuriya*) = Skt *ācārya*; *macchera* 'envy' DhP 242 = Skt *mātsarya*; ⁶ *thera* 'venerable elder' = Skt *sthavira*; *hessati* 'will be' (§ 154.2) = Skt *bhaviṣyati*.⁷

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

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

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

¹Lüders (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-citta*.

³Perhaps 'truncated' is a better term.

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

⁵D. Andersen, Pāli Gl., 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. Pālie, § 88.4. Pischel (§ 176), however suggests epenthesis.

⁷On *hohiti*, *hotabba*, *houm* 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 *mayūkha* 'beam of light' as opposed to Pkt Māh. *moha*.

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

1. *upa-* becomes *ū-* 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 *paccosakkāi*) 'falls back' D I 230,21 from the root *ṣvaṣk* with (*prati*)*apa*.⁴

¹Hem. I.173; see Pischel (§ 155).

²It may be thought that also *ūhanti* in the meaning 'defiles' is derived from *han* with *upa*. Yet this is rendered improbable by Vin I 78,12 where *ummiḥati* stands parallel to it. It is certain that *ūhanti* = *han* with *ud* and it means 'conquers, annihilates'. Instead of *ūhananti* 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 *kaṣṭa* 'bad, false' A I 72,8 = Skt *kaṣṭa*. This is perhaps a dialectal form. In Pkt there occurs the Pāli form *kaṣṭa*.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 *smayate*. 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 maṃsamhi*; the cty replaces *tikkha* 'sharp' = Skt *tīkṣṇa* by *tikkiṇa*. 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 *kayirātha* = *kayrātha*; Th 477 *suriyasmim* = *suryasmim*; Thī 49 *puriso* = *purso*. The *i*- of *itthi* is always metrically justified; beside it, however, the form *thi* 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 Fausbøll 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*: *iriyati* 'moves' M I 74.6 (substantive *iriyā*) = **iryate*, Skt *iryā*; *mariyādā* 'frontier' Mhv 34.70 = Skt *maryādā*. In the same way are formed passives like *kariyati* from *karoti* (also *karīyati* D I 52.27), *vāriyati* 'is held back' = Skt *vāryate*.

2. In other combinations with *y*: *kāluṣya* 'darkening' Sv 95.10 = Skt *kāluṣya*; *jiyā* 'bow-string' D II 334.20 = Skt *jiyā*. In the same category are to be included also the passives like *pucchiyati* 'is asked' = Skt *pucchyate*. In *hiyya* (AMg *hijjo*) 'yesterday' = Skt *hyas* there is svarabhakti with secondary reduplication of *y*.

3. In other combinations with *r*: *vajira* 'thunder, diamond' (AMg *vāira*) 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 Pāli *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*; *tasinā* 'thirst' Dhp 342 (beside *tanhā*) = Skt *tṛṣṇā*. On the other hand there occur only *kaṇha* 'black' = Skt *kṛṣṇa* (Pkt *kaṇha*, *kaṣiṇa*, *kaṣaṇa*) and *nagga* 'naked' = *nagna* (AMg *nagiṇa*, *nigiṇa*). In inflection there occur *rājinā*, *rājino* beside *raññā*, *rañño* = Skt *rājñā*, *rājñas*. On *gini* from **agini*, Skt *agni* see § 66.1. On *mihita* 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*; *harāyati* 'is ashamed' (§ 186.2) beside *hiriyati* from *hrī*. Cf. *nahāyati* in § 50.5. As a link in a compound: *antaradhāyati* '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*; *dve* 'two' (more frequently *dve*) metri causa Sn 48 = Skt *dve*; *maruvā* (v.l. *muruvā*) (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 *suṇisā* 'daughter-in-law' through **sunusā* (as in Paisācī) from Skt *snusā*. The *i* in this form¹ is to be explained according to § 19.3. The svarabhakti vowel *u* also occurs in *sukkuṇāti* 'is able' and *pāpuṇāti* 'obtains' from Skt *śaknoti*, *prāpnōti*, via **śaknāti* and **prāpnāti* respectively. Cf. § 148.

¹ The *ṇ* in *suṇisā* 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: *satīmatī* Thī 35; *tūriyaṃ* Mhv 25.74; *tatīyaṃ* Dh 309; *anūdake* Ja VI 499.5*. Frequently also in final syllables: *sīho va nadatī 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; *paribbasāno* for **parīvasāno* Sn 796; *sarati bbayo* 'life flies' (cf. § 51.3) for *sarati vayo* Ja III 95.18*. The forms *kummiga* Mil 346.18, *kussobbha* 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*) *bhumāni vā yāni va* (instead of *vā*) *antalikkhe* Sn 222 (cf. Dh 138); *paccanikā* instead of *-nikā* Cp II 8:4; *o* is shortened into *a* in *okamokata* (instead of *-to*) Dh 34; *e* is shortened into *i* in *gimhisu* (instead of *-esu*) Dh 286. Not infrequently the endings *-īnam*, *-unam*, *-ihī*, *-uhī*, *-isu*, *-usu* remain short in verse as opposed to *-īnam*, etc., in prose, e.g. *pāṇinam* Th 1258. Nasal vowels are denasalised: *dighaṃ addhāna* (instead of *-naṃ*) *socati* Dh 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 *jīvato* Ja III 539.2* instead of *jīvanto*. Simplification of double consonants is again equivalent to shortening of vowels. Thus there is, metri causa, *dukham* for *dukkham* Th 734; *dakkhisam* for *-issam*³ Thī 84 (cf. *dakkhisāma* Jā III 99.7*) and many similar cases.

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

² Pischel (§ 99).

³ Different explanation by Mrs Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Sisters*, p. 56, fn. 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); *abbhāmatta* S I 205.4* (in a verse, but not metri causa); *rajāpatha* (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; *navakkhattuṃ* 'nine times' Dh-a III 377.12 and likewise in all compounds with *-khattuṃ* = *-kṛtvā*.²

Lengthening of vowels or gemination of consonants is found very frequently in combinations with prepositions: *pāvācāna* (AMg *pāvayāna*) 'word' Thī 457 = Skt *pravācāna*; *pākāṭa* (AMg *pāgāḍa*) '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 *paṭikūla* Vin I 29.28 = Skt *pratikūla*. 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*; *dāsigaṇa* 'troop of maid-servants' Ja II 127.26 from *dāsī* + *gaṇa*; *sassudevā* 'worshipping the mother-in-law as god' S I 86.14 = Ja IV 322.15* (but not metri causa) from *sassū* + *deva*.

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

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

³ In *pāheti* 'sends' beside *pahīnati* the *ā* is perhaps due to forms like *pāhesi* 'he sent'.

⁴ The forms *upakkiliṭṭha* 'defiled', *upakkilesa* 'defilement' are perhaps contaminations of **upakkilṭṭha*, **upakklesa* = *upakliṣṭa*, *upakleṣa* with **upakiliṭṭha* and **upakilesa* (with svarabhakti vowel according to § 30.4). Probably a contamination of the root-forms *sraḥ* and *sarj* is at the root of *ossajjati* 'gives up', *vissajjati* 'gives away' (beside *ossajati*, *vissajati*), *oggata* 'gone down' (see p. 76, fn. 7) and *okkasati* 'takes away' D II 74.29 from root *karṣ* with *ava* (intermediate steps: **ōgata*, **ōkasati*) are cases of § 6.2.

⁵ Fausböll, *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, *Epileg.*, p. 31*, s.v. "rhythm. length.", and Caillat, 1970, pp. 8-9.

⁶ Cf. 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 *jhillikā*. 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 = **typu*; *papphāsa* 'lung' D II 293.15 is not = Skt *pupphusa*; *simbala*, *simbuli* 'cotton-tree' (AMg *simhali*) is not = Skt *śalmali* (AMg *sāmalī*) but = Ved. *śimbala* 'cotton-flower';³ *tekičchā* 'healing', *atekičcha* 'incurable' (AMg *teicchā*) A III 146.32 not = Skt *cikitsā*, but = **cekitsā*.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 *pārāpata* = Māh. *pārāvāā*;⁶ *milakka* 'barbarian' S V 466.29, *milakkhu* Th 965 = AMg *milakkhu* as opposed to Skt *mleccha* = AMg *mēccha*, *miccha*; ⁷ *timbaru* (name of a tree) Att 21.25 = Pkt *ṭimbaru*, *ṭimbaruya* 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

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

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

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

⁴Pischel (§ 215).

⁵Cf. Māg. *kīśa*, 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 > *ṣ*.

It may be said as a general rule (see § 2) that in intervocalic position *ḍ* and *ḍh* change into *l* and *lh*: *āveḷā* 'garland' (§ 11) = Skt *āpīḍā*; *peḷā* 'basket' Pv IV.1.42 = Skt *peḍā*; *hīḷeti* 'neglects' (JPTS, 1907, p. 167) from the root *hīḍ*; *mīḷha* Vv 52.11 = Skt *mīḍhā* from the root *mih*; *vūḷha* 'carried away' Vin I 32.13 = Skt *ūḍha*. The *ḍ* is retained in *kuḍumala* 'opening bud' (*kuḍumalakajāta* 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 *sahoḍha* '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-bridger *y* or *v*: *suva* 'parrot' (beside *suka*) = Skt *śuka*; *khāyita* 'eaten' Ja VI 498.19* = Skt *khādita*; ² *niya* 'own' Sn 149 (beside *nija*) = Skt *nija*; ³ *sāyati* 'tastes' D III 85.20 (beside *sādiyati*, *sādita*) = Skt *svādite*. 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: *āveṇika* 'particular, separate' S IV 239.10 and *āveṇiya* Vin I 71.30; *Kosiya* (name of Indra) Ja II 252.8* = Skt *Kauśika*; *posāvanika* 'developed to maturity' Ja III 134.20 and *-niya* Dhpa 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 *veyyattiyā* M I 82,25, which has been derived from *viyatta* (with svarabhakti) = Skt *vyakta* in the same way as *veyyāvacca* from **viyāvata* (§3).

¹ See Norman, 1989B.

² E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 56.

³ Minayeff, PGr. §41.

⁴ BR, s.v. *aparagaḍāni*.

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 *-iya*. See Mrs Rhys Davids, Vibhaṅga, 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*; *nuṭṭhuhati* 'spits out' (beside *nuṭṭhubhati*, §16.1a) from the root *stubh* with *ni*; *pahaṃsati* 'rubs' Ja II 102,6 through **paghamsati*³ = Skt *praharṣati*; *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 *hoi*); to the same category belong also *pahoti* 'is able', *pahonaka* 'sufficient' *pahū* 'able' Sn 98, *pahūta* '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 *hammaṃ*; *Vebhāra* (name of a hill) (AMg *Vebhāra*, *Vēbbhāra*, *Vibbhāra*) as opposed to Skt *Vaihāra* (but *Vaihbhāra* with the Jinas).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 *sukhā*⁸ and in *samīhati* 'moves away' Vv 5,1, which

is perhaps connected with Skt *īkhate* (beside *īkh* of the Dhātupāṭha⁹).

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, l.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 *saṃharati* 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*: *eḷamūga* 'deaf and dumb' M I 20,19 = Skt *eḷamūka*; *paṭigacca* 'earlier' D II 118,27 (in S I 57,19 v.l. *paṭigacca*) = Skt *pratikṛtya*.² Further, in the proper names *Sāgala* (a city) Mil 1,3 = Skt *Śākala* and *Māgandiya* (a brahman; JPTS, 1888, p. 71) = Skt *Mākandika*.

1.a. *kh* is voiced to *gh* in *nighaṇṇasi* '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 *utāho*; *niyyādeti* 'hands over' Ja I 507,2 (also *niyyātetī* D II 331,2) and *paṭiyādeti* 'prepares' D I 226,7 = Skt *yātayati*; *pasada* 'spotted antelope' (§12.1) = Skt *pṛṣata*; *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* + *utiseṣa* and *ekodi* 'spiritually united' (*°bhāva*, *°bhūta*) from *eka* + *ūti* 'consisting of a single (woven) chain'.⁴

4. voicing of *th* into *dh*: *pavedhati* 'shivers' (§25.1) = Skt *vyathate*; *gadhiṭa* 'greedy' Ud 75,10 beside *gathita* D I 245,24 = Skt *grathita*.

5. voicing of *p* to *v*⁵ is very frequent: *avaṅga* 'corner of the eye' Vin II 267,6 = Skt *apāṅga*; ⁶ *avāpuraṇa* '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 *āveḷā* (§ 11) = Skt *āpīdā*; *ubbillāvita* '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*; *kaviṭṭha* (name of a tree) Ja V 132,4,7 (beside *kapiṭṭha* Ja VI 529,20) = Skt *kapiṭṭha*; *theva* 'drop' Vin I 50,11 from the root *stip*, *step*, of the Dhātupāṭha; *pūva* 'cake' A III 76,14 = Skt *pūpa*; *bhindivāḷa* (a kind of weapon) Abh 394 = Skt *bhindipāḷa*; *vyāvāṭa* (Pkt *vāvāḍa*) 'engaged on something' D II 141,20 = Skt *vyāpṛta*;⁸ *visīveti* (§ 25.1) = Skt *viśyāpayati*.

6. The change of *t* into *ḷ* presupposes an intermediate *d*: *kakkhaḷa*; 'cruel' = Skt *kakkhaṭa*; *kheḷa* 'village' = Skt *kheṭa* (or from the root *kṣvid* of the Dhātupāṭha); *cakkavāḷa* 'horizon' Ja II 37,19 through **cakkavāṭa* from **cakravarta* (Skt *cakravāḍa*, *-vāḷa*); *phaḷika* 'crystal' = Skt *sphaṭika*. To this category also belong the proper names: *Āḷavī*, (a city) = Skt *Āṭavī*, *Lāḷa* (a country and a people) Dīp 9.5 (cf. *Lāḷudāyitthera* Ja I 123,12) = Skt *Lāṭa*.

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

²Trenckner, 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'.

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

⁴Lévi, 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 **dhendhro*.

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

⁶VT III p. 342, f.n. 6.

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

⁸Trenckner, 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 *sthaḡayati*, *sthaḡana*; *palikuṇṭhita* 'veiled' Ja II 92,24 (beside *palig-* Dh-p-a I 144,11*) from the root *guṇṭh* with *pari*; *laketi* 'clings', *lakanaka*, 'anchor' Mil 377,19,23 = Skt *lagati*, *lagnaka*; *vākurā* 'snare' Th 775 (*vākarā* M II 65,5) = 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 *glāṣnu* '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' Dh-p 135 (*pācanayaṭṭhi* S I 115,6) beside *pājeti* 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*; *muliṅga* 'drum' (§ 23) = Skt *mṛdaṅga*; *pātu* 'apparent' = Skt *prādur*; *samsatī* 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. *lh* 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: *avāpuraṇa* etc. (§ 38.5), *apāpurati* 'discloses' Vv 64,27 from the root, *var* with *apā*; *chāpa(ka)* 'young animal' Vin I 193,5 = Skt *sāva*; *pabbaja* (a kind of grass) Th 27 (beside *babbaja* Vin I 190,3) = Skt *balbaja*; *palāpa* 'chaff' Ja I 467,6 = Skt *palāva*; *pāpuraṇa* (§ 19.2) = Skt *prāvarana*;² *opilāpeti* 'drowns' M I 13,6 = Skt *plāvayati*; *lāpa* (a bird) Ja II 59,6 = Skt *lāha*, *lāva*; *lāpu* Ja I 341,2 and *alāpu* Dh-p 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).

¹See 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 Pāli see below § 61.2.

²Not 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: *khīla* (as in AMg) 'post' A I 141,2 = Skt *kīla*; *-khattum*² = Skt *kṛtvā*; *khuḥja* '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 *paraśa*; *phala* (a certain measure) Ja VI 510,4* (beside *pata* Th 97) = Skt *pala*; *phalagaṇḍa* 'carpenters' S III 154,29 (beside *pal-* M I 119,14) = Skt *phalagaṇḍa*; *phalu* 'knot (of a branch)' D I 5,31 = Skt *parus*; *phārusaka* (a flower) Dh-p-a III 316,1 = Skt *pāruśaka*; *phālibhaddaka* (name of a tree) Ja II 163,5 = Skt *pāribhadra*; *phāsukā* 'rib' Dh-p 154 = Skt *pārśuka*; *phulaka* (a precious stone) Vv-a 111,25 = Skt *pulaka*; *phusita* (AMg *phusiya*) 'drop' M III 300,32 = Skt *pṛṣṭa*; *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' Dh-p 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 *śakti*; *chāpa(ka)* (AMg *chāvā*) = Skt *śāva* (§ 39.6); *cheppā* (AMg *chēppa*, *chippa*) 'tail' Vin I 191,2 = Skt *śepa*; the aspirated *ṣh*, *śh* is said to have developed into *ch* in these cases. Johansson assumes Indo-European doublets with *sk̑* and *k̑*; *ch* in his opinion is derived from *sk̑*.⁵

(b) Unetymological aspiration in the middle of a word; *sunakha*⁶ (Pkt *sunaha*) 'dog' = Skt *śunaka*; *sukhumāla*⁷ 'tender' = Skt *sukumāra*; *kakudha* (Māh. *kaiha*) '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: *kaṇṇi* 'elbow' Abh 265 = Skt *kaphaṇi*; *khudā* 'hunger' Sn 52 = Skt *ksudhā*;⁸ cf. also *katikā* 'agreement' M I 171,28 beside *kathikā*, 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 *sā-*, *saḷ-*, *sa-* '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 *iñg* Ja II 408,12) = Skt *iñg*.

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 *tikičchatī* 'cures' (§ 184) = Skt *cikitsati* (§ 34); *digucchatī* 'feels abhorrence' in Childers PD (AMg *dugucchati*) beside *jigucchatī* = Skt *jugupsate*.³ The last two are probably examples of dissimilation.

3. A dental appears for a retroflex in: *deṇḍima* (a drum) D I 79,14 (beside *dindima*) = Skt *ḍiṇḍima*, 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*duddara* 'deep-sounding' A IV 171,16 = *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 *ṛ*, even though they may have disappeared in Pāli.¹ Thus there is:

1. *ṭ* for *t* in *ambāṭaka* (a tree) Abh 554 = Skt *āmrātaka*.² Also *vaṭaṃsa(ka)* (§ 66.1) as opposed to *avataṃsa* and *paṭaṃga* 'insect' Ja VI 506.30* as opposed to *paṭaṃga*.³ Moreover sometimes in the participles of *ṭ*-roots there is *ṭ* for *t*: *haṭa* (AMg, JMāh. *haḍa*) 'taken away' = Skt *hṛta*; *vyāvāṭa* (§ 38.5) = Skt *vyāpṛta*. On the other hand there is only *mata* 'dead', *ābhata* 'brought in', *saṃvuta* 'restrained'; mostly also *kata* 'done' (*dukkata* 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 *paṭiṭṭhāti* '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. *ṭh* for *th* in *paṭhama* 'the first' = Skt *prathuma*; *saṭhila* 'careless' Dhp 312 = Skt *śrithila* (but *sithila* Th 277). Orthography is uncertain in the case of *paṭhavī*, *pathavī* (§ 12.4). Cf. further *kaṭhita* (AMg *kaḍhiya*, Māh. *kadhia*) 'made hot', *pakkaṭhita* Thūp 48.33 as against *kvathita*.⁵

3. *ḍ* for *d* in the two roots *daṃś* 'to bite' and *dah* 'to burn'⁶ and their derivatives. Thus *ḍasati*; *saṃḍāsa* 'pincers' Ja III 138.12* = Skt *saṃdaṃśa*; *ḍaṃsa* 'gnat' Th 31 = Skt *daṃśa*. But there is invariably *daṭṭha* 'bitten' = Skt *daṣṭa* and *dāṭhā* (Pkt *dāḍhā*) 'tooth', obviously because of the retroflex in these words. Further *ḍahati*; *ḍāha* 'glow' M I 306.11 = Skt *dāha*. On the other hand there is *daḍḍha* 'burnt' = Skt *dagdha*. Intervocally, *ḍ* is then further changed into *ḷ*: *āḷāhana* 'pyre' D I 55.26 and *pariḷāha* 'sorrow' Dhp 90 from *dah*. Similarly *uḷāra* 'great' Th 65 = Skt *udāra*; *uḷuṅka* (§ 17.2a) = Skt *udaṅka*; *koviḷāra* (a kind of tree) Ja VI 530.2* = Skt *kovidāra*; *dohaḷa* 'desire during pregnancy' Ja III 28.3, *dohaḷinī* = Skt *dohada*, *dohadinī*;⁷ *bubbuḷa(ka)* 'bubble' Dhp 170 = Skt *budbuda*.

4. *ḷh* (through *ḍh*) for *dh* in: *dveḷhaka* 'doubt' Sp 309.21 from *dvaīdha* via **dvaīḍhā*.⁸

5. *ṇ* for *n* in: *sakuṇa* 'bird' = Skt *śakuna*; *saṇa* 'hemp' = Skt *śana*; *saṇiṇ*, *saṇikaṃ* (§ 22) = **śanam*. A peculiar case is offered by *nāṇa* 'knowledge' (also *abhiññāṇa*, etc.) = Skt *jñāna*.⁹ The orthography is sometimes uncertain in Pāli: thus *sanati*, *saṇati* 'sounds' from the root *svan*.

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

² For *apphoṭā* (a kind of jasmine) Ja VI 536.32*, the proper reading with retroflex is found also in Skt *āspḥoṭā*.

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

⁴ IF 23, p. 240. Cf. Greek ποτί.

⁵ There occurs also *pakkaṭṭhita* (variant reading *pakkuṭṭhita*) Dhp-a I 126.8, III 310.9 beside *pakkuthita* Thī-a 292.5, and *pakkaṭṭhāpeti* '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.

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

⁷ Lüders, GN, 1908, p. 3. Here *ḷ* < *ḍ* arises after *ṛ* in an original *-hṛda*.

⁸ See Norman, 1992A, p. 237.

⁹ Perhaps 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 *ṇ* by *ḷ*.

1. *d* appears (through *ḍ*) for *r*¹ quite commonly in the compound numerals with *dasa* 'ten' such as *ekārasa* (beside *ekādasa*) 'eleven', etc., as well as in the compounds with *-disa*, *-dikka* = Skt *-dṛśa*, *-dṛkṣa*; *erisa*, *erikka* (beside *edisā*, *edikka*) = Skt *īdṛśa*, *īdṛkṣa*, etc., according to Kacc. IV.6.19 (Senart, p. 525). *l* becomes *r* (through *d* and *ḍ*) in *sattari* 'seventy' = Skt *saptati* S II 59.34. Cf. § 112.3.

2. *l* appears for *n* in: *ela* 'fault' (*anelaka* 'faultless' D III 85.17) = Skt *enas*; *pilandhati*, *pilandhana* (§ 37) from the root *nah*; *Milinda* (proper name) = μενώνδρος (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 *Nairañjanā*.

3. *ṇ* appears for *ḷ*³ in: *veḷu* (also AMg *veḷu* beside *venu*) 'bamboo' = Skt *veṇu*; *muḷāla* (§ 12.3) = Skt *mṛṇāla*.

¹For Pkt see Pischel (§245).

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

³Fausböll, Five Jāt., p. 20.

§44. Representation of *r* by *l* is very common in Pāli, and in Pkt it is the rule for Māg., 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: *lūkha* (AMg *lūha* beside *lukkha* 'gross, bad') Th 923 = Skt *lūkṣa, rūkṣa*; *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 *lohita, rohita* (the latter in certain compounds) 'red, blood' as in Skt. Medially *l* stands for *r* in *elaṇḍa* 'Ricinus' M I 124,30 = Skt *eraṇḍa*; *taluna* 'tender' A IV 129,6 (beside *taruṇa* D I 114,15) = Skt *taruṇa*; *tipukkhalā* (technical term) Nett 2,9 = Skt *tripuṣkara*; *daddulā* (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*; *palissajati* 'embraces' D II 266,10* from the root *svaj* with *pari*. 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 *Purimḍada* (a name of Indra) D II 260,1* = Skt *Puramḍara*, perhaps through folk-etymology. E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 43.

§45. Skt *l* is more rarely represented by Pāli *r*: *arañjara* (§17.2b) = Skt *aliñjara*; *ārammaṇa* 'basis, object' Sn 474 = Skt *ālambana*; *kira* (particle) = Skt *kila*; *biḷāla* 'cat' Abh 461 (beside the usual *biḷāra* Ja I 461,8*, *niḷārikā* Ja III 265,10) = Skt *biḷāra*. For *l* appears *n* (perhaps through dissimilation) in *naṅgala* (also in AMg) 'plough' Th 16 = Skt *lāṅgala*; *naṅgula* 'tail' in *gonāṅgula* (a kind of ape) Th 113 = Skt *lāṅgula*;¹ *nalāṭa* 'forehead' D I 106,13 = Skt *lalāṭa*. Medially there appears *n* for *l* in *dehanī* 'threshold' Abh 219 = Skt *dehalī*.²

¹Cf. also *naṅguṭṭha* A II 245,2, Ja I 370,23, etc., which stands to *naṅgula* as *aṅguṭṭha* 'thumb' to *aṅgula*.

²In Abh 562 there is also *tintīṇī* 'tamarisk' instead of *tintīlikā, tintīdikā*.

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

1. Pāli *v* appears for Skt *y*: *āvudha* 'weapon' Dh 40 (*āyudha* Mhv 7,16) = Skt *āyudha*; *āvuso* voc. from *āyusmant*; *ussāva* (§15.4) = Skt *avaśyāya*; *kaśāva* 'dirt, sin' Sn 328 (*kaśāyita* Alt 4,24) = Skt *kaśāya*; *kāsāva* 'yellow robe of monks' = Skt *kāśāya*; *tāvattimsā* (AMg *tāvattīsā*) 'the 33 gods' = Skt *trayastrimśat*; *piṇḍadāvika* 'provision-carrier' D I 51,9 for *piṇḍadāyika*; *migavā* 'chase' Ja I 149,28 = Skt *mṛgayā*. The form *kīva(m)* 'how much? how far?' (*kīva-dūraṃ*, etc.) is to be compared with Ved. *kīvant* as opposed to Skt *kiyant*. Beside *kaṇḍuvati* 'scratches' Vin III 117,14 = Skt *kaṇḍūyati*, there is *kaṇḍūyana* Att 2,3 (= 5,13). After the svarabhakti vowel *i* there appears *v* instead of *y* in *paṭivimsā, paṭivisa* Vin I 28,9 = **pratyamśa*.² There is *tivaṅgika* Dhs 161 from **tiy-* = **tryaṅgika*. 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*; *vaṇibbaka* 'begging' D I 137,25 = Skt *vaṇīyaka*. 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 *vṛddha*), 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. *lāyita* Ja III 130,2 seem to stand for **lāyitvā, *lāyita* (*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 *laṭṭhi(kā)* 'sprout, stick' Ja III 161,13*, beside *yaṭṭhi(kā)* Ja II 37,4 = Skt *yaṣṭi*.⁵ The change of *y* into *r* is however doubtful. The form *antarāraṭi* 'runs risk' cannot be quoted from texts. For the forms *sakhāraṃ, sakhāro* instead of *sakhāyaṃ, sakhāyas* see §84 below. In *vedhavera* 'son of a widow' Ja IV 124,22* and *sāmaṇera* 'novice' the suffix is *-era*, against *-eya* in *vaidhaveya* and *sramaṇeya*. Nor can *nahāru* '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. *snōrjō*.⁶

4. *v* and *m* alternate in the people's name Pāli *Damīla* = Skt *Dravida*. Cf. also *sāmi* 'porcupine' Ja V 489,32 = Skt *śvāvidh*.⁷ The forms *vīmamsati* 'tests', *vīmamsā*, *vīmamsana*, *vīmamsin* as opposed to Skt *mīmāṃsate*, etc., are to be explained through dissimilation.⁸

¹For Pkt see Pischel (§ 254). Cf. *papovā* = *prāpnuyāt* in the language of Aśoka's inscriptions, Michelson, IF 23, p. 229.

²With 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 *i* goes against the derivation from the root *mṛś* 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 *pīpīla*, *pīpīlikā*;¹ *takkola* 'bdellium' Abh 304 = Skt *kakkola*, but also Skt *takkola*, Sgh. *takuī*. 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*; *kaṇeru(kā)* 'young elephant' Ja VI 497,1* = Skt *kareṇu*; *pārupati* 'covers, dresses' D I 246,10, *pārupaṇa*³ 'mantle' Ja I 378,8 beside *pāpuraṇa* (§§ 19.2 and 39.6). Metathesis may take place after the insertion of a svarabhakti vowel: *kayirā* through **kariyū* = **karyāt* from the root *kar*;⁴ *kayirati* (§ 175) = **karyate*; *payirudāharati* '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 *makṣa* with svarabhakti; but separation of *kṣ* 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*, *ṇṇ* and *ññ* are also found: *pañnarasa* 'fifteen, fifteenth' (rarely *pañña-*), *pañṇuvīsa* 'twenty-five' Ja III 138,20* beside *pañcadasa* Sn 402 and *pañcavīsa* Dīp 3, 29, but only *pañṇāsa(ṇ)* Dh-p-a III 207,12 or *paññāsa(ṇ)* 'fifty' = Skt *pañcāśat*.¹ Assimilation of a mute to a preceding nasal is to be found in *ārammaṇa* (§ 45) = Skt *ālambana*; *Channa* = *Chanda*.²

¹Cf. Pkt AMg JMāh. *pañnarasa*, *pañṇāsam*, 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 *hṇ*, *hn*, *hm*, *hy*, *hv* become respectively *ṇh*, *nh*, *mh*, *yh*, *vh*. Examples: *pubbaṇha* 'forenoon' D I 109,29 = Skt *pūrvāhṇa*. Similarly *aparāṇha* 'afternoon' = Skt *aparāhṇa*, and following them also *sāyaṇha* 'evening' = Skt *sāyāhna*; *cinha* 'sign' Abh 55 (beside *cihana* with

svarabhakti Abh 879) = Skt *cihna*; *jimhu* 'crooked, false' Ja III 111.17¹ = 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: *āruhya* from the root *ruh* with *ā* 'to mount' = Skt *āruhya*; in passives: *duyhati* 'is milked' Mil 41.1 = Skt *duhyate*.² Also *jivhā* 'tongue' D I 21.19 = Skt *jihvā*. In compounds there occur *bavhābādha* 'ill' M II 94.20 = Skt *bahvābādha*; *bavhodaka* 'containing much water' Th 390.

2. The combination *hr* undergoes various changes.³ Initially there is *h* in *hesati* 'neighs' Dāṭh 44, *hesā*, *hesita* 'neighing' Mhv 23.72 = Skt *hreṣate*, *hreṣā*, *hreṣita*; but there is *r* in *rassa* (as opposed to Māg *hassa*) 'short' Dhp 409 = Skt *hrasva*. Both svarabhakti and metathesis are in evidence in *rahada* = Skt *hrada* (§ 47.2).

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

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

³ For *hl* may be quoted only *kallahāra* 'white water-lily' Dīp 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 svarabhakti which took place sometimes already in the original sound-group and sometimes after metathesis and the change of *s* into *h*.

1. *śn* becomes *ñh* (Pkt *ñh*): *pañha* (AMg *paṇha*) 'question' = Skt *praśna*; *pañhipaṇṇī* (sic! not *paṇhi-*) (name of a plant) Abh 584 = Skt *paśniparṇī*.

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*; *rasmī* (Pkt *rassi*) 'ray, rein' Dhp 222 (beside *raṃsi* Sn 1016) = Skt *raśmi*; *vesma* 'house' Abh 206 = Skt *veśman*. In initial position *ś* is assimilated to *m* (< *mm*) in *massu* (AMg *maṃsu*) 'beard' D I 60.17 = Skt *śmaśru*.

3. *ṣṇ* becomes *ṇh*: *uṇha*, 'hot, heat' = Skt *uṣṇa*; *uṇhisa* 'diadem' D II 179.1 = Skt *uṣṇīṣa*; *kaṇha* 'black, demoniac' Th 140 = Skt *kṛṣṇa*; *taṇhā* 'thirst' (beside rare *tasinā* § 30.5) = Skt *ṭṣṇā*; *tuṇhī* 'silent' = Skt

tūṣṇīm; *Veṇhu* (§ 10) = Skt *Viṣṇu*; *suṇhā* 'daughter-in-law' through **suṣṇā* from *snuṣā*,² beside *suṇisā* (§ 31.2).

4. *ṣm* becomes *mh*: *giṃha* 'summer' Dhp 286 = Skt *grīṣma*; *semha* (AMg *sembha*, *simbha*) 'phlegm' = Skt *śleṣman*; *tumhe*, *tumhākaṃ*, etc. = Skt *yuṣme*, *yuṣmākaṃ*, etc. (§ 104); *sm* = Skt *śm* is retained in *usmā* 'warmth' D II 335.15 (beside *usumā* § 31.2) = Skt *uṣman*; *āyasmant* 'venerable' = Skt *āyusmant*; *bhesma* (sic!) 'horrible' Abh 167 = Skt *bhaiṣma*.

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 *vīsmaya*, *vismīta*; *amhe*, *amhākaṃ*, etc. (§ 104) = Skt *usmān*, *asmākaṃ*, etc. There are also the Pāli forms *asme* Ja III 359.21*, *asmākaṃ* Sn 102 in which *sm* has been retained. It is also retained in *asmi* (beside *amhi*) 'I am', in the endings *-smā* of abl. sg. (beside *-mhā*) and *-smiṃ* of loc. sg. (beside *-mhi*), in *bhasma* 'ash' Dhp 71 = Skt *bhasman*. There is svarabhakti 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 *smīta*.

¹ Pischel (§§ 312 foll.).

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

§ 51. Moreover, in so far as no svarabhakti 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 *ṭṭh* becomes *ṭh*. 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 *vy* 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 + ṣ*.

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*; *ambāṭaka* (§ 42.1) = Skt *āmṛātaka*; *tamba* 'red, copper' M III 186.15 through **tambra* = Skt *tāmra*; *Tambapaṇṇī* (Ceylon) Ja I 85.11 = Skt *Tāmraparṇī*. Svarabhakti in *ambīla* 'sour, acid' Ja I 349.30, through **ambila* = Skt *amla*. 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 *jovvaṇa*) 'youth' Dh 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*; *ugghāta* '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 *niṣka*; ¹ *apphoṭeti* 'claps the hands' Ja VI 486.17 (*apphoṭana*, *apphoṭita*) = Skt *āspḥoṭayati*. 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 *sparśa*. There is no assimilation in *bhastā* (§ 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*; *vāka* (§ 6. 1) = Skt *valka*; *kassaka* 'farmer' D I 61.16 = Skt *karṣaka*; ² *ūmi* 'wave' Ja I 498.6 (§ 5b) = Skt *ūrmī*; *kammāsa* 'spotted' D II 80.24 = Skt *kalmāṣa*.

4. In the combination of nasal with nasal: *ninna* 'deep, low' Dh 98 = Skt *nimna*; *ummūleti* 'uproots' Ja I 328.9 = Skt *ummūlayati*.

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 *udīyyati* '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*; *saṃkīyati* 'is mixed up, defiled' S III 71.16 (§ 5b) through **kīyyati* = Skt *saṃkīryate*; *kubbanti* 'they make' Ja III 118.10* (§ 51.3) = Skt *kurvanti*; *sabba* 'all' = Skt *sarva*; *dubbuṭṭhi(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*) *pūratī* 'is filled' Dh 121 = Skt *pūryate*, beside the analogically formed passives *-hīratī*, *bhīratī* (§ 175). Cf. the doublets *jīyati* 'is digested, becomes old' and *ivati* = Skt *jīryati*, *jīryate* (§ 137).

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

saṃrambha; *sārāga* M I 17,34 = Skt *saṃrāga*; *sallāpa* D I 89,28 = Skt *saṃlāpa*; *sallekha* M I 40,31 = Skt *saṃlekha*.

¹ Similarly *dukkha* 'sorrow' = *duḥkha*.

² Cf. *ghaṃsati* 'rubs' (§ 6.3) = *gharṣati*.

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

⁴ The similar form *mīyyati* (and *mīyati*) 'dies', which cannot be connected with Skt *mriyate*, is derived from **mriyate*.

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

⁶ As 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 *abhimatthāti*; *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*, *prajñāna*; *raññā*, *raññā* instr. and gen. sg. of *rājan* = Skt *rājñā*, *rājñas*. In initial position *jñ* becomes *ñ*: *ñatti* 'request' Vin I 56,14 = Skt *jñapti*. For *añā* 'order' see § 63.2. The assimilation observed in the form *rummavati* = Skt *rukṃavati*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*; *bhātar* 'brother' = Skt *bhrātar*. Sometimes the combination mute + *r* remains unchanged: *nigrodha* (§ 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 95,17) = Skt *bhadra*; *udriyati* 'is split' S I 113,15 (*udraya* 'fruit, reward' S II 29,12) from **uddriyate* for *uddriyate*.⁵ The part. pres. *atriccham* Ja I 414,6* is explained in the commentary by *atra*, *atracchanta* '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 *ātmaajā* 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*; *cattāro* 'four' = Skt *catvāras*; *addhan* 'way' = Skt *adhvan*; *saddala* 'grassy' Th 211 = Skt *śādvala*. In initial position there appears only the single mute: *kaṭhita* (§ 42.2) = Skt *kvathita*; *dija* (poetic term) 'bird' D II 258,22* = Skt *dvija*; *dhanita* 'resounding' Sv 177,1 (JPTS, 1887, p. 26,18) = Skt *dhvanita*.⁶ But there occurs initially *b* for *dv* in *bārasa* 'twelve', *bāvīsati*, *battimsa* (§ 116.2). Sometimes the combination mute + semi-vowel remains unchanged: *vākya* (poetic term) 'word, speech' D II 166,5* = Skt *vākya*; ⁷ *ārogya* 'good health' D I 11,9 = Skt *ārogya*; *kvam* '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*; *ubbilla* (§ 15.1) from the root *vell* with *ud*; *ubbāsīyati* 'becomes depopulated' Mhv 6.22 (pass. of the caus. of the root *vas* with *ud*); *ubbatṭeti* '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*; *tabbamsika* 'descended from this family' Mhv 37,89 from *tadvams-*. Similarly *chabbaṇṇa* 'six-coloured' Mhv 17,48 = Skt *ṣaḍvarṇa*; *chabbīsati* 'twenty-six' = Skt *auḍviṃśati*.

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

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

³ Another *rumma* is to be found in *rummavāsi* 'irregularly dressed' Ja IV 380,1*, 384,3*; cf. also *rummū* Ja IV 322,1* (ety *anañjūtamaṇḍita*).

⁴ E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 46.

⁵ The verb *udrabhati*, *udrabheti* 'tears off' M I 306,12,13 (in 307,2 we have *udraheyyam*) is derived from a root **drabh* or **drah* (Skt *darh*) with *ud*. See now von Hinüber, 1980, pp. 28–29.

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

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

⁸ In 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 *miśra*; *avassaṃ* 'necessary' Dh-p-a III 170,23 = Skt *avaśyam*; *vayassa* 'friend' Ja II 31,9 = Skt *vayasya*; *assu* 'horse' = Skt *aśva*; *palissajati* (§ 44) = Skt *pariṣvajate*.¹ In initial position there is only *s*: *sota* 'stream' = Skt *srotas*; *semha* (§ 5) = Skt *śleṣman*; *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 *ṣy* becomes *h* in future forms like *ehisi* 'you will go', *ehiti* (beside *essasi*, *essati*) = Skt *eṣyasi*, *eṣyati*. Similarly *kāhāmi* 'I shall do', *kāhasi*, *kāhatī* 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*; *kiṇṇa* 'ferment' Abh 533 = Skt *kiṇva*; *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*; *khallāta* 'bald' (in *Khallātanāga* Mhv 33,29) = Skt *khalvāta*; *pallaṅka* 'sitting with crossed legs' = Skt *paryāṅka* presupposes **palyāṅka* just as *pallattha* = Skt *paryasta* presupposes **palyattha*. The combination *nv* is retained in *anvadeva* 'afterwards' D II 172,25; *anveti* 'follows' = Skt *anveti*; *anvaya* 'progeny' D II 261,9* (beside *durannaya* 'difficult to follow' Dh-p 92) = Skt *anvaya*, etc. Similarly *my* in *°kamyā*, *°kamyatā* 'wishing something, desire for something' Vin IV 12,24 = Skt *°kāmyā*, *°kamyatā*; *ly* in *malyā* 'flower' Vv 1.1 = Skt *mālyā*. In inflection there occurs, e.g. *pippalyā* (Gāthā-language) Vv 43,6 (instr. sg. of) *pippalī* 'pepper'.

6. In the combinations *vy* and *vr* which become *bh* (through *vy*): *paribbaya* 'expenditure' Ja I 433,18 = Skt *parivyaya*; *udayabbaya* (in composition) 'origin and decay' Th 10 = Skt *udaya* + *vyaya*; *tibba* 'sharp' Dh-p 349 = Skt *tīvra*; *patibbatā* (in composition) 'devoted to the husband' Ja VI 533,7* = Skt *pativratā*. Initially there is *v* in: *vapayanti* 'they go away, disappear' Vin I 2,5 from the root *i* with *vi-apa*; *vāḷa* 'beast of prey, snake' Ja VI 497,13* = Skt *vyāḍa*; *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: *vyāseka* 'mixing up' Sv 183,24, *vyāsiṅcati* 'is mixed' S IV 78,7 from the root *sic* with *vi-ā*; *vyagā* 'departs' Th 170 = Skt *vyagāt*; *vyāvaṭa* (§ 38.5) = Skt *vyāpṛta*, etc. In manuscripts from hinter-India *by-* is written for *vy-* in these forms. Medially there is *vy* in *paṭhavyā* Dīp 5,2. (loc. sg.) beside *paṭhaviyaṃ* and in the composition of *udayavyaya* D II 35,15 (v.l. *-bb-*).

¹The verbs *ossakkati*, *puccosakkati* (§ 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 Lüders, 1954, § 169.

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

§ 55. Palatalisation takes place in the combination of dentals (including *ṇ*) 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* 'falsity, uncertainty' A III 403,10 = Skt *dvaiddhya*; *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* (ety: *uppativā*) S I 209,6*; *jaccā* Ja III 395,6* (beside *jātiyā*) instr. sg. from *jāti* 'birth'; *nājjā* Vin I 1,6 (beside *nādiyā*) gen. sg. from *nādī*. The rule seems to apply also in the case of the combination of retroflex + *y* (including *ṇ* with *y* [cf. § 51.4]): *vekurāñjā* < **vaikuraṇḍya* from *vikuraṇḍa* 'without testicle' (Skt *kuraṇḍa*); *kammañña* 'ready for use' Vin I 182,31 (beside *kammaṇiya* D I 76,14) = Skt *karmaṇya*; *piññāka* 'oil-cake' D I 166,22 = Skt *piṇyāka*, etc. But *aḍḍha* 'rich' = Skt *āḍhya*. When *ud* precedes a word beginning with *y*, the combination *dy* becomes *yy* through progressive assimilation (cf. §§ 53.3, 57): *uyyāna* 'garden' = Skt *udyāna*; *uyyutta* 'alert' Dh-p-a III 451,15 = Skt *udyukta*, etc.²

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

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

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

1. Where Skt *kṣ* = Indo-Iranian *kṣ* or *śṣ*, it is represented as in Pkt by *kkh* or *cch*. Pischel's hypothesis, according to which Pkt *kkh* should be derived from Indo-Iranian *kṣ* = Av. *χṣ*, and Pkt *cch* from Indo-Iranian *śṣ* = Av. *š*, although both have coincided in *kṣ* in Skt,¹ can be as little proved from the actual state of things in Pāli 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* (< *kṣ* 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 *dakkhiṇa* (similarly Pkt, but Av. *daśiṇa*) = Skt *dakṣiṇa*; *makkhikā* 'fly' (Av. *maχṣi*, but Pkt *macchiā*³) = Skt *makṣikā*. In initial position: *khudā* (§40.2b) = Skt *kṣudhā* (Av. *šuda*, Pkt *khuhā* and *chuhā*), etc.

(b) There is *cch* in *kaccha* (similarly in Māh, *kakkha* in AMg JMāh: Av. *kaśa*) '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. *aśi*); *ucchu* (§16.1a) = Skt *ikṣu* (Pkt *ucchu*, in AMg also *ukkhu*) beside *Okkāka* (§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. *arśa*). A differentiation in meaning has come about in *chaṇa* 'festival' Ja I 423.9 and *khaṇa* 'moment' Th 231 = Skt *kṣaṇa*, as well as in *chamā* 'earth' Sn 401 and *khamā* 'forgiveness' Abh 161 (also *khamā* 'earth' Abh 994) = Skt *kṣamā*.⁴

2. Where Skt *kṣ* corresponds to the Indo-Iranian voiced-group *žz* = Av. *γž*, there appears in Pāli *ggh*, *jhh* and in Pkt *jhh*.⁵ Cf. *paggharati* 'drips' Th 394 = Skt *prakṣarati*. Similarly *uggharati* Th 394. Initially there occurs *jh*: *jhāma* (so also in AMg) 'burns' S IV 193.17 = Skt

kṣāma; *jhāyati* (AMg. *jhīyāi*) 'burns (intrans.)' Ud 93.3 = Skt *kṣāyati*; *jhāpeti* 'burns (transitive)' D II 159.26 = Skt *kṣāpayati*.

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

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

³ Only Ś. *ṇimmakkhā* = *nirmakṣika*.

⁴ *khudda* '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 = *kṣubdha*. We have moreover Pāli *khubbhati* Ja VI 489.13^a and *khobheti* Ja I 501.31.

⁵ Pischel (§ 326).

§57. The Skt sound-groups *ts* and *ps* both become *cch* in Pāli: *kucchita* 'despicable' Vv-a 215.1 = Skt *kutsita*; *maccharin* 'jealous' Dhp 262 = Skt *matsarin*; *vacchatarā* '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^a = Skt *psāta*. In composition, when *t(d)* at the end of a word combines with an initial Skt *ś* or *s*, the resulting sound-groups **tś* (= 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^a from Skt *utsādana* (*ucchādāna*); *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, *ussoḥhi* Dhs 13.22 = Skt *utsahate*, *utsāha*, **utsoḥhi*; *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 *tassārappa* 'corresponding to that' M III 163.19 from *tat* + *sār*.

Examples for **tś* (Skt *cch*): *ussañkin* 'coward' Vin II 190.23 from the root *śaṅk* with *ud*; *ussāsaka* (JMāh. *ūsāsaa*) 'head-end (of a bed)' Ja II 410.20 = Skt *ucchīrṣaka* (*ud* + *śīrṣa*); *ussussati* 'dries up' S I 126.2 = Skt *ucchuṣyati* (*śuṣ* with *ud*).

On the other hand there is in Pāli *cch* for *ts* in *ucchaṅga* 'lap' Ja I 308.5* = Skt *utsaṅga*; *ucchādana* 'annihilation' D I 76.18 'friction' (beside *ussada*, see above) D I 7.19 = Skt *utsādana*; *cch* appears also for **ts* in *ucchiṭṭha* 'leaving' Ja VI 508.7* = Skt *ucchiṣṭa* (*śiṣ* with *ud*).

¹So 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 *ānantiya* through **ānañcca* (§ 55); *randha* 'hole' Ja III 192.29* is derived from *randhra* through **randdha*; *kañkhā* 'doubt' from *kañkṣā* 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 *marṭya* through **matṭya*, **matya*; *pañhi(kā)* 'heel' D II 17.19 from *pārṣṇi* through **paṣṣṇi*, **paṣṇi*; *akamha* 'we did' (§ 159.III) is derived from *akārṣma*. Svarabhakti is in evidence in *vaṭuma* 'path' D II 8.5 through **vaṭṭma*, **vaṭma* = Skt *vartman*, as well as in *pāṣani* (?) 'heel' Abh 277 beside *pañhi*.

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: *oṭṭha* (§ 10) through **uṭṭhra*, **uṭhra* = Skt *uṣṭra*; *tikkha* 'sharp' Ja III 151.5* through **tikkhṇa*, **tikhṇa* = Skt *tikṣṇa*; *dāṭhā* 'tooth' beside *daṭṭhā* 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 *sūkṣma*.¹ Taking into consideration also § 57, it is then possible to understand also *ussāpeti* 'raises' Vin III 203.1 = Skt *ucchrāpayati* (root

śri with *ud*), (*sam*)*ussita* = Skt (*sam*)*ucchrita*, (*sam*)*ussaya* = Skt (*sam*)*ucchraya*. The *v* is retained in absol.s like *mutvā* = Skt *muktvā*, *patvā* = Skt *āptvā* with *pra*, *vatvā* = Skt *uktvā*. Similarly *y* is retained in forms like *ratyā* 'at night' = Skt *rātryām*, *ratyo* 'the nights' = Skt *rātryas*,² as well as in *agyantarāya* 'hindrance through fire' Vin I 112.37, *agyāgāra* D I 101.22 from *aggi* + *antarāya* (*āgāra*).

4. Groups consisting only of heavy consonants are found in composition in forms like *uggharati* (§ 56.2) from the root *kṣar* with *ud* and *nicchubbatī* '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.

¹In *hamṃtiya* 'hut' Vin I 58.20, II 146.29 = *harmya*, as well as in *abhikkhaṇam* 'repeatedly' M I 129.25 = *abhikṣṇam*, the svarabhakti has taken place in the first stage.

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

³Wrongly 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 *ṇh*, *mh*, *nh*: *saṇha* 'tender' = Skt *ślakṣṇa*; *tiṇha* 'sharp' D I 56.32 (beside *tikkha*, *tikhṇa*) = Skt *tikṣṇa*; *abhiṇham* 'repeatedly' Ja I 190.5* (beside *abhikkhaṇam*) = Skt *abhikṣṇam*; *abhiṇhaso* 'continuously' Th 25 = Skt *abhikṣṇasas*; *paṇha* 'eyelid' Thī 383 (beside *pakhuma*) = Skt *pakṣman*; *juṇhā* (with retroflexion, for **junhā*, as also Pkt *joṇhā*) 'moonlight' = Skt *jyotsnā* (cf. § 15.3).

2. *ts* is treated as in composition in *dosina* 'clear' D I 47.10 (beside *juṇha*) through **dossna*, **dosna*, perhaps < **dyautsna*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 *ūrdhvaṃ* there is also *ubbham*⁴ Th 163. Here *dhv* is treated like *dv* in composition (§ 53.3).

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

¹ Also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 312).

² See Norman, 1983B, p. 237.

³ See Berger, 1955, p. 16.

⁴ Also in Pkt *abbha* besides *uddha*; see Pischel (§ 300).

⁵ Pischel (§ 334a).

⁶ 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 *tuyhaṃ* = Skt *tubhyam*. But it is perhaps formed by analogy with *mayhaṃ* = 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 *vamheti*, *vamhanā* Ja I 454.20. The roots underlying these forms seem to have been *sumbh*, *vambh*.¹ Besides *rundhati* 'encloses' Ja I 409.20, *samṇirundhati* M I 115.32 there occur *-rumbhati* Ja I 62.31 and *-rumhati* Ja II 6.27. There was thus clearly a root *rubh* (*rumbh*) beside *rudh* (*rundh*).² Similarly, there are further *(sam)ūhanti* '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 *rumbhā* and *rundhā*; Fausböll, Ten Jāt., p. 93; E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 42; Pischel (§ 507).

§ 61. I. Voicing of unvoiced mutes (cf. § 38) sometimes occurs after a nasal: *nighaṇḍu* 'vocabulary' D I 88.5 = Skt *nighaṇṭu*; *ganḍha* 'book' Mhv 34.66 beside *ganṭha* Dhpa I 7.18 = Skt *grantha*; the interjection *handu* = Skt *hanta*; but *puñjati* 'rubs off' Ja I 318.5 for *puñchati* Ja I 392.11 = Skt *proñchati* is perhaps merely a graphic error. Voicing of

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

2. Unvoicing of voiced mutes (cf. § 39) is found in *bhiṅkāra* 'jug' (frequently, however, with a v.l. with *g*) D II 172.21 = Skt *bhṅgāra*; *ṭippa* 'sharp' Ja VI 507.7*, M I 10.29 beside *tibba* Dhpa 349 = Skt *tivra*;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 *ṭippa*.

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

1. Unetymological aspiration: *siṅghāṭaka* (also AMg *siṅghāḍaka*) 'road-crossing' = Skt *śṅgāṭaka*; *Khandhapura* (name of a city) Sās 81.25 from *Skanda* (name of the war-god); *pippala* 'Ficus Religiosa' Abh 909 = Skt *pippala*; *pippalā* '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 *śrottriya*; *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 *kīḷā*) through **khīdā* = Skt *krīḍā*; *phāsu(ka)* 'comfortable', if it is connected with Vedic *prāśu*.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' Dhpa 71 = Skt *mūrchatī*.³ The form *mīlāca* 'forest-dweller' Ja IV 291.3* is perhaps a variant of *mīlakka* (§ 34) and derived from **mīlacca*, **mīlaccha*. The form *ludda(ka)* 'hunter' Dhpa III 31.1 = Skt *lubdha(ka)* is perhaps due to contamination with *ludda* 'cruel' (§§ 15.4, 44). On *aṭṭa* = 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 *kiṣku*; *catukka* 'a collection of four, crossing of roads' Ja III 44.6 = Skt *catuṣka*; *nippesika* 'cheat' (?) D I 8.30 = Skt *naiṣpeṣika*; *bappa* 'tear' Abh 260 = Skt *bāṣpa*; *maṭṭa* 'polished' D II 133.6 (beside *maṭṭha* Vv 84.17) = Skt *mṛṣṭa*; (*anhi*)*vaṭṭa* 'he who has showered rain' Ja I 487.28 (beside *vaṭṭha*, *vuṭṭha*) = Skt *vṛṣṭa*; (*pacc*)*osakkati* (§ 54 f.n. 1) from the root *ṣvaṣk*; *takkara* 'thief' Abh 522 = Skt *taskara*; *saṃtatta* 'horrified' = Skt *saṃtrasta*; as well as *Indapatta* (name of a city) (beside *-pattha*) = Skt *Indraprastha*.⁴ In *leḍḍu* 'clod of earth' M I 123.32 through **leṭṭhu*, **leṭṭu* = Skt *leṣṭu*⁵ there is concomitant voicing of the group (§ 61.6).

In composition, the expected aspiration is missing in: *niccala* 'immovable' = Skt *niścala*; *duccarita* 'bad deed' = Skt *duścārīta*; *duttara* 'difficult to cross' = Skt *dustara*; *namakkāra* '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: *dhaṅka* 'crane' Th 151, 'crow' S I 207.29* through **dhaṅkha* = Skt *dhvāṅkṣa*;⁶ *ikka* (§ 12.2) = Skt *ṛkṣā*; *Okkāka* (§ 10, f.n. 3) from *Ikṣvāku*; *Takkasilā* (name of a city) = Skt *Takṣaśilā*.

The expected aspiration is missing in initial position: *kuḍḍa*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*.

¹Similarly to be considered perhaps also *dubbhati* 'injures' Th 1129, S I 225.10, etc. (*dūbhin* '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 *dury dūrvati* (*dhury*).

²Not so Pischel (§ 208).

³Beside it *muccheti* 'sounds, plays (on the lyre)' Ja III 188.22* = *mūrchayati*.

⁴E. Müller, JPTS, 1888, p. 12.

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

⁶Here dissimilation of the aspirates would be possible.

⁷The reading of the Mss is however uncertain.

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

1. Guttural perhaps appears for palatal in *bhisakka* 'physician' M I 429.4, as against *bhesajja* 'medicine'.

2. Retroflex appears for palatal in *āṇā* 'order' Ja I 369.23 (*āṇāpeti*, *āṇatta*, *āṇatti*)¹ = Skt *ājñā* (*ājñāpayati*). 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 *paṇṇarasa*, *paṇṇuvāsa*, *paṇṇūsa* (§ 48.2).

3. Dental appears for palatal in *uttiṭṭha* (Skt *ucchiṣṭa*) 'remains of a meal' M I 213.6 (*uttiṭṭhapatta* 'alms-bowl with grains of food attaching to it'²), a dialectal side-form of *ucchiṭṭha* (§ 57). For initial *ṭy* 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-*; *saṃmannati* = Skt *saṃmanyate* (§ 54.5).

¹These are probably dialect borrowings in Pāli. Cf. Pkt *āṇā*, *āṇāveṭi*.

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

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

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

⁵Against this von Hinüber, 1986, § 248.

⁶CPD (s.v. *addhābhavati*) explains *addha-* as an old error for *ajjha-*, 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 *ṭt*, *ḍḍ*, *ḍḍh*: *uṭṭa* 'pained' Th 1106 = Skt *ārta*; *kevaṭṭa* 'fisherman' D I 45.29 = Skt *kaivartā*; *chaddeti* 'throws away' = Skt *chardayati*; *vaddhati* 'increases' (with numerous derivatives) = Skt *vardhate*. Besides *vuddhu*, *vaddha* 'grown up, old' Ja I 177.1* there is *buddha*, *vuḍḍha* (§ 46.1); beside *vuddhi* (§ 12.4) there is also *vaddhi*. In *aṭṭa* 'law-suit' (de-aspiration according to § 62.2) as opposed to *attha* 'property, etc.'¹

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

the derivatives of the root *vart*: always *vaṭṭati* when it signifies 'it is proper', but *vattati* signifies 'becomes, originates, etc.': similarly *vattā* 'round, circle', but *vatta* 'duty, responsibility', both = Skt *vṛtta*. The spelling with *ṭ* is preferred also in *vaṭṭati* in composition, when the sense of rolling is emphasised: *āvaṭṭati pavaṭṭati* 'rolls hither and thither' D II 140,1 hence also *āvaṭṭa* 'turn, whirl', *saṃvaṭṭa* 'overturning, annihilation', *vivaṭṭa* 'renewal (of an aeon)' D I 14,26. The group *nt* became *ṇṭ* under the influence of an original *ṣ* in *vaṇṭa* 'stalk' Ja VI 537,22*, *tālavāṇṭa* 'fan' Vin II 137,7 = Skt *vṛnta*, *tālavṛnta*. Cf. also *alla* 'damp' D II 332,26 through **addra*, **adda* = Skt *ārdrā*.³

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

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

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

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

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

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 *raṃsi* '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 *addhatiya* (for **addhatatiya*) 'three and a half' Ja II 93,4 (also *addhateyya* Vin I 39,24); *viññāṇaṇcāyatana* (for *viññāṇaṇcāy-*)

'sphere of infinite knowledge' M III 106,13. As sporadic cases may be mentioned: *pavissāmi* (for *pavisassāmi*) 'I shall enter' Ja II 68,20, *soṣsi* (for *soṣsasi*) '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 *sakkhī* Ja V 116,5* for **sakkhisi* (cty: *sakkhissasi*), *āsādum* Ja V 154,19* (cty: *āsāditum*). It is however impossible to decide whether the optatives of *ī*-roots such as *jeyyam* from *ji*, *neyyam* from *nī* should be regarded as "haplogies" for **jayeyyam*, **nayeyyam*.

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 *pī* = Skt *apī*, *tī* = Skt *itī* (beside *iva*, *eva*, *apī*, *itī*), *dāni* 'now' (beside *idāni*) = Skt *idānīm*,² *heṭṭhā* (§9) = **adheṣṭāt*, 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 **agīni* = Skt *agni*; *vaṭaṃsa(ka)* 'ear-ornament' Ja VI 488,25 = Skt *avataṃsa*; *valaṇja* 'use', *valaṇjeti* '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 prothetic *y* before *i* (*e*) and *v* before *u* (*o*) should be regarded as fossilised sandhi-forms: *yiṭṭha* 'sacrificed' = Skt *iṣṭa*; *vutta* 'spoken' = Skt *ukta*; *vutta* 'sown' = Skt *upta*; *vutta* 'shorn' = Skt *upta*; *vusita* 'inhabited' = Skt *uṣita*; *vūḷha* 'carried' = Skt *ūdha* (cf. *saṃyūḷha* D II 267,19 beside *saṃvūḷha* Sv I 38,8 = Skt *samūdha*); also *ubbūḷha-(vaṇi)* 'firm' M I 414,30 = Skt *udūḷha*.⁵ In some cases the form varies. Thus there are both *vuṭṭahitvā* D II 156,5 and *uṭṭahitvā* M III 183,30 after a vowel. There is *vuṭṭhita* beside *uṭṭhita*, *vuṭṭhāna* beside *uṭṭhāna*, *vonatu* '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; *ālapitum 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 *-um*, *-im*, and after *-i* which is itself elided. It is ten to twelve times as frequent as

ii. *yeva*, which occurs after *-a*, *-ī*, *-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 *tvaṃ ñeva* or *tvañ ñeva*⁸ Ja IV 155,17, which indicate a particularly close combination. Of the three forms corresponding to Skt *iva*, (a) *iva* 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 *tuphī* 'silent' = Skt *tūṣṇīm*. 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, 159.11). Sporadically there appears *-e* instead of *-o* (Magadhiism): 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, *dhī* 'fie!' Dhp 389 = Skt *dhik*; *papatā* 'fell down' Vin III 17,26 = Skt *prāpatat*; *madhuvā* 'honey-like' Dhp 69 (according to Fausböll) = Skt *madhuvat*; in this way a new stem *parisā* originated out of *pariṣat* 'retinue'.⁹ Or it may be shortened: *abravi* 'he spoke' = Skt *abravīt*. 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*; *tiriyam* 'obliquely' = Skt *tiryak*; *sakim* (beside *sakti*) 'once' = Skt *sakṛt*; *khattum* (§ 22.1) = Skt **kṛtvas*; *adum* 'that' (§ 109) = Skt *adus*. In verbal inflection there are endings in *-um* which are derived from *-us* (§§ 127, 159.I,III,IV).

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

² D. Andersen, *PGI*, s.v.

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

⁴ Johansson, *ibid.*, pp. 93 foll.

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

⁶ Not so Pischel (§ 336).

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

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

⁹ The long vowel *-ā* is probably a result of the gender of *pariṣat* (fem.) 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); *kakolūkā* 'crows and owls' Dhp-a I 50,13 (from *kāka* + *ul-*); *mahe-sakkha* 'powerful' from *mahā* + *is-*; *accuggammā* Vin I 6,35 absol. from the root *gam* with *ati-ud* (Skt *atyud*). More like Skt forms are *ugyantarāya* (§ 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*; *tabbiparīta* '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; *chappañcavācāhi* 'with five or six words' Vin IV 21,25 from *cha* = Skt *ṣaṭ* + *pañca* + *vācā*; *sakadāgāmin* 'one destined to be born once more only' = Skt *sakṛd* (Pāli *sakim*) + *āgāmin*. 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: *satipaṭṭhāna* 'earnest meditation' from *sati* + *upaṭṭhāna* = Skt *smṛtyupastāna* (cf. *bhikkhunipassaye* A II 144,32). Hiatus too is allowed in composition: *patto sa-udako* 'vessel with water' Vin I 46,15; *ati-agginā odanaṃ 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: *nisīda puppha-m-āsane* 'sit on the seat decorated with flowers' Dh-p-a I 108,20*; *su-h-uju* 'quite straight' Sn 143 (v.l.); *su-n-icchitaṃ* Ap 570,23. In mixed sandhi the reintroduction of the initial double consonant of the second component is often omitted: *supaṭipanna* Pp 48,33 = Skt *supratipanna*. 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. Sächs. 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: *duggatāhaṃ* Thī 122 = *duggatā ahaṃ*. If the second word begins with a closed syllable, one *a* is simply elided¹: *piyo c' assaṃ* 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*; *tassākkhībhedam* = *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* = *gacchati iti*, beside elision as in *yaṃ p' icchaṃ 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' atthi* = *nāsti*), 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 undoubted 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 Prakrit 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: *macchassevodaye* (§ 3). From later poetic literature: *ceme* = *ca ime* Mhv 1.10; *maṃ nopeti* = *na up-* Mhv 32.13. We even have *mamedam* = *mama idam* Ja III 446,12.

(b) The *ā* is elided: *satt' imāni ca suttāni* It 22,12*; *Bodhisattass' upatthāko* 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 paṇ' 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' ekaṃ bhattapāṭiṃ āharāpesuṃ* Ja III 287,22.

(c) Finally, after the elision of *a*, the remaining vowel may be lengthened: *idh' upapanno* 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 'ti'* M I 42,4.

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.; *Brahmāyavāham* (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; *paṇḍiteh' atthadassibhi* Th 4; *gacchant' eva* Ja IV 149,23; *yaṃ 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: *labhiṃsū 'ti'* Ja III 403,22; *ās' upasaṃpadā (āsi upasaṃpadā)* Thī 109; *idān' āham* 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 puṅgalā* 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*) Dhpa I 116,20; *sv-āyaṃ* (from *so ayaṃ*) 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 *-pucchiṃ aham*) Thī 170; *catunn' etam* (from *-nnaṃ etam*) S IV 174,23. Elision with compensatory lengthening: *tes' upasaṃmati* (from *tesam upa-*) Ja III 488,8*. Transformation into semi-vowel after denasalisation is in evidence in *ky-āham* (from *kiṃ aham*; *cty so*) Ja III 206,21*.

(b) The retrograde change of anusvāra into *m* is very frequent: *bandhitum icchati* Thī 299; *atītam addhānaṃ* M I 8,4; *saddam akāsi* Ja III 287,25; also *antalikkhasmim eliki* Ja III 481,16*. An original long vowel shortened before anusvāra sometimes regains its original quantity in this process: *āloko passatām-iva* (from *-tam + iva*) Sn 763; *pappoiṃ mām iva* (from *maṃ + iva*) Ja III 468,4*. It should be noted that in *n' etam ajjatanām iva* Dhpa 227 the lengthening is merely for metrical reasons. The same may also be true of the two previous examples.

¹See 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; *pātur ahosi* Vin I 5,21, etc. (as opposed to *pātu bhavati*). This restoration is in evidence also in inflectional forms¹: *raṃsir iva* Vv 52,5; *pathavidhātur ev' esā* M III 240,29 (analogically also *vijjur 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-idaṃ* (*passim*), *yad icchitaṃ* Thī 46; *āhud eva bhayaṃ* D I 49,35; *sakid eva* 'once only' Pp 16,17.

Restoration of *g*: *pag eva* (Skt *prāg eva*) Ja I 354,20; *putthag eva* (Skt *prthag eva*) from *puthu* Kacc. I.5.1 (Senart, p. 221).

Restoration of *m*: *tunhīm āsīne* D II 212,21* from *tunhī* = Skt *tūṣṇīm*.

Finally, *ḷ* is restored at the end of the numeral *cha* 'six': *chaḷ ete* (Skt *ṣaḍ 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-idaṃ* Thī 166; *cha-y-ime* M I 51,16; also *na-y-ito* Ja III 466,28*. Further *ādicco-v-udayaṃ* 'the rising sun' It 85,4*; *abhaya-v-okīṇṇo* '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).

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

²R.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*: *khaṇi-y-asmani* Ja III 433,1*; *yā-y-aññāṃ* 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; *Sattukād-iva*, *isir-avoca*, *sakid-eva* (so A IV 380,20). Other examples are: *nīcakulā-m-iva* Sn 411; *puno-m-ahaṃ* Thī 292; *ekañ ca jeyya-m-attānaṃ* 'one should conquer one's own self' Dh 103; *nayanti-m-etāṃ* Ja V 445,19*. With characteristic shortening: *hitva-m-aññāṃ* (from *hitvā aññāṃ*) 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 *jalantaṃ iva*) Ja VI 181,6*; *jīva-r-eva* (from *jivaṃ eva*; cty *jīvanto yeva*) Ja III 464,17*. According to §71.2b these two forms should rather have been *jalanta-iva*, *jīva-eva*. Very frequently there is *r* before *iva*, particularly after *ā*, *e* and *o*: *turiyā-r-iva* Thī 381; *janamajjhe-r-iva* Thī 394; *thambo-r-iva* Sn 214; *so-r-iva suṃsumāro* Ja II 228,21*. Shortening is in evidence in *haṃsa-r-iva* Sn 1134 (there is however the variant reading *haṃso-r-iva*); *suriyan tapantaṃ sarada-r-iva* from *surado* (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 rattiṃ* 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* (*Jasmātiha*) is to be explained as *yasmā-t-iha*. It should perhaps rather be divided into *yasmā ti ha* as Windisch suggests (p. 244).²

6. There is a sandhi-consonant *n*: *vehāsā-n-upasaṃkamim* 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-evaṃ avaca* S I 150,7 or *na-h-eva* M II 223,8;⁵ *Kokanadāhasmiṃ* S I 30,1 may be explained as *Kokanadā ahaṃ asmiṃ*.

¹It is possible that *ajja-t-agge* is rather to be derived from *ajjato 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 ppakāsaya* Sn 251; *tatra ssu* (from *su* = Skt *svīd*) 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*.¹

2. The ending *o* is sometimes retained in its original form as before *s*: *tayas su dhammā* Sn 231; *lūkhas sudam homi* M I 77,25. In the same way *-us* occurs in *Soṇena 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: *karissāñ ca* Ja III 437,25*; *bheriñ carāpetvā* Ja III 410,11; *āsabhan ṭhānam* M I 69,32; *man tāta* Thī 274; *kahan no mātā* Ja III 427,20; *cittuppādam pi* M I 43,26; *diṭṭham me* Ja III 449,26. The anusvāra may be changed into *ñ* before *h*: *cittañ hi 'ssa padūsitaṃ* It 13,8.

¹For this use of *na* see Brough, 1962, p. 178.

B. WORD-FORMATION

I. Nouns (Substantives and Adjectives)

1. Generalities

§ 75. In Pāli 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' Dh 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*; *accī* or *accī* (the latter form in M III 273,17) 'brightness' from Skt *arcis*; *tādi* 'like this' from Skt *tādrś*; *vijju* 'lightning' (nom. pl. *vijjū* Mhv 12,13) from Skt *vidyut*; *maru* 'god' from Skt *marui* 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* Dh 29; fem. *sumedhasā* Mhv 22,36). Similarly *āpadā* Th 371 beside *āpā* (*āpāsu* Ja II 317,13* is explained by *āpadāsu*); *vijjutā* (loc. pl. *vijjutāsu* D II 131,20) beside *vijju*. Analogous stems are *sarada* 'autumn' = Skt *sarad*; *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 Pāli", 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 *puṇṇuddhiyā, ratiyā, āgatigatiyā* as well as *calite, cutūpapāte*. In Dh 104 there is *attā jitaṃ* instead of *jito*;¹ in Thī 518 *sakhiyo tīṇi janiyo* 'we three women friends' instead of *tisso*; in Ud 79,21 the subject *upastakayo* is connected with the predicate *anupphalāni kalamkatāni*. In particular the neut. forms in *-as* are occasionally treated as masc.²: *yuttha me nirato mano* (instead of *niratam*) Ja III 91,15*; *tapo sukho* (instead of *sukham*) Dh 194; *sukhumo rajo paṭivātam 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 dīṭṭhiṭṭhānā* D I 16.34. In Ja I 289.29* there is *sabbe kuṭṭhamayā vanā*, although *vana* is neut., and in M I 67.15 *cattāro upādānā* beside the regular *cattāri upādānāni*. Cf. § 80.4. On the other hand, masc. forms too show the inflectional forms of the neut. Thus there is *dhammāni* 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: *liṅgavipallāsena*). There is *bhujāni poṭhenti* Bv 1.36 beside *poṭhayaṃ bhujē* 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*, *kucchismuṃ*, *kucchimhi* also *kucchiyā*, *kucchiyaṃ* Ja I 52.8, 293.18, like the fem. stems of § 86. From *sālī* 'rice' = Skt *śālī* (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 cakkhūni* '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. *candimasuriyānaṃ* 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; *saggāya gacchati* 'goes to heaven' Dhp 174; *jahassu rūpaṃ apunabbhavāya* '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 mayaṃ labhāma bhagavantaṃ dassanāya* '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 (*ghaṭati vāyamati lābhāya*, *ibid.*). It is also used in the sense of 'it suffices to, it serves to' (*sallekhāya subharatāya viriyārambhāya saṃvattissati* 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.: *Nālāto* Thī 204, *cūlāto* Ja II 410.19, *nāvāto* Dhp-a III 39.14, *jihvāto* S IV 178.15 beside *jivhato* S IV 175.1 with shortening as in *sīmato* Ja II 3.1 (see § 81); *uggīto* D II 88.2, *aṭṭhito* 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, *aṅgulito* Dhp-a I 164.7, *Bāraṇasīto* Thī 335 beside *-sīto* (with shortening) Ja II 47.18, *pokkharāṇīto* Ja II 38.4 beside *-ṇīto* Vv-a 217.21; *dhātuto* Ja I 253.29, *jambuto* Bv 17.9 (see § 86); *abhihūto* D I 18.7 (see § 87.2); *pitīto* 'from father', *mātīto* 'from mother' D I 113.25 = Skt *pitṛtas*, *mātṛtas*; *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, PGr. pp. 65 foll., as instances of the retained dual are unconvincing. One of them *paṭhamam to idhāgato* Dīp 9.32, even if the reading is not corrupt, goes back only to the author of Dīp whose knowledge of Pāli was very imperfect. The second form *mātāpītu* (*ca vandivā*) Cp II.9.7 is certainly not a dual.

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

³As in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 361).

⁴Cf. R.O. Franke, BB, 16, p. 82.

⁵See Caillat, 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>dhammaṃ</i>	<i>dhamme</i>
instr.	<i>dhammena, -ā</i>	<i>dhammehi</i>
gen.dat.	<i>dhammassa</i>	<i>dhammānaṃ</i>
dat.	<i>dhammāya</i> (see § 77.2)	
abl.	<i>dhammā, -asmā, -amhā</i>	<i>dhammehi</i>
loc.	<i>dhamme, -asmiṃ, -amhi</i>	<i>dhammesu</i>
voc.	<i>dhamma</i>	<i>dhammā</i>

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

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>rūpaṃ</i>	<i>rūpāni, rūpā</i>
acc.	<i>rūpaṃ</i>	<i>rūpāni, rūpe</i>
voc.	<i>rūpa</i>	<i>rūpāni, 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.¹ 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* Dh-p-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*) *paḥato bhava* Th 82; *bhikkhusaṃghā* (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 *pādā* explained by *pādena* in the commentary (Ja III 269,28'). The cty ad Th 564 (*vehāsā-*

*n-upasaṅkamim*³) explains the form as an abl. used as an instr.: *karāṇe nissakka-vacanaṃ* (Th-a II 241,15).

2. The suffixes *-asmā, -amhā* of the abl. sg. and *-asmiṃ, -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* **dhammān* 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 I 108.

6. The nom. pl. in *-ā*⁷ of neut. stems is not rare in the first two periods of the language: *rūpā* Th 455; *sotā* 'ears' Sn 345; *nettā* 'eyes' Th I 257; *phalā* 'fruits' Ja IV 203,22*. These forms were still felt to be neut., e.g. *tīṇ' 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.: *rūpe* M III 281,8 (in Th 1099 it occurs by the side of masc. acc. forms); *sarīre* Dh-p-a III 208,9; *pupphe* Vv-a 184,14; *te chidde* S I 43,20*, where *chiddāni* 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.

²Stein 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 *-āse* 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 Māgadhī⁵: *upāsakāse* Sn 376; *paṇḍitāse* Sn 875; *dhammāse* Sn 1038; *brāhmaṇāse* Sn 1079 foll.; *vañcitāse* 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.; *Gotamasāvākāse* D II 272,26*; *gatāse* D II 255,3*; *upapannāse* S I 60,4*; *nivīṭṭhāse* 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 *-ān* 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 *-e⁶* in *gūṇe dasah' upāgatam* Bv 2.32. It may, however, be a shortened form of *gūṇehi 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. Sect., pp. 1 foll. (Vienna 1888). See Norman, 1992B, p. 253.

§ 80. Māgadhisms. Forms of the Māgadhī 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 paṇḍite ca* 'the fool and the wise man' D I 55,29,30; *ke chhave sigāle ke sīhanāde* (instead of *ko*, etc.) D III 24,19; *bahuke jane pāsapāṇike* (cty *bahuko jano -ṇiko*) Ja III 288,15*. (b) neut.: *sukhe dukkhe jīvasattame* D I 56,26 instead of *sukham*; *ye avitakke avicāre se paṇḍitātare* D II 278,16,30 instead of *yaṃ avitakkam avicāram taṃ paṇḍitātarām*; *navachandake dāni* (metri causa, v.l. *dāne*) *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 *yaṃ -yojanam taṃ vantaṃ* has been discussed by Trenckner.²

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

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

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>kaññāṃ</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>kaññānaṃ</i>
loc.	<i>kaññāya, -āyaṃ</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 Prākṛit 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 *doṣā, barhānā*, but is rather the result of a phonetic process (§ 27.2). The ending *-ā* appears also in the loc.: *rathiyā* 'in the street' Dīp 6.34.

2. For the voc. sg. note the frequent *bhadde* Ja II 29.4 and *ayye* Ja I 405.5; *therīke* Thī 1 (*i* lengthened metri causa); *devate* Vv 29.2; *lohitape* (scil. *biḷārike*) 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 *pokkharāṇīyo* A I 145.10.

¹Pischel (§ 375).

²Oldenberg, KZ. 25, p. 317.

3. *i-* and *u-*declension

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

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>aggi</i>	<i>aggayo, -ī</i>
acc.	<i>aggiṃ</i>	<i>aggayo, -ī</i>
instr.	<i>agginā</i>	<i>aggīhi</i>
abl.	<i>aggismā, -imhā, bhikkhusmā, agginā</i>	<i>aggīhi</i>
gen.dat.	<i>aggissa, -ino</i>	<i>aggīhi</i>
loc.	<i>aggismim, -imhi</i>	<i>aggīhi</i>
voc.	<i>aggi</i>	<i>aggī</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 *m*-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*, *aggī* 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 *aggiṇo*, *vāṇo* beside *aggissa*, *vāussa*.

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

§ 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 *aggiṇam* 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 *aggiṇo* Saddh 584; *dummatino* Mhv 4.3 (with the analogous form *mittadduno*); *sāramatino* Dh 11; *vajjamatino* Dh 318; instr. sg. *nivātavuttinā* Th 71 (in Skt too °*vṛttin* occasionally occurs for °*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 *samaṇe*, *brāhmaṇe*.

7. Archaic forms in *-bhi* instead of *-hi* in the instr. pl. are *isibhi* Th 1065 (with lengthening in *isībhi* Th 206); *nātibhi* 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. *pāṇīlū* Ja VI 579.29*; *kimīhī* Th 315; *akkhīhī* (neut.) Sn 608; *sādhūhī* Dīp 4.6; *ādīsū* Ja I 61.15; *asīsū* M I 86.31; *bhikkhūsū* Th 241, 1207;

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

¹Which has always to be scanned as *hetū* 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 *sahāyaka* 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 (*sabba*)*sakho* Th 648. — acc. *sakhāram*² Ja II 348.20*. — instr. *sakhinā* (on the analogy of *aggiṇā*) 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. Jātakaṭṭhakathā, 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>assu</i> ,	<i>akkhīni</i> ,	<i>assūni</i> ,
	<i>akkhiṃ</i>	<i>assuṃ</i>	<i>akkhī</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. *dadhim* Ja IV 140,6; *sucim* (*sugandham salīlam*) Ja VI 534,11*; *assum* Ja III 163,25; *vattum* (= *vastu*) Ja III 39,8; *kusalam bahum* Vv 18,15. On the other hand, *dadhi* Mil 48,17, *assu* Thī 220.

3. For the forms in *-ī*, *-ū* cf. nom. *akkhī bhinnā* Ja I 483,29*, *madhū* Ja VI 537,20*; acc. *akkhī* Dhp-a I 9,20.

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

	Singular		Plural	
nom.	<i>jāti (nadī)</i>	<i>dhenu (sassū)</i>	<i>jātiyo, -ī</i>	<i>dhenuyo, -nū</i>
acc.	<i>jātim</i>	<i>dhenum</i>	<i>jātiyo, -ī</i>	<i>dhenuyo, -nū</i>
instr.abl.	<i>jātiyā¹</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>jātihi</i>	<i>dhenūhi</i>
gen.dat.	<i>jātiyā</i>	<i>dhenuyā</i>	<i>jātinaṃ</i>	<i>dhenūnaṃ</i>
loc.	<i>jātiyā, -yaṃ</i>	<i>dhenuyā, -yaṃ</i>	<i>jātisu</i>	<i>dhenūsu</i>
voc.	<i>jāti (nadī)</i>	<i>dhenu (sassu)</i>	<i>jātiyo, -ī</i>	<i>dhenuyo, -nū</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 *i*-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. *ratyā* Th 517 (instead of *rattiyā*) 'of the night' = Skt *rātryās*; nom. pl. *ratyā* Ja VI 26,16* (cty: *rattiyō*) and loc. sg. *rattimhi* Ja V 102,33*, instr. sg. *nikatyā* Ja III 88,14* (cty: *nikatiyā*) 'through treachery' = Skt *nikṛtyā*; gen. sg. *pathavyā* Dhp 178 (instead of *-viyā*) 'of the earth' = Skt *pṛthivyās*; nom. pl. *nābhyo* (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: *jātiyā*); *saṃmuccā* (for *-tiyā*) Sn 648; loc. sg. *Nalīñṇam* (for *-niyam*) Ja VI 313,9*; nom. pl. *pokkharāñño* (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 **najjā*, 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, *pokkharāṇi* Vv 81,5, *jambuyo* Th 309, (*accharā*) *puthū* Th 1190; acc. pl. *pokkharāṇiyo* D II 178,23, *raṃsī* 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. *bhuvī*⁴ is formed from *bhū* 'earth' according to Kacc. A case of transfer from the *ī*-inflection to the *ā*-inflection is presented by *aḍḍharattāyam* 'in the middle of the night' (cty: *-rattiyam*) Vv 81,16.

¹In verse the stem vowel is frequently to be scanned as long. See Caillat, 1970, pp. 23-24, and cf. Pkt, *-īe*, *-īo*, 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 *siri* 'prosperity, fortune' (*Siri* goddess of prosperity) = Skt *śrī*; *hiri* 'modesty' = Skt *hrī*; *itthī* 'woman' = Skt *strī*.

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

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

(c) *itthī* (*thī*, § 29): *itthī* Ja I 307,14* and *itthī* Th 151; — acc. *itthiṃ* Th 315; — instr. *itthiyā* Vin I 23,15; — dat.gen. *itthiyā* S I 33,13* (*thiyā* Ja V 81,16*). — pl. nom. *itthiyo* S I 185,26*; — acc. *itthiyo* Ja I 289,10 (*thiyo* Sn 769); — instr. *itthīhi*; — dat.gen. *itthīnaṃ* Ja III 392,18 (*thīnaṃ* 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 *-am*¹ which are transferred to the *ū*-flexion: sg. nom. *abhibhū* S I 88,5, *viññū* “wise” It 98,13 = Skt *viñña*, *pāragū* “reaching the other side” Th 66 (beside *pāraga*) = Skt *pāraga*, *mattaññū* S IV 175,29; — acc. *abhibhuṃ* DhP 418, *sabbaññuṃ* “omniscient” Ja I 335,31 = Skt *sarvajña*; — instr. *sabbaññunā*, *sayaṃbhunā* Mil 214,29; — dat.gen. *amattaññūno* S IV 103,27 and *viññussa* A I 138,30, *abhibhussa* S I 157,16; — loc. *abhibhusmiṃ* 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. *sahabhūni* Nett 16,28); — instr. *viññūhi* D II 93,33, *lokavidūhi* Vv 44,25. — dat.gen. *viññūnaṃ* Th 667, *rattaññūnaṃ*⁵ A I 25,18. — loc. *viññūsu* A III 153,24.

¹See Caillat, 1970, pp. 11–15.

²Probably < **gotra-han*. See von Hinüber, 1978, and cf. *vatrabhū* Ja V 153,2* = *Vjtraha*, and *bhūnahu* Sn 664 = *bhrūṇahan*.

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. *indagū* Nidd 14,19 (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-* + *-jña*.

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

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. *gavaṃ* Jā III 111,17*, *gonam* (= Ved. *gonām*) Dīp 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. *goṇam* M I 10,36, pl. acc. *goṇe* DhP-a III 302,18; gen. *goṇānaṃ* 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 dvipadam settho* S I 6,22* = Skt *dvipadām*); pl. acc. *sarado satam* ‘a hundred autumns’ Ja II 16,15* from Skt *śarad*; pl. gen. *sāgaram saritam patim* ‘the ocean, the lord (husband) of the rivers’ Ja II 442,8* from Skt *sarit*. All the quotable examples belong to the Gāthā-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).

¹It seems unlikely that in *āpo ca pathavī ca* 'water and earth' Sn 307 *āpo* is the nom. pl. = Skt *āpas*. Beside the acc. sg. *āpaṃ* 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>satthāro</i>
acc.	<i>satthāraṃ</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>satthūnaṃ, satthārānaṃ</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. *satthāraṃ* 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. *satthūnaṃ* Sv I 20,28, *satthūnaṃ*, loc. *satthūsu*.

3. A stem *satthāra* was abstracted analogically from the equation *kammāraṃ; kammārā = satthāraṃ; x*. From it are derived the forms: pl. instr. *satthārehi*, gen. *satthārānaṃ* 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 *nahāpita* 'barber' (sg. nom. *-to* D I 225,16, acc. *-taṃ* 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. *-ttaṃ* M I 429,4) is = Skt *śalyakartar*.³ From the stem *khattar* 'door-keeper' = Skt *kṣattar* there is beside the sg. nom. *khattā* D I 112,29 the acc. *khattaṃ* 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 *vadhū*. For *satthe*, cf. *katte* 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. *kaññā* (§ 81).

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

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

³Cf. E. Müller, PGr., p. 82.

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

	Singular		Plural	
nom.	<i>pitā</i>	<i>mātā</i>	<i>pitāro</i>	<i>mātāro</i>
acc.	<i>pitāraṃ</i>	<i>mātaraṃ</i>	<i>pitāro, -tare</i>	<i>mātāro</i>
instr.	<i>pitārā</i>	<i>mātarā</i>	<i>pitūhi, pitārehi</i>	<i>mātūhi</i>
abl.	<i>pitārā</i>	<i>mātarā, mātūya</i>	<i>pitūhi, pitārehi</i>	<i>mātūhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>pitū, pituno, pitussa</i>	<i>mātu, mātuyā</i>	<i>pitūnaṃ, pitannaṃ, pitārānaṃ</i>	<i>mātūnaṃ</i>
loc.	<i>pitari</i>	<i>mātari, mātuyā, mātuyam</i>	<i>pitūsu, pitāresu</i>	<i>mātūsu</i>

On inflection:

1. The stems *pitār* (with short stem-vowels in the strong cases) and *pitū*, 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 *pitāra*.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. *nattārehi* Ud 92,2.

2. The most important forms are: sg. instr. *pitārā* Ja III 37,15, *bhātarā* Ja I 308,2, *mātarā* Thī 212; abl. *pitārā*, *matarā* Ja V 214,22, *dhūtuyā* Mhv 8.7; dat.gen. *pitu*² Thī 419, *mātu* Th 473, *duhitu* Thī-a 269,3, *pituno* Vin I 17,1, *bhātussa* Mhv 8.9; *mātuyā* Ja I 53,5; loc. *bhātari* Ja III 56,23; pl. instr. *mātāpitūhi* Thī 516; gen. *pitūnaṃ* It 110,6, *pitunnaṃ* Dh-p-a I 161,12; loc. *mātāpitūsu* Thī 499.

3. Isolated forms: sg. acc. *pitum* 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. *bhāte* 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. *dhītaraṃ* Thī 98, but also dat.gen. *dhītāya* 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. *dhītānaṃ* Ja III 4,7, loc. *dhītāsu* Ja I 152,8.

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

²To be scanned as *pitū* at Thī 495 before *marāṇe*, probably reflecting the metrical length of Skt *pitur marāṇe*. 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>rājānaṃ</i>	<i>attānaṃ</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>raññaṃ</i> , <i>rājūnaṃ</i>	(<i>attānaṃ</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* Dh-p-a I 164,6 and dat.gen. *rañño* Vv 74,4 are =

Skt *rājñā*, *rājñas* according to §53.1; *rājinā* Mhv 6.2 and *rājino* Thī 463 are affected by svarabhakti, as is also *rājini* = Skt *rājñi*. The long-vowel forms in the voc. sg. are transferred from the nom. The voc. sg. form in *-e* Ja IV 339,27^a 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/-van* following a consonant, retain the *a* in the weak cases, e.g. instr. *amhanā* (§50,2) = Skt *aśmanā*; *attani* Ja III 25,2 = Skt *ātmani*. 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. Dh-p-a II 15,6), as well as the gen. *raññaṃ* (D II 87,3) = Skt *rājñām*. Moreover, a new stem *rāju* appears in the plural (*rājūhi* Ud 41,7, archaic *rājubhi* D II 258,14; *rājūnaṃ* Ud 11,3), probably by analogy with the *r*-stems (§90) according to the equation *satthā*; *satthūhi* = *rājā*: *ṣ*. 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. *brahmaṃ* (instead of *brahmānaṃ*) Sn 151 like Māg. Pkt *bamhaṃ*; *muddhaṃ* (from *muddhan*) Dh-p 72; *attaṃ* Dh-p 379; pl. instr. *attehi*, gen. *attānaṃ*. A stem *rañña* was developed from the weak grade form *rājñ-*: sg. nom. *rañño* A II 113,21; gen. *raññassa* Ja III 70,7^a; 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. *addhānaṃ*): *atīta-m-addhāne* 'in past time' Ja III 43,1^a, *addhānamaggapatipanno* 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. *brahmānaṃ*, but instr. *brahmunā*⁶ Th 1168, dat.gen. *brahmuṇo* Th 182. The loc. sg. is *brahmani* M I 2,12, the voc. *brahme* (cf. §90.5) Ja VI 525,15^a. Similarly *addhunā* S I 78,26, *addhuno* D I 17,19.

¹With svarabhakti *ātumānaṃ* Sn 782.

²Caillat, 1970, p. 18.

³At the end of cpds there is sometimes used in Pāli *rāja*, and sometimes *rājan*. Cf. *supannarājassa* Ja III 188,28 and *supannarañño* Ja III 189,7.

Also °rāju: *nāgarājūnaṃ* Mhv 1.68.

⁴This is probably the proper reading for *raññāhi*. 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 Caillat, 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 *śun-* a new stem *suṇa* (sic! with *ṇ*)² has been derived; sg. instr. *suṇena* Ja VI 353.20*; voc. *suṇa* 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. *suvāṇehi* 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 *yuvā* 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. *pathaṃ* 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. *panthaṃ* Mil 157.23, loc. *panthasmim* 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. *pumaṃ* 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 *pumāna* (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. *saṃ* (etc. like an *a*-stem; but pl. abl. *sāhi*, *sābhi*, loc. *sāsu*), pl. nom. *sā* 'dogs' S I 176.13.

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

³Cf. Childers, PD (s.vv.).

§94. Neuters in *-an*. Stem: *kammaṃ* 'work, deed' = *karman*. In the sg. the forms are historical in nom.acc.voc. — *kamma* Dhp 96; instr. *kammaṇā* Sn 136, and *kammunā*¹ Th 143; gen. *kammuno*² Ja III 65.17*; loc. *kammaṇi*. 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. *kammaṇi* Sn 263, Dhp 136. Thus sg. nom.acc. *kammaṃ*, instr. *kammaṇa*, etc. Cf. even in the oldest literature *nāmaṃ* (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. *jammanaṃ* Sn 1018 from *jamman* 'birth' = Skt *janman*; sg. nom. *yakanaṃ* 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. *puññakamma* S I 97.30; sg. gen. *puṭhulomassa* Att 5.4 from *loman* 'hair'; stem *Vissakamma* (name of a god) = Skt *Viśvakarman* (e.g. sg. nom. °*kamma* Ja IV 325.13, acc. °*kammaṃ* Ja V 132.5, instr. °*kammaṇa* Ja I 315.11); but there is also °*kammaṇ* in acc. °*kammānaṃ* 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: *hatthin* 'elephant'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>hatthī, hatthi</i>	<i>hatthino, hatthi</i>
acc.	<i>hatthinam, hatthim</i>	<i>hatthino, hatthi</i>
instr.	<i>hatthinā</i>	<i>hatthihi</i>
abl.	<i>hatthinā, hatthismā, -imhā</i>	<i>hatthihi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>hatthino, hatthissa</i>	<i>hatthinam</i>
loc.	<i>hatthini, hatthismim, -imhi</i>	<i>hatthisu</i>
voc.	<i>hatthi</i>	<i>hatthino, hatthi</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, *seṭṭhino* Ja I 122,17 (from *seṭṭhin* 'merchant'), *hatthino* DhP-a I 168,12 and °*anupassissa* (from *-passin* 'observing') DhP 253, *seṭṭhissa* S I 90,1, *hatthissa* Vin II 195,26, *gāmaṅgāsiṅgā* 'the villagers' Ja III 9,27, *pāṇino* 'living beings' Mhv 12.22 and *hatthi* S I 211,14*, *dhamṣi* 'the brave ones' M I 236,1; pl. acc. *hatthi* DhP-a II 45,25. Cf. also sg. acc. *hatthinam* Th 355 and *sāmiṃ* Sn 83, *gāmaṅgāsiṃ* Ja III 10,11, sg. loc. *seṭṭhimhi* 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: *pāṇihi* Vv 4.6; *pāṇīnam* 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. *verinā* DhP-a II 37,1 from *verin* 'inimical' = Skt *vairin*; pl. acc. *palokine* Thī 101 form *palokin* 'doomed to destruction', *pāṇine* Sn 220; pl. loc. *verineṣu* DhP 197. There are even sg. voc. fem. *āveḷine* *uppalamāladhārine* Vv 48.2 from *āveḷin* 'decorated', °*adhārin* 'carrying lotus-wreaths' beside vocatives like *alamkate*. Otherwise the *in*-stems form their feminines as in Skt; *sāminī* 'mistress', *gabbhinī* 'pregnant', etc.

3. There are some isolated unusual forms, e.g. pl. nom. *pāṇayo* Sn 201, *hatthiyo* Ja VI 537,30* and the archaic instrumentals in *-bhi*; *atthadassibhi* Th 4, *nettiṃsavaradhāribhi* Ja II 77,23*, *jhāyibhi*, *jhānasilībhi* M III 13,25.

4. The stem *tādi* = Skt *tādyś* (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.

¹As in Pkt; see Pischel (§405).

²Similarly in Pkt stems like *sakkhina* = *sakṣin*, *barahina* = *barhin*; see Pischel (§406).

8. *nt*-declension

§96. Adjectives in *-ant*. Stem: *sīlavant* 'virtuous'.

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>sīlavā, -vanto</i>	<i>sīlavanto, -vantā</i>
acc.	<i>sīlavantaṃ</i>	<i>sīlavanto, -vante</i>
instr.abl.	<i>sīlavatā, -vantena</i>	<i>sīlavantehi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>sīlavato, -vantassa</i>	<i>sīlavantaṃ, -vantiṇaṃ</i>
loc.	<i>sīlavati, -vante,</i> <i>-vantamhi, -vantasmiṃ</i>	<i>sīlavantesu</i>
voc.	<i>sīlavā, -vanta</i>	<i>sīlavanto, -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 *-antaṃ* 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. *sīlavantassa* DhP 110; loc. *sīlavante* Ja III 12,22*; voc. *vasavanta* Vv 63,30; sg. nom. neut. *vaṇṇavantaṃ* (*pupphaṃ*) 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. *sīlavantānaṃ* M I 334,3, *satimantānaṃ* A I 24,33, *dhūmantānaṃ* A I 25,2, *bhagavantānaṃ* S V 164,6. Also pl. instr. *sīlavantehi* 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. *-mataṃ*.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, *sīlavatā* S III 167,23; gen. *sīlavato* S IV 303,20, *sabbāvato* (from *sabbāvanta* 'full, complete') M II 15,10; pl. gen. *sabbāvataṃ* M II 16,18. Also *bhagavā, -vatā, -vato, -vati; āyasmā, -matā, -mato, -matī, passim*. Forms of the older type in post-canonical prose: sg. nom. *sīlavā* Mil 224,3; instr. (*Mārena*) *pāpimato* Mil 155,8; *balavato vasavato* Mil 234,16; quite commonly *bhagavā, -vatā, -vato,*

-vati; āyasmā, -matā. Beside them however the forms of the *a*-inflection go on increasing: sg. nom. *sumahanto* Mil 155.2; instr. *mahantena* Ja III 24.20; pl. acc. *sīlavante* Ja I 187.28; gen. *bhagavantānaṃ* Mil 226.13; sg. nom. neut. *mahantaṃ* (*pāṭihāriyaṃ*) Ja IV 229.15, *ojavantaṃ* (*raṭṭhaṃ*) 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. *satīmaṃ* Sn 212, *bhānumaṃ* Sn 1016, *Himavaṃ* Ja VI 272.4*; pl. nom. *mutīmā* 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 *ojavaṃ* Thī 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 *-unto* 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 *-aṃ* = Skt *-an* in the Gāthā language and in canonical prose. Thus *jīvaṃ* 'living' Sn 427 = Skt *jīvan*; *kubbaṃ* 'making' Ja III 278.12* = Skt *kurvan*; *vihaṃ* 'sojourning' Th 435 = Skt *viharan*; *bhaṃ* 'speaking' Sn 429 = Skt *bhaṇan*; *jānaṃ* 'knowing' M II 9.23 = Skt *jānan*; *passaṃ* '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; *patthento*

'desiring' Th 264; *gavesanto* 'seeking' Th 183; *apaṭikujjhanto* 'not getting angry with it' S I 162.30*, and frequently in canonical prose: *kandanto* M II 3.20, *appaṭjānanto* 'not comprehending' M I 7.22. In post-canonical prose the form in *-nto* becomes predominant, and that in *-aṃ* 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. *viṭānataṃ* (from *viṭānāti* 'comprehends') Th 14; *vadataṃ* (from *vadati* 'speaks') Vv. 53.1 (cty: *vadantānaṃ*); sg. gen. *passato* = Skt *paśyatus* M I 7.4, *viharato* M I 9.27. Along with them should be counted also the forms sg. gen. *karoto* Dh 116 and pl. gen. *karotaṃ* Vv 34.21 (but *kurutaṃ* 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. *karontaṃ* is as that of *vasato*, *vasataṃ* to *vasantaṃ*.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-viṭānantā* Th 276; pl. gen. *nadantānaṃ* (from *nadati* 'roars') Th Introd. verse 1; cf. also pl. loc. *uppatantesu nipatantesu* (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 *jānaṃ*, *jānanto*; *passo* 'seeing' Th 61 for *passaṃ*, *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. *asaṃ* '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 I 173; the pl. gen. is *arahataṃ* in Dh 164 and *arahantānaṃ* in A IV 394.23.

2. Of the stem *sant* 'existing, good' the old pl. inst. *sabbhi* = Skt *sadbhis* has been retained in verses: *sabbhī-eva* Th 4, *asabbhi* Sn 245, and also the old pl. dat.² *sabbhi* = Skt *sadbhyas* Dh 151. The other forms are derived from the stems *sant* or *santa*; e.g. sg. dat.gen. *sato* Th 180; loc. *satī* Sn 81 (in connection with a fem. substantive Ja I 328.2) and *sante* Sn 94; pl. nom. *santo* Dh 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. *asaṃ* see § 97.2; beside it there are *santaṃ*, *asantaṃ* Vin I 94.32.33. In Sn 131 *asataṃ* is probably the pl. gen. = *asajjanānaṃ* as in the cty; the v.l. in the cty is *asantaṃ* = *abhūtaṃ*.

3. The form of address *bhavant* 'venerable' used for the pron. of the second person, has the following forms: sg. nom. *bhavaṃ* Sn 486, neut. *bhavaṃ* M III 172.26; acc. *bhavantaṃ* Sn 597; inst. *bhotā* D I 93.23; gen. *bhoto* Sn 565; voc. *bhavaṃ* 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. *bhavataṃ* 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 *bhotī*. Cf. sg. nom. *bhotī* Sn 988, acc. *bhotiṃ* 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. *gacchantī* Ja I 291.3', *labhantī* Ja II 128.15', *passantī* Vin I 16.10, Ja I 61.2', *ārocentī* Ja VI 522.34', *khajjantī* (from *khajjati* 'is devoured' = *khādyate*) Th 315. The feminines of adjectives are, however, derived from the weak stem. Cf. *sīlavatī* D II 12.27, *mahatī* Dh 41.12, and proper names like *Bandhumatī* (a city) D II 12.2, *Ketumatī* (a river) Ja VI 518.12*, *Yasavatī* (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*,¹ instr. *sotasā*, dat.gen. *sotasō*, 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. (*paramaṃ*) *tapo* 'the (highest) penance' Dh 184; acc. *siro* 'the head' Sn 768, *yasō* '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' Dh 390; dat.gen. *cetaso* Vin I 4.33, *manaso* 'of the mind' Dh 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. *siraṃ* Th 255, *manaṃ* Dh 96; acc. *siraṃ* A I 141.13; instr. *tapena* Sn 655; gen. *manassa* S IV 4.17; loc. *ure* D I 135.27, *urasmīṃ* A I 141.5, *nabhamhi* 'in the atmosphere' Ja V 14.20*, *aghe* Ja IV 322.1* and *aghasmi* 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* Dh 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. *sotānaṃ* Sn 1034.

3. The transfer to the *a*-declension may take place also through the addition of *a* to the *s*-stem: sg. acc. *sirasaṃ* 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 JMāh.

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 21,32; 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. *ananvāhatacetaso* DhP 39; perhaps sg. acc. *vyāsattamanasam* DhP 47. Transfer to the *a*-inflection may also take place through the extension of the stem by *u*: sg. nom. *avyāpannacetaso*¹ S V 74,10,20; pl. nom. *adhimanasā* Sn 692.

2. The perf. act. part. -*vas* assumes various forms. Historical are the forms *avidvā* 'unknowing' Sn 535 = Skt *avidvān*, as well as ^o*dassivā* in *bhaya-dassivā* DhP 31 = Skt ^o*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* Dīp 4.5 t 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 Sanskrit 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 *pāpīyas*. 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 *accharā*² 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 *cetasā* 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. *āyusā*¹ 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 *sappiṃ* Ja I 457,22, *āyu* 'age' Th 145 and *āyuṃ* Ja I 138,5, *cakkhuṃ* Vin II 157,3; acc. *sappiṃ* Mhv 5.217, *cakkhuṃ* Ja III 18,7; instr. *sappinā* Ud 38,33, *cakkhunā* Ja III 18,9; abl. *sappimhā* D I 210,26; dat.gen. *sapissa* Ud 93,4, *āyussa* Mhv 35.73, *cakkhuno* Ja IV 206,19; loc. *cakkhusmiṃ* Vin I 34,32, *cakkhumhi* Dīp 4.4; pl. nom. *cakkhūni* Ja IV 137,16; instr. *cakkhūhi* Dīp 17,26. The neut. Skt stem *arcis* 'flame' was changed into *acci* and then inflected as a fem. stem: sg. instr. *acciyā* M II 130,6, pl. nom. *acciyō* 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 saṅikaṃ āgaccheyyātha* 'come hither slowly!' Ja III 37,13; *palāyatha lahuṃ* 'fly quickly!' Mhv 7.66. But other case-forms too are used as adverbs; thus instr.: *kicchena katā paṇṇasālā* 'the hut made with great labour' Ja II 44,6; *api ca me āvuso satthā paricīṇṇo dīgharattam manāpena na amanāpena* '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 *-īyas* and *-iṣṭha* have been preserved. Thus *seyya(s)* = Skt *śreyas*, *pāpiya(s)* = Skt *pāpīyas* (§ 100.3); *bhiyyo*, *bhīyo* 'more' (adv.) DhP 17 = Skt *bhūyas*. The comp. *nīceyya(s)* Sn 855 has clearly been formed on the analogy of *seyya(s)*. There are also the superlatives *seṭṭha* 'the best' = Skt *śreṣṭha*; *pāpiṭṭha* 'the worst' = Skt *pāpiṣṭha*; *kaniṭṭha* 'the youngest' = Skt *kaniṣṭha*; *jeṭṭha* 'the eldest' = Skt *jyeṣṭha*. At Vv 64.33 *seṭṭho* 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); *seṭṭhatara* Ja V 148.7*; *pāpiṭṭhatara* Vin II 5.11. The compound *pāpissika* (Sen. Kacc. 398) is difficult to explain. According to Childers (s.v.) it is = Skt *pāpīyas* + *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: *uḷāratama* '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, *vaṇṇavantatara* '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 *sappurisetara* 'the more efficient man' S V 20.7 the suffix *-tara* has been added to the substantive *sappurisa* = Skt *satpuruṣa*; 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 nātito bahū* 'they are more numerous than the relatives' Mhv 14.20.³ Cf. *kiṃ nu ... dandhā bahū, udāhu paṇḍitā* DhP-a I 94.18.

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

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

³ See 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>ahaṃ</i> 'I'	<i>mayam</i> (<i>amhe</i>) 'we'
acc.	<i>maṃ</i> (<i>mamaṃ</i>)	<i>amhe</i> (<i>asme</i> , <i>amhākaṃ</i> , <i>asmākaṃ</i>)
instr.abl.	<i>mayā</i>	<i>amhehi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>mama</i> , <i>mayhaṃ</i> (<i>mamaṃ</i> , <i>amhaṃ</i>)	<i>amhākaṃ</i> (<i>asmākaṃ</i> , <i>amhaṃ</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>tvaṃ</i> (<i>tvaṃ</i>) 'thou'	<i>tumhe</i> 'you'
acc.	<i>taṃ</i> (<i>tvaṃ</i> , <i>tvaṃ</i>)	<i>tumhe</i> (<i>tumhākaṃ</i>)
instr.abl.	<i>tayā</i> (<i>tvayā</i>)	<i>tumhehi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>tava</i> , <i>tuyhaṃ</i> (<i>tavaṃ</i> , <i>tumhaṃ</i>)	<i>tumhākaṃ</i> (<i>tumhaṃ</i>)
loc.	<i>tayī</i> (<i>tvayī</i>)	<i>tumhākaṃ</i> (<i>tumhaṃ</i>)

Enclitic: sg. instr.dat.gen. *te* pl. acc.instr.dat.gen. *vo/ve/vaṃ*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 *tvaṃ* 'thou' and *taṃ* '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. *mamaṃ* Ja III 55,5*; gen. *mamaṃ* Sn 694, *amhaṃ*² Th 1045 (or pl. dat.gen. ?); pl. nom. *amhe* S I 118,12; acc. *asme* Ja III 359,21* (cty: *amhe*), *amhākaṃ* Ja I 221,29; dat.gen. *asmākaṃ* Sn p. 106,7, *amhaṃ* Thī 287. Pronoun of the second person: sg. nom. *tvaṃ* Sn 377; acc. *tvaṃ* Mhv 10,50c,

tvaṃ Sn 377; pl. acc. *tumhākaṃ* Ja I 221,29; dat.gen. *tumhaṃ* D I 35.

2. The *m* of *mayam* = Skt *vayam* is taken over from the forms of the sg. such as *maṃ*, *mayā*, etc., just as the *t* of *tumhe*, *tumhākaṃ*, etc. (as opposed to Skt *yusmākaṃ*, etc.) has been taken over from the forms *taṃ*, *tayā*, etc.

3. The nom.acc. pl. *amhe* (*asme*) and *tumhe* correspond to the Ved. forms *asme*, *yusme*, which according to Pāṇini VII 1.39 may be used for various plural cases.³

4. The *e* of *amhehi*, *amhesu*, *tumhehi*, *tumhesu* as opposed to *asmābhis*, *asmāsu*, *yusmābhis*, *yusmāsu* 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 *amhaṃ*, *tumhaṃ* 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 *taṃ*- Vv 84,44, *tad-* in *tadahe* Mhv 5,43, *tappaccayā* Th 719)

	Singular		Plural	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
nom.	<i>so</i> (<i>sa</i>)	<i>sā</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tā</i> (<i>tāyo</i>)
acc.	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>taṃ</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>tā</i> (<i>tāyo</i>)
instr.	<i>tena</i>	<i>tāya</i>	<i>tehi</i>	<i>tāhi</i>
abl.	<i>tamhā</i> , <i>tasmā</i>	<i>tāya</i>	<i>tehi</i>	<i>tāhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>tassa</i>	<i>tassā</i> , <i>tissā</i> (<i>tissāya</i> , <i>tāya</i>)	<i>tesaṃ</i> (<i>tesānaṃ</i>)	<i>tāsaṃ</i> (<i>tāsānaṃ</i>)
loc.	<i>tamhi</i> , <i>tasmim</i>	<i>tassaṃ</i> (<i>tāsaṃ</i>) <i>tissaṃ</i> (<i>tāyaṃ</i>)	<i>tesu</i>	<i>tāsu</i>

The neut. has sg. nom.acc. *taṃ* (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. *tissāya* cf. *etissāya* (§ 107.1) Vv-a 106,14; sg. loc. fem. *tāsam*¹ Mil 136,11 (*tissam* M II 55,25), *tāyam* (*velāyam*) Vin I 2,2. As for the forms of pl. gen. *tesānaṃ*, *tāsānaṃ* (note double ending), cf. *esānaṃ* (§ 108) M II 154,2, *sabbesānaṃ* (§ 113.1) M III 60,24, *katamesānaṃ* (§ 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. *taṃ* there is sometimes also the Māgadhī 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 *tamyathā* in Mil I,11. The *sa-* in *sayathā* 'as' Th 412, *sace* 'if' is analogous to Skt *sa* in *sa-yadi*, *sa-yathā*, etc.⁴

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

² As Māg. (*śe munḍe* = *tan munḍam*), AMg *se* (*se dittham* = *tad dittham*). 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 (28) rightly reads *tasmā 'ssa*.

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

Sn 190; *svāhaṃ* (§ 71.1c) Ja I 198,3; *taṃ taṃ* (= *taṃ tvam*) Ja VI 516,19*; *tesaṃ vo* A V 86,8. There is even *tesaṃ vo*, *bhikkhave*, *tunhākaṃ* ... It 32,1; *tesaṃ no amhākaṃ* 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 udapādiṃ* '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 sīmā* ... *taṃ sīmaṃ* Vin I 109,8; *vo te dhammā* ... *tathārūpā 'ssa dhammā* M III 11,20; *yo so* ... *mama sahāyako* DhP-a IV 128,3.

(c) It is used before or after the dem. pron. *ayaṃ*: *ta-y-idaṃ* (= *taṃ idaṃ*) D I 91,4; *svāyaṃ* (= *so ayaṃ*) Vin I 29,26; *ayaṃ 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*, *etaṃ* 'this' is inflected like *so*. In sg. nom. masc. both the forms *eso* and *esā* 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 *etaṃ-* which appears, for instance, in *etaṃkāraṇā* 'for this reason' Vin I 57,35. Like *so*, *eso* is also used in connection with other pronouns. Thus *esāhaṃ* (*eso ahaṃ*) D I 110,23, or *ayaṃ eso* Mhv 1,42; or *yāni etāni* (*yānāni*) DhP-a IV 6,7.

2. The pron. *ena* (= Skt *enad*) occurs only in the forms *enaṃ* and *enena*.¹ *Enaṃ* 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 *taṃ-enaṃ* occurs in M II 248,11, and as fem. in Vv 21,4.

The pron. *nā* is very common (cf. § 66, 1, with f.n. 3). The form *naṃ* 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. *nesaṃ* 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* (ety: *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. *ayaṃ* 'this' (stem form *idaṃ*, cf. *idappaccaya* D I 185,27).

	Singular		Plural	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
nom.	<i>ayaṃ</i>	<i>ayaṃ</i>	<i>ime</i>	<i>imā</i> , (<i>imāyo</i>)
acc.	<i>imaṃ</i>	<i>imaṃ</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>)	<i>imāhi</i>
abl.	<i>imasmā</i> , <i>imamhā</i> , (<i>asmā</i>)	<i>imāya</i>	<i>imehi</i> , (<i>ehi</i>)	<i>imāhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>imassa</i> , <i>assa</i>	<i>imissā</i> (- <i>ssāya</i>), (<i>imāya</i>), <i>assā</i> , (<i>assāya</i>)	<i>imesaṃ</i> , (<i>imesānaṃ</i>), (<i>esaṃ</i> , <i>esānaṃ</i>)	<i>imāsaṃ</i> , (<i>imāsānaṃ</i>), (<i>āsaṃ</i>)
loc.	<i>imasmim</i> , <i>imamhi</i> , (<i>asmim</i>)	<i>imissaṃ</i> , - <i>ssā</i> , (<i>imāyaṃ</i>), (<i>assaṃ</i>)	<i>imesu</i> , (<i>esu</i>)	<i>imāsu</i>

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

Notes:

1. 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. *asmā* Dhṛ 220; loc. *asmim*² Dhṛ 168; pl. gen. masc. *esaṃ* M II 86,2 and *esānaṃ* M II 154,2, fem. *āsaṃ* Ja I 302,4* (ety: *etāsaṃ*). 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-iminā* M II 239,23, with the v.l.).

2. The pron. *ayaṃ* also appears in combination with other pronouns. Thus with the rel.: *yāyaṃ* (= *yā ayaṃ*) Th 124; (= *yo ayaṃ*) Dhṛ 56; *yam idaṃ kammaṃ ... taṃ* M II 220,11; *yān' imāni alāpūni* Dhṛ 149. With the interr. pron.: *ko nu kho ayaṃ 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 amhākaṃ rañño sīlācāro* 'such and such are the virtues of our king' Ja II 3,23; *idañ c' idaṃ ca kātuṃ vaṭṭati* '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' asmim rukkhe* Ja III 208,17 is probably wrong. Note the v.l. *ath' assu tasmim 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>amuṃ</i>	<i>amuṃ</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>amumhā</i>	<i>amuyā</i>	<i>amūhi</i>	<i>amūhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>amussa</i>	<i>amussā</i> , (<i>amuyā</i>)	<i>amūsaṃ</i> , (<i>-sānaṃ</i>)	<i>amūsaṃ</i> , (<i>-sānaṃ</i>)
loc.	<i>amusmim</i> , <i>amumhi</i>	<i>amussaṃ</i> , (<i>amuyam</i>)	<i>amūsu</i>	<i>amūsu</i>

The neut. has sg. nom.acc. *aduṃ*, pl. *amū*, *amūni*. 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*, *amībhīḥ*, etc.), so that in Pāli masc. and neut. have coincided with fem. The neut. *aduṃ* 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 aduṃ khettaṃ aggaṃ* 'that field which is valuable' S IV 315,8.

3. The pron.s *amuka* and *asuka* are derived from the stems *amu* and *asu*, and are used for indefinite persons or things: *amukasmim gāme* 'in the village "so and so"' D I 193,13, *amukasmim vihāre* S IV 46,7; *asukasmim kāle* Ja II 29,4, *asuka-tṭhāne* 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*.

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

§ 110. The rel. pron. *yo* 'which' (stem form *yam-*, *yad-*; e.g. *yamvipāka* 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</i> , (<i>yāyo</i>)
acc.	<i>yam</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>yā</i> , (<i>yāyo</i>)
instr.	<i>yena</i>	<i>yāya</i>	<i>yehi</i>	<i>yāhi</i>
abl.	<i>yasmā</i> , <i>yamhā</i>	<i>yāya</i>	<i>yehi</i>	<i>yāhi</i>
dat.gen.	<i>yassa</i>	<i>yassā</i> , (<i>yāya</i>)	<i>yesaṃ</i> , (<i>yesānaṃ</i>)	<i>yāsaṃ</i> , (<i>yāsānaṃ</i>)
loc.	<i>yasmim</i> , <i>yamhi</i>	<i>yassaṃ</i> , (<i>yāyam</i>)	<i>yesu</i>	<i>yāsu</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 Māgadhism *ye* (in apposition to *se* = *taṃ*) 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': *yassaṃ yassaṃ disāyaṃ viharati, sakasmim 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 kāci, 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 gāthāsataṃ bhāse* 'if anyone should utter 100 verses' Dh 102.

¹See MW, s.v. *yad*.

§ 111. I. The interr. pron. *ko* 'who?' has in the sg. nom.acc. neut. *kiṃ*. It serves as the stem form; cf. *kiṃnāmo* Vin I 93,31 (note *konāmo* immediately after it), *kiṃkāraṇā* '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 *kiṃ*: *kismā* S I 37,22 beside the usual *kasmā*; *kissa* Ud 79,6* beside *kassa* Sn 1040; *kimhi* Vin I 28,31 or *kismim* D II 277,4,5 beside *kamhi*, *kasmim*. 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 Māg. 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): *kaṃ 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*), *kaṃ si* Dh 102. 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. *katamaṃ* D I 99,17; sg. instr. masc. *katamena* Vin I 30,7, sg. loc. fem. *katamassaṃ* M II 160,26; pl. nom. masc. *katame* Vin I 3,2, pl. gen. masc. *katamesānaṃ* 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* Dh-p-a I 215,14.

4. *kati* 'how many?' (as also in Skt): nom. masc. *kati* (*samaṇā*) Sn 83, *kati* (*uposathā*) Vin I 111,23, neut. *kati* (*kammāni*) M I 372,8; instr. *katihī* S IV 240,20. Derivatives from it are: *katipayā* 'some, a few'; *katicī* 'some, a few' (*katihicī* Ja I 464,13); *katipāhaṃ* (from *-payāhaṃ*) 'a few days' Ja II 38,11, *katipāhena* 'in a few days' Mhv 17,41; *katikkhattuṃ* 'how often?' M III 125,7.

5. *kīva*, *kīvaṃ* adv. 'how? how much?' = Ved. *kīvat* (§46.1) in *kīva-dūra* 'how far distant?' M II 119,3; *kīva-ciraṃ* 'how long?' Vv 24,14; *kīva-bahukā* 'how many?' Ud 91,25; *yāva-kīvaṃ* '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?' : *kittakaṃ addhānaṃ* 'how long a time?' Vv-a 117,8 (in explanation of *kīva-ciraṃ*). To it correspond *ettaka* 'this much' Mil 316,25 and *tattaka* Dh-p-a II 16,11. From the same stem is derived the adv. *kittāvatā* 'how far?' Vin I 3,1.

¹The noun *kiñcanaṃ* is a compound of *kiṃ* with the particle *cana*. Cf. *yassa n' atthi kiñcanaṃ* Dh-p 421. Whence *akiñcano* 'he who does not call anything his own' Th 36. Its opposite is *sakiñcano*. The word *kiñcāpi* 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* (*saṃ* 'property'; instr. *sena* Ja II 22,23*, pl. *sāni* M I 366,5) and *saka* = Skt *svaka* (sg. instr. *sakena dārena* Vv 83,20, abl. *sakamhā gāmā* D I 81,25, cf. *samhā raṭṭhā* Ja VI 502,34*, loc. *samhi āsune* D II 225,17; pl. acc. *sake* 'one's own people' Ja VI 505,16*). The poss. pron. of the first person *madīya* (quoted in Childers, PD) = Skt *madīya* seems to be

unattested. The adj. *māmaka*, fem. *-ikā* = Skt *māmaka* signifies 'lovable, valuable' II 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.: *attānaṃ damayanti subbatā* Th 19; *attānaṃ nāsesi* Ja I 510,11; *attanā katam pāpaṃ* Dh-p 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: *yāvanti* 'how big, how much' (pl. nom. *yāvanti* *ettha samāgatā* Dh-p 337; retained also in the conjunctions *yāva* or *yāvaṃ*, *yāvatā*, correlative *tāva*, *tāvatā*) and *yāvataka* 'how big, how much' (sg. nom. neut. *-kaṃ* S IV 320,23, pl. acc. masc. *-ke* Vin I 83,27), *tāvataka* 'so big, so much' (sg. nom. neut. *-kaṃ* S IV 320,23, instr. *-kena* Dh-p-a III 61,14; pl. acc. masc. *-ke* Vin I 83,28), as well as the frequent formations with *-di*, *-disa*, *-risa*, *-dikkha*, *-rikkha* = Skt *-dīś*, *-dīśa*, *-dīkṣa* (cf. §43.1): *mādīsa*, *mārisa* 'such as I' (cf. pl. nom. fem. *mādīsiyo* Dh-p-a II 17,12) *amhādīsa* 'such as we' (pl. acc. masc. *-disa* Mhv 5,128); *tādīsa* 'such as you' Ja I 445,23; *tumhādīsa* 'such as you (pl.)' (Dh-p-a II 39,19); *yādīsa(ka)* 'of what sort' and *tādi*, *tādīsa(ka)*, *etādīsa(ka)* 'of that sort' (Sn 522); *īdi*, *īdīsa(ka)*, *īdikkha*, *īrisa* 'of this sort' (Ja I 60,33*); *edīsa(ka)*, *erīsa* 'of this sort' (Sn 313); *kīdi*, *kīdīsa*, *kīrisa* 'of what sort' (Sn 836); *yādīsakīdīsa* '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. *sabbesaṃ* Sn 1030 and *sabbesaṃ* M III 60,24; gen. fem. *sabbāsaṃ* S I 17,27; sg. loc. fem. *sabbāya* Vin I 165,27.

2. *vissa* 'all' = Skt *viśva* is archaic and quite rare, except in names, e.g. *Vissakamma*. The sg. acc. masc. *vissaṃ* (*dhammaṃ*) occurs at Dh-p 266, but the cty explains the word by *visamaṃ*.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. *aññesaṃ* Sn 213, dat.gen. *aññissā* Vin I 15,10, loc. *aññissā* (*guhāya*) Ja II 27,16. Note *aññad eva ... aññaṃ* 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. *aññatama* 'any one' Mhv 38,14.

6. *itara* 'another' is inflected like *sabba*: pl. nom. masc. *itare* Dh-p-a IV 40,13, dat.gen. fem. *itarāsaṃ* Ja II 27,19. 'The one ... the other' is expressed by *eko ... itaro* Vv-a 149,7, or *itaro ... itaro* Mhv 25,62; *itarītara* signifies 'the one and the other, everyone, any one' Ja I 467,28* (cty: *yassa kassaci*), M II 6,1 (*itarītarena* 'reciprocally' Vv 84,1, likewise *itarītarehi* 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. *paraṃ* Th 743; *paro ... paro* 'the one ... the other' D I 224,13. For *paraṃ* adv. 'beyond, later' and prep. 'after', and *aparāparaṃ* 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 *uttarassaṃ disāyaṃ* 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. *ekaccānaṃ* Vin I 45,18; *ekacco ... ekacco* signifies 'the one ... the other' S IV 305,10,11; *ekaccaṃ ... ekaccaṃ* 'partly ... partly' D I 17,12. Its derivative is *ekacciya* 'individually': sg. nom. masc. *ekacciyō* Ja I 326,8*, acc. *ekacciyaṃ* Vin I 289,2, nom. fem. *ekacciyā* (*itthī*) S I 86,13*; pl. nom.

masc. *ekacciyā* 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

1. 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. *ekasmim*, 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. *diguṇa* '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. *ubhoḥi* D II 176,22 (and *ubheḥi*); dat.gen. *ubhinnaṃ* Ja I 353,14¹; loc. *ubhosu* Sn 778 (and *ubhesu*). The sandhi form *vubho* occurs in Ja VI 509,24². 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!' Thī 449; *anujānātha maṃ ubhayo* Thī 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 paṇḍarāni* 'both kinds of intelligence' Sn 526; *Todeyya-Kappā dubhayo* 'both T. and K.' Sn 1007; acc. *dubhayam lokam* 'both worlds' Ja III 442,4². Cf. *dubhato* 'on both sides' Ja VI 497,4² (cty: *ubhato*).

§ 115. The numbers three to ten¹:

3. *ti* 'three' (in compounds *ti-*, cf. *tiḡuṇa* 'three times', *tipiṭaka* 'collection of three baskets'): masc. nom.acc. *tayo* Sn 311 (*tayas su* Sn 231); instr.abl. *tīhi* Dhp 391; dat.gen. *tiṇṇam* Th 127 and (the later form) *tiṇṇannam*² Mil 309,8; loc. *tīsu* Dhp-a II 27,4; fem. nom.acc. *tisso* Th 24; instr.abl. *tīhi* Thī 11; dat.gen. *tissannaṃ* D II 66,17; neut. nom.acc. *tīni* Thī 134; the rest are as in the masc.

4. *catu* 'four' (in compounds *catu-*, *catur-*, cf. *catukaṇṇa* 'quadrangular' A I 141,30*, *caturassa* 'quadrilateral' Ja VI 518,29*, *catugguṇa* 'four times' Ja I 422,27; masc. nom.acc. *cattāro* D I 91,29 and *caturō* (nom. Sn 84, acc. Sn 969); instr.abl. *catūhi* Sn 231, *catuhi* Ja I 279,31 and (only archaically) *catubbhi* Sn 229 (*catubbhi thānesu* Vv 32,7); dat.gen. *catunnaṃ* 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. *caturō disā* Vv 6,10); instr.abl. *catūhi* Ja I 339,4 and *catuhi* D I 102,2; dat.gen. *catunnaṃ* D I 116,11 and *catassannaṃ*; loc. *catūsu* and *catusu* Ja III 46,20; neut. nom.acc. *cattāri* Sn 227; the rest are as in the masc.

5. *pañca* 'five', *cha* 'six', *satta* 'seven', *aṭṭha* 'eight', *nava* 'nine', and *dasā* '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 *aṭṭhāhi* Ja III 207,14*, archaic: *dasabhi* Vin I 38,22*]; dat.gen. *pañcannaṃ* S IV 173,15, *channaṃ* Sn 169; *sattānaṃ* beside *sattannaṃ* 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-*, *chaḥ-*, 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. *vīsa*, *vīsam*, *vīsā*, *vīsati* = *viṃśati*; 30. *tīṃsa*, *tīṃsam*, *tīṃsā*, *tīṃsati* = *triṃśat*; 40. *cattārīsa*, *-rīsam*, *-rīsā*; *cattālīsa*, = *-līsam*, *-līsā*; *tālīsa*, *-līsam*, *-līsā* = *catvāriṃśat*; 50. *paññāsa*, *-sam*, *-sā*; *paññāsa* = *pañcāśat*; 60. *satṭhi* = *ṣaṣṭi*; 70. *sattati*, *sattari* = *saptati*; 80. *asīti* = *aśīti*; 90. *navuti* = *navati*;

100. *sata* = *śata*; 200. *dve satāni* or *dvīsata*; 300. *tīni satāni* or *tīsata*, etc.; 1000. *sahassa* = *sahasra*; 2000. *dve sahasāni*, etc.; 100,000. *lakkha*; 10 millions. *koṭi*.¹

2. Intermediate numbers: 11. *ekādasa*, *ekārasa* = *ekādaśa*; 12. *dvādasa*, *bārasa* = *dvādaśa*; 13. *terasa*, *telasa* = *trayodaśa*; 14. *catuddasa*, *cuddasa* = *caturdaśa*; 15. *pañcadasa*, *pannarasa*, *pañnarasa* = *pañcadasa*; 16. *soḷasa*, *sorasa* = *ṣoḍaśa*; 17. *sattadasa*, *sattarasa* = *saptadaśa*; 18. *aṭṭhādasa*, *aṭṭhārasa* = *aṣṭadaśa*; 19. *ekūnavīsā*, *ekūnavīsati* = *ekonaviṃśati*, *ūnaviṃśati*; 22. *dvāvīsā*, *-sati*, *bāvīsā*, *-sati*; 23. *tevīsā*; 24. *catuvīsā*; 25. *pañcavīsā*, *pañnavīsati*, *pañṇuvīsā*, etc.; 32. *dvattimsa*, *battimsa*; 36. *chattimsa*; 49. *ekūnapaññāsa*; 55. *pañcapaññāsa*; 56. *chappaññāsa*, etc.²

¹The designations for higher numbers, such as *abbuda*, etc. (see Abh 475, Dīp 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 tīni vā rattindiyāni* 'two or three days and nights' D I 327,19; *catunnam māsaṇam accayena* 'after the expiry of four months' Sn p. 102,8; *soḷasannam 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 dvādasaṇ ca ... pañcavīsam dvādasaṇ ca, dvādasaṇ ca navāpi ca* '9 and 7 and 12 ..., 25 and 12 and (again) 12 and 9 (kings)' Mhv 2,9.

2. Of the decads 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 tiṃsāya 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 decads 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. *vīsatiyā yojanesu tiṃsāya yojanesu* 'at (the distance of) 20 (30) miles' M II 162,30; instr. *dvattimsāya mahāpurisalakkhaṇehi asītiyā anuvyañjanehi* 'with the 32 major and 80 minor insignia of a Buddha' Vv-a 323,14; *ekūnapaññāsāya kaṇḍehi* 'with 49 arrows' Ja III 220,21; *chattimsatiyā sotehi* 'with 36 streams' Dh-p-a IV 48,16; acc. *vīsatiṃ pi bhikkhū tiṃsam pi bhikkhū cattārīsam pi bhikkhū* '20 or 30 or 40 monks' M III 79,6; *vīsam pi jātiyo tiṃsam pi jātiyo cattārīsam pi jātiyo paññāsam pi jātiyo* '20 and 30 and 40 and 50 existences' It 99,3; *aṭṭhacattārīsam vassāni* '48 years' Sn 289; gen. *imesam tevīsatiyā buddhānaṃ santike* 'before these 23 Buddhas' Dh-p-a I 84,8. In the following examples the decads remain uninflected: nom. *pañṇāsa yojanā satṭhi yojanā* '50, 60 miles' Dh-p-a III 217,8; *tiṃsa rattīyo* D II 327,10; *pañcapaññāsa vassāni ... pañcavīsati vassāni* Th 904; *dvattimsa mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni* Sn p. 106,8 (but *dvattimsā mahā-* Sn 1000); acc. *ekūnapaññāsa jane* '49 people' Ja III 220,20; *sattasattari ṇāṇavatthūni* 'the 77 items of knowledge' S II 59,34; instr. *dvattimsa 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 sahasāni* '6000 gandhabbas' Th 164; *bhikkhuniyo sahasam* '1000 nuns' Mhv 5,187; acc. *pañcasatāni Caṇḍālapurise* '500 Caṇḍālas' Mhv 10,91; *gāthā satam* '100 verses' Dh-p 102; instr. *pañcasatehi therehi* 'with 500 theras' Dīp 4,6. The substantive in such constructions sometimes appears in the sg., as in acc. *aṭṭhasatam bhattam* (instead of *bhattāni*) '800 meals' Mil 88,4. The numeral is treated as an adj. in nom. *pañcasatā vāṇijā*, fem. *pañcasatā yakkhiniyo*, acc. *pañcasate vāṇije* 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-sahasam bhikkhūnam* 'over 1000 monks' Th 1238 (but in apposition *paro-sahasam puttā* 'over 1000 sons' D I 89,4); *sahasam pi atthānam* '1000 things' S I 229,13; *vihārānam pañcasatam* '500 monasteries' Mhv 12,33; *satṭhim arahatam akā* 'he made 60 Arhats' Mhv 1,14.

6. A numeral and a substantive may unite into a cpd. Cf. *aṭṭhavassam sattamāsam rājā rajjam akārayi* '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; *dvīsu vassasatesu (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. *paṭhama* = Skt *prathama*; 2. *dutiya* (§ 23) = *dvitīya*; 3. *tatiya* (§ 23) = *trītiya*; 4. *catuttha* = *caturtha*; 5. *pañcama* = *pañcama*; 6. *chaṭṭha* (*chaṭṭhama* Sn 101), *saṭṭha* = *ṣaṣṭha*; 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 decads, 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. *vīsati* or *vīsa* = *viṃśatitama* or *viṃśa*; 30. *tiṃsati* or *tiṃsa* = *triṃśattama* or *triṃśa*; 40. *cattārisati*, *-līsati* or *cattārisa*, *-līsa* = *catvāriṃśattama* or *catvāriṃśa*; 50. *paññāsati* = *pañcāśattama*; 60. *saṭṭhitama* = *ṣaṣṭitama*; 70. *sattatama* = *saptatitama*; 80. *asītati* = *aśītitama*; 90. *navutima* = *navatitama*; 100. *satama* = *śatattama*.

3. The intermediate numbers from 11 to 19 agree on the one hand with Skt, and on the other with Pkt¹: 11. *ekādasama*, fem. -mī M III 255.9 = AMg *ekkārasama*; or *ekādasā*, fem. *ekādasī* 'the 11th day' = Skt *ekādaśa*; 12. *dvādasama*, fem. -mī M III 255.10 = AMg *duvālasama*; or *dvādasā*, 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 *cuddasā*, fem. *cuddasī* 'the 14th day' Mhv 19.39; also *cāuddasa* Vin I 87.30, or -sī Thī 31 = Skt *caturdaśa*; 15. *pañcadasama* Dhp-a III 27.11; *pañjarasama* = AMg *pañjarasama*; or *pañjarasa* D II 207.17, more frequently *pañjarasa* Th 1234 (*pañcaddasī* 'the 15th

day' Thī 31) = Skt *pañcadaśa*; 16. *soḷasama* = AMg *soḷasama*; and *soḷasa* fem. -sī Dhp 70 = Skt *ṣoḍaśa*; 17. *sattarasama*; 18. *aṭṭharasama* = AMg *aṭṭharasama*; 19. *ekūnavīsati* = AMg *egūnavīsāma*. Further: 21. *ekavīsati*; 22. *bāvīsati*; 23. *tevīsati*; 24. *catuvīsati*; 25. *pañcavīsati*; 26. *chabhīsati*, etc.; 33. *tetiṃsati*; 36. *chattiṃsati*, 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.

¹ Pischel (§ 440).

§ 119.1. The distributive numbers are expressed by repeating the cardinals or the ordinals as the case may be; *aṭṭhaṭṭha there* 'maḥce 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*, *aḍḍha* 'half' is the fractional number. Like Skt *ardha*, Pkt *addha*, *aḍḍha*,¹ it is compounded with the next higher ordinal number, as in German 'dritthalb, vierthalb': *aḍḍhatiya*, *aḍḍhateyya* Ja I 450.21 (cf. § 65.2) is 2¹/₂; *aḍḍhuḍḍha* Vin I 34.10; Dhp-a I 87.21 (= Pkt *addhuḍḍha* from *addha* + **turtha*, Skt *ardhacaturtha*) is 3¹/₂. Cf. *saddhim addhatelasehi bhikkhusatehi* 'with 12¹/₂ hundred monks' D I 47.4; *aḍḍhanavamasahassāni* '8,500 (persons)' Mhv 15.201. If on the other hand *addha*, *aḍḍha* stands after a cardinal number, it signifies half thereof: *dasaddha* is therefore 5, Th 1244; *purisānam dasaḍḍhehi satehi parivārīto* 'surrounded by 500 men' Mhv 5.122.

3. Numeral adverbs: 'once' is expressed by *sakim*, *saki* (*sakid-* or *sakad-* in sandhi before a vowel, §§ 67, 72.1) = Skt *sakṛt*, or *ekadā* (*appekadā* 'sometimes' M II 7.1). These adverbs are formed by affixing the form °*khattum* (§§ 22, 40.1) = Skt °*kṛtvas*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. *vāraṃ* and *vāre* are also used to express 'time(s)': *eka-vāraṃ* 'once' Ja III 150.21; *dve vāre*

'twice' Dhṛ-a I 47,11; *tayo vāre* '3 times' Dhṛ-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 vāre* 'the third time, on the third chance' Mhv 6,26. Otherwise 'the first time', 'the second time' are simply *paṭhamam*, *dutiyaṃ*, etc. *Ekaso* = Skt *ekaśas* means 'individually'.

4. Numeral adverbs meaning 'times' are constructed with °*dhā* = Skt °*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 °*vidha*, Pkt °*viha*, or with °*guṇa* = Skt and Pkt °*guṇa*: *anekavidha* 'of many kinds' Dīp 6,70; *sattavidha* 'of seven kinds, seven-fold' Ja I 91,33; *aṭṭhaguṇa* 'eight-fold' Thī 153.

6. Numeral substantives: *ekaka* 'group of one' = Skt *ekaka*, *duka* neut. 'aggregate of two' = Skt *dvika*, *tika* 'aggregate of three' = Skt *trika*, Pkt *duka* or *duya*, *tiya*, *catukka* 'aggregate of four' (§ 62.2) = Skt *catuṣka*, *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 *śataka*.

¹BR. s.v.; see Pischel (§ 450).

²Pkt AMg °*khutto*, Māh. °*huttam*; see Pischel (§ 451).

IV. The Verbal System

1. 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) *-tuṃ*, 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 *chijj-* = *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>labhāmi</i>	<i>labhāma</i>
	2. <i>labhasī</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*; *tassāhaṃ santike 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.: *amupucchase* 'you ask' Vv 17.5; *labhase* Ja II 220.12* (cty: *labhasī*).

3 sg.: *labhate* Th 35; *sobhate* 'is beautiful' Thī 255; *rocate* 'suits (one's) taste' Thī 415; *bhāsate* 'speaks' Sn 452. 3 pl.: *labhante* 'they hang' Thī 265; *haññante* 'they are beaten' Thī 451.

3 pl.: the ending *-are* is quite frequent: *labhare* S I 110.32*; *khādare* '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 *śēre*, *īśire*, 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 *-mahe* 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*) *tappāmahe* (*dassanena taṃ*) 'we are (not) tired of (looking at you)' Vv 17.4, which is ind. in meaning (cf. Skt *tṛpyate*). The same perhaps also with *abhinandāmahe* '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 bhottuṃ* 'do not go on eating!' Ja II 14.17* (cty: *mā nāgamāṃsa-khādako ahoṣi*). In addition: *attānaṃ yeva garahāsi ettha* 'scold yourself for this affair!' Ja IV 248.8* (cty: *attānaṃ eva garaheyyāsi*). True subj. forms are to be found perhaps also in the forms *kāmayāsi* and *cajāsi* Ja V 220.20*, 24*, which are dependent on *sace* and *ce* respectively. Pischel's second example is, however, doubtful: *ātāpino saṃvegino 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: *adhimanasā bhavātha* Sn 692; *taṃ ca* (i.e. *dhammaṃ*) *dharātha*³ *sabbe* 'all should hold fast to it (the truth)!' Sn 385; *pāpāni kammāni vivajjayātha, dhammānuyogañ ca adhiṭṭhahātha* 'give up sinful practices and hold fast to zeal for the truth!' Vv 84.38; *abhinibbajjīyātha naṃ* '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 *dadhāsi* and *dadhāti* (§37). Also *saddahāsi* Ja I 426.8* is reproduced in the cty simply as *saddahasi*. But even the third *ko taṃ paṭibhaṇāti me* 'who can give me answer to that?' Ja III 404.4* is very doubtful on account of *paṭibhaṇāmi* and *-bhaṇāsi* 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. *suṇātha* 'hear!' occurs immediately before.

⁴E. Müller, PGr., p. 186. 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>labhāmi</i>	<i>labhāma</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 naṃ dema* 'to whom should we give it?' Ja II 196.24, *handā karomi* M III 179.27, *handā 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 *pīva* 'drink!' Ja III 110.22 = *pība*; *siñca* 'pour out!' DhP 369 = *siñca*; *nipajju* 'seat yourself!' Ja II 223.2 from *nipadyate*. Also *kara* 'do!' Ja IV 1.14 may be regarded as an historical form = Ved. *kāra*. Verbs which were not originally thematic gradually began to form their impv. forms after the type *labha*. Thus *gaṇha* 'seize!' Ja II 159.5 from *gaṇhāti* = *grhṇāti*, even *paṭiggaha* 'accept!' Ja I 233.16*; *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 *akkhāhi* '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 *uggaṇhāhi* 'learn!' M III 192.22 from *uggaṇhāti* = *udgrhṇāti*; *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 *u*-stems: *jīvāhi* Sn 1029; *sarāhi* 'remember!' Mil 79.25 (beside *sara* Th 445); *pakkosāhi* 'call here!' DhP-a IV 28.4; *tussāhi* 'be content!' Ja I 494.26, etc.¹

3 sg. and pl.: *-tu*² 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 *ṛdhyate*); *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*: *āharathu* 'bring here!' Ja I 266,9; *anurakkhatha* 'protect!' Dh 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. *avasātu* 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 *haṇatho*, *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!' Th 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 *-taṃ* = *-tān*; *labhataṃ* D II 150,13. In sandhi: *vaḍḍhatāṃ 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 Pāli. 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; *bhaṇāmase* '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 pamudamhase* 'we do

not wish to neglect' Ja III 131,16*; *dadamhase* Ja III 47,3*.

2 pl.: the suffix *-vho* in contrast to Skt *-dhvam* 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 *pamadonthavho*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 *visīyaruṃ* 'they should dissolve' Th 312, from Skt *śyā*, *śīyate* (cty: *visīyantū ito e' ito viddhamasantū*). The suffix *-ruṃ* 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 *pucchussa* 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>labheyyaṃ</i> , <i>labhe</i> , <i>labheyyāmi</i>	<i>labhema</i> , <i>labhemu</i> , <i>labheyyāma</i>
act.	2.	<i>labhe</i> , <i>labheyya</i> , <i>labheyyāsi</i>	<i>labhetha</i> , <i>labheyyātha</i>
act.	3.	<i>labhe</i> , <i>labheyya</i> , <i>labheyyāti</i>	<i>labheyyuṃ</i> , <i>-yyu</i>
mid.	1.	(<i>labheyyaṃ</i>)	(<i>labheyyamhe</i>) <i>labhemase</i>
mid.	2.	<i>labhetho</i>	(<i>labheyyavho</i>)
mid.	3.	<i>labhetha</i>	(<i>labheraṃ</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: *labheyyaṃ*, *labhe*, *labhe*; *labhema*, *labhetha*, *labheyyuṃ* 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. *labheyyuṃ*.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. *labheyyāmi*, and then also into the 2 and 3 sg., the long *ā* 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: *passē* 'I would see', *suṇe* 'I would hear' (cty: *suṇeyyam*), *saṃvase* '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*; *parihāresi* Ja IV 210.22*; *bujjhesi* Ja V 159.29* (cty: *jāneyyāsi*); *pucchesi* Ja V 201.3* (cty: *puccheyyāsi*); *taresi* Sn 1064 (cty: *tareyyāsi*); *āhāresi* Ja VI 267.23* (cf. *āhareyya* 267.13*).⁵

3 sg. *icche* 'he should wish for' Th 228, *hane* 'he should kill' Sn 394, *vaḷe* '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*, *viḥaremu*⁶ 'we would stay' Ja II 33.25*.

2 pl. *bhuñjetha* 'you should enjoy' Mhv 25.113.

3 pl. *saheyyuṃ* '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	Plural
1.	-eyyam and -eyyāmi	-eyyāma
2.	-eyyāsi	-eyyātha
3.	-eyya and -eyyāti	-eyyuṃ

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, *puccheyyāmi* D I 51.3;

2 sg. *kareyyāsi* Vin II 190.19, *āgaccheyyāsi* Ja II 212.26;

3 sg. *bhāseyya* Vin II 189.19, *dadeyya* Ja II 241.25, *jāneyyāti* Vin II 190.22;

1 pl. *āroceyyāma* Vin II 186.28, *vādeyyāma* Ja II 254.25;

2 pl. *āneyyātha* 'may you bring' S I 221.7, *gaccheyyātha* Ja II 249.20;

3 pl. *khādeyyuṃ* Vin II 197.11, *vissajjeyyuṃ* Ja II 241.24.

¹See CPD, Epilegomena to Vol. I, p. 28*, s.v. opt.

²The corresponding forms in Pkt are evidently those of the opt. in *-ejjā*, *-ejjāmi* (Pais. *-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 *ā* was then transferred also to the 2 pl.

⁴See BHS § 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, Epileg. 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* Dh 36; *labhetha* Sn 45; *sevetha* Sn 72; *jāyetha* Dh 58; *nametha* Sn 806; *saṅketha* Ja II 53.22*; *atimaññetha* Sn 148; *saddahetha* Ja III 192.26*; *jhāyetha* Sn 709; *kubbetha*¹ Sn 702; *āsetha* in *sukhaṃ manussā āsetha* 'men should live happily' Ja V 222.16* (cty: *āseyyuṃ*) 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: *sādheyyāma*). 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.

¹Also 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 *samāsetha* 'one should be with' in the same verse.

§ 129A. There are other ways of forming the optative:

(1) By adding *-yā* = Skt *-yāi* (with *y* assimilated to the final consonant of the stem of athematic verbs), as in Pkt¹: *jaññā* Vin I 135.18, *assa* (§ 141.1), *dajjā* (§ 143.d), *vajjā* 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: *vajjesi* Pv II 11.6 (cty: *vadeyyāsi*), *dajjemu* 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 *vareyyāhaṃ* (= *vareyyaṃ ahaṃ*),³

¹See Pischel (§ 464).

²This could also be explained as the addition of the *-e* ending to the stem *haññ-*, i.e. transference to Cl. IV (§ 136.2).

³See CPD I, s.v. *ahaṃ*.

E. The Verbal Classes of Sanskrit in Pāli

I. 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 *dhovāi*, as against Skt *dhāvati*,

3. From roots with final *u* (for roots in *ī* see § 131): *savati* 'flows' = *sravati*.

4. From roots with final *r*: *sarati* 'goes', *carati* 'goes, does, etc.' (both as in Skt), *surati* 'remembers' (*sumarati* Dh 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*; *ghaṃsati* 'rubs' (cf. § 6.3) = *gharṣati*; *haṃsati* 'stands on end (as hair of the body)' Vin III 8.33 = *harṣati*; *kaḍḍhati* 'draws' = **kardhati*, side form of *karṣati*, 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, *siṃsare* Vv 64.7, impv. 2 sg. *tikiccha* S I 238.34 and *tikicchāhi* Vin I 71.36, mid. *sikkhassu* Thī 4; 2 pl. *vīmaṃsatha* Ja VI 367.20, opt. 1 sg. *vīmaṃseyyaṃ* M I 125.16; 3 sg. *jīguccheyya* Thī 471.

¹In Pkt too there is no lengthening of the radical vowel; see Pischel (§ 481).

²For other explanations of *kaḍḍhati*, 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, *ānema* 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 *jeyyaṃ* and *neyyaṃ* (instead of *jayeyyaṃ*, *nayeyyaṃ*), etc. Cf. 1 sg. *apaneyyaṃ* 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 *ḍeti* 'flies' = *ḍayati* D I 71,7. The root *ci* 'to collect' may take this contracted form although it otherwise belongs to Cl. IX: opt. 1 sg. *abhisamceyyaṃ* 'I would heap up' (cty: *-cineyyaṃ*) 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 *pāhiṇati* (§ 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 *jineyyuṃ* 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>homi</i>	<i>homa</i>
	2. <i>hosi</i> Vv 84,20	<i>hotha</i> Ja I 307,2 ¹
	3. <i>hoti</i> , passim	<i>honti</i> , passim
impv.	2. <i>hohi</i> Sn 31	<i>hotha</i> DhP 243
	<i>hehi</i> 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* Thī 8, and *bhavāhi* Sn 510; 1 pl. mid. *bhavāmase* Th 1128; 2 pl. *bhavatha* Ja II 218,6 and *bhavātha* Sn 692 (cf. § 123); 3 pl. *bhavantu* Sn 145; opt. 1 sg. *bhaveyyaṃ* Ja VI 364,16; 2 sg. *bhaveyyāsi* Ud 91,33; 3 sg. *bhave* Sn 716 and *bhaveyya* Ja II 159,22; 2 pl. *bhavetha* Sn 1073; 3 pl. *bhaveyyuṃ* 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. *anubhosi* Vv 40,3; 3 sg. *vibhoti* Sn 873, *sambhoti* Sn 743 (cf. D II 232,19), *anubhoti* Ja II

202,11 and *sambhavati* Mil 210,4, *anubhavati* Ja II 202,14; 1 pl. *abhisambhoma* 'we attain' Ja III 140,24⁵; 3 pl. *anubhonti* Thī 217. Sometimes certain compounds of *bhū* form the pres. stem after Cl. IX⁵: *sambhūṇāti* 'attains' Vin I 256,8, *abhisambhūṇāti* Sp 1,9. Cf. also §§ 190, 191.

¹In Pkt the form *jedu* = Pāli *jetu* as against *jaudu* = Pāli *jayatu* is not well attested; see Pischel (§ 473). With roots in *i* on the other hand, contraction is the usual rule (Māh. *nei* = Pāli *neti*); see Pischel (§ 474).

²Similarly AMg *jināmi*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 473).

³For Pkt see Pischel (§ 475).

⁴The form *huveyya* presupposes a pres. *huvai* (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 foll.

§ 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. *pipataṃ* 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 *tiṭṭhā-*¹ = Skt *tiṣṭha-*. Thus ind. 1 sg. *tiṭṭhāmi*, 2 sg. *tiṭṭhasi*, 3 sg. *tiṭṭhati*; 1 pl. *tiṭṭhāma*, 2 pl. *tiṭṭhatha*, 3 pl. *tiṭṭhanti*; impv. 2 sg. *tiṭṭha* Mhv 7,13, and *tiṭṭhāhi* Th 461; 3 sg. *tiṭṭhatu* D I 94,4, opt. 2 sg. *tiṭṭheyyāsi* M III 129,7; 3 sg. *tiṭṭhe* Sn 918 and *tiṭṭheyya* Sn 929. Also in compounds, as ind. 1 sg. *samtiṭṭhāmi* A IV 302,17; opt. 3 sg. *uttiṭṭhe* DhP 168.

2. The stem *ṭhā-* (according to Cl. II) formed by analogy with roots like *yā* (Pāli *yāti*): ind. 3 sg. *uṭṭhāti* Dīp 1,53, *samṭhāti* Pp 31,24, *adhiṭṭhāti* A II 45,10; impv. 2 sg. *uṭṭhāhi* Th 411; 3 sg. *uṭṭhātu* Ja III 297,15*.

3. The stem *ṭhāya-* (Cl. IV.) formed after roots like *dhyā* (Pāli *jhāyati*): ind. 1 sg. *ṭhāyāmi* Th 888.

4. The stem *ṭhaha-* formed by analogy with the stem *daha* of the

root *dhā*: ind. 1 pl. *upaṭṭhahāma* Ja III 120,26; 3 pl. *vuṭṭhahanti* Mhv 5.124; impv. 2 sg. *adhīṭṭhaha* Vin I 183,2, *vuṭṭhatha* Sn 331; opt. 3 sg. *samuṭṭhahe* Ja III 156,12* and *saṃṭhaheyya* S V 329,9, *adhīṭṭhaheyya* Vin I 125,21; 2 pl. *uṭṭhaheyyātha* S I 217,18.

5. The stem *the-* in ind. (and impv.) 1 pl. *adhīṭṭhema* Vin IV 23,24; impv. 2 sg. *uṭṭhehi*, (by analogy with *dehi* forms from *dā*) S I 198,7*; 2 pl. *uṭṭhetha* Ja VI 44,1*.

¹In Pkt the corresponding stem is *vīṭṭha-* in Māh., AMg, JMāh. There are also the stems *thā-*, *thāya-* and *the-*; 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. *saṃyamāmase* S I 209,27), not *yaccha-* as in Skt.

2. To Skt *daśati* (from the root *daś-*) corresponds *ḍasati* (§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' = *kṣati* (beside *kassati* after Cl. I = *karṣati*: cf. impv. 2 pl. *apakassatha* Sn 281); *khīpati* 'hurls' = *kṣīpati*; *tudati* 'goads' Ja I 500,18* = *tudati*; *disati* 'directs' = *diśati*; *nudati* 'presses' Sn 480 = *nudati*; *pucchati* 'asks' = *prcchati*; *phusati* 'touches' = *spṛsati* (ind. 1 sg. *phusāmi* Dhp 272; impv. 2 sg. *phusāhi* Th 212; opt. 3 pl. *phuseyya* Dhp 133. On the other hand opt. 3 sg. *phasse*¹ Sn 967 after Cl. I, and impv. 2 sg. *phusehi* Thī 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. *ākirasi* Sn 665; opt. 3 pl. *parikireyyam* 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 *saṃphāsai* in Hem. 4.182. See Pischel (§486).

²In agreement with Pkt; see Pischel (§497).

§ 135. 1. Corresponding to Skt *icchati* from the root *iṣ* '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 *acchati* 'sits, remains' is perhaps an old inchoative formation related to the root *ās* in the same way as *icchati* is to *iṣ*.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. *acchatam* Ja VI 506,8*.

3. Roots which show nasal stems in the pres. in Skt² do the same also in Pāli. Thus *muñcati* 'liberates', *limpati* 'besmears', *lumpati* 'robs', *vindati* 'finds' (*nibbindati* 'feels disgust'), *siñcati* 'pours out' (the same forms also in Skt), *kantati* 'cuts' = *kṛntati*. Cf. *sumbhati*, *sumhati* 'strikes' (§60): opt. 1 sg. *nisumbheyyam* Thī 302.

¹Pischel (§480) derives the verb and the forms corresponding to it in Pkt from *ṛcchati*. This is, however, impossible on account of the meaning. See, *ibid.*, the various attempts to explain the forms by Ascoli, Childers, E. Müller, Trencner, Torp, E. Kuhn, Johannson. Cf. also Johannson, 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 Mah., JMāh., AMg (Pischel

[§485]), are rare in Pāli, but note *pisīyati* 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-līyati* It 43,14, *ni-līyati* Ja I 292,18) = *ā-līyate*, the root *lī*. In the case of roots ending in a consonant the *y* is assimilated to the preceding consonant. Thus *ijjhati* 'flourishes' = *ṛdhyati*; *kujjhati* 'is angry' = *krudhyati*; *kuppati* 'is angry' = *kupyati*; *gijjhati* 'is eager' = *gṛdhyati*; *naccati* 'dances' = *nṛtyati*; *nassati* 'is destroyed' = *naśyati*; *saṃnayhati* 'girds up, prepares' = *saṃnahyati*; *āpajjati* 'gets involved in something' and many other cpds of the root *pad* = *āpadyate*; *bujjhati* 'wakes up, perceives' = *budhyate*; *maññati* 'thinks' = *manyate*; *yujjhati* 'fights' = *yudhyate*; *sussati* 'dries up' = *śuśyati*. Also *siniyhati* (§ 49.1) As 192,31 = *snihyati*. 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 *bhraṣ*); *rajjati* 'takes delights in something' S IV 74,21* = *rajjyati* (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* Dh-p-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 *suppati*, *soppati* (§ 10) S I 107,19*.³

3. To the Skt pres. *paśyate* from the root *darś* 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. *passa* Ja IV 240,29* and *passeyyam* Ja I 356,29; 2 sg. *passeyyāsi* M III 131,1; 3 sg. *passa* Dh-p 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* Dh-p-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. *ñāyāmi* 'I am mentioned' Mil 25,8, *vediyāmi* 'I feel' Vin III 37,25, *namassāmi* 'I

worship' Sn 1058, *aṭṭiyāmi* 'I suffer' D I 213,22; 2 sg. *vediyasi* M II 70,14; 3 sg. *sūyati* Ja I 72,1, and *suyyati* 'is heard' Ja IV 141,20*, *khīyati* 'weakens' Th 145; 1 pl. *jiyyāma* '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!' Bv II.118, *samādiyāhi* Thī 249; mid. *samādiyassu* 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. *vediyeyyam* M II 70,13; 3 sg. *upādiye* 'he should cling' Sn 400, *mucceyya* D I 72,8, *namasseyya* Dh-p 392, *hāyetha* 'may decrease' D I 118,3, *nīyetha*, *niyyetha* 'may be guided' Sn 327; pl. 3 *palujjeyyam* 'may they be destroyed' M I 488,29, *hāyeyyam* 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 *suppati* are denominatives, from *lagga* = Skt *lagna* and *suppa* = Skt *svapna*, respectively.

§ 137. The root *jar* (*ṣr̥*) '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* Dh-p 151; impv. 3 sg. *jīratu* Mhv 22,76) and *jīyati* (ind. 3 pl. *jīyanti* M III 168,9, mid. *jīyare* Ja VI 528,5*; opt. 3 sg. mid. *jīyetha* D II 63,27) and *jīyyati* M III 246,20 (*parijīyyati* Th 1215). Cf. § 52.5. From the root *śar* (*ṣr̥*) '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* Dh-p 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. *mareyyam* 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 *ā* 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 *vāyati* 'blows' beside *vāti*, Skt *vāti* (ind. 3 pl. *vāyanti* Ja VI 530,12*; also *nibbāyati* 'is extinguished' Ja I 61,3; opt. 3 sg. *nibbāyeyya* M I 487,23 beside *parinibbanti* DhP 126, *parinibbātu* D II 105,5). Similarly *yāyati* 'goes' beside *yāti*, Skt *yāti* (ind. 3 pl. *yāyanti* 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* (*viṣṣāyati* 'is extinguished' Vin I 31,29); *nahāyati* 'bathes' = *snāyati* beside *snāti*; *khāyati* 'becomes clear' (ind. 3 pl. *pakkhāyanti* D II 99,23 beside *pakkhanti* Th 1034) = *khyāyate*; *tāyati* 'protects' Sv 18,1 (impv. 2 sg. mid. *tāyassu* 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. *bhāyeyyūṃ* 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. *palāyantū* Ja II 90,17. Denominatives of the type *cirāyati*, *dhūpāyati* (also *sajjhāyati*) with forms like *gahāyati*, *phusāyati*, *saṃkasāyati* are to be grouped here as far as the form is concerned. Cf. § 186.

¹On *ghāyati* and *ṭhāyati* see § 132. The deviating forms become predominant in Pkt according to Pischel (§ 487).

²Cf. Māg., Ś. *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*, *pūjeti* 'worships' = *pūjayati*, particularly however denominatives like *katheti* 'relates' = *kathayati*, *gaṇeti* 'counts' = *gaṇayati*, *pattheti* 'begs' = *prārthayati* and the whole category of causatives. Similarly also *bhemi* 'I fear' S I 111,2* beside *bhāyāmi* 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*, *patthayāmi* 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; *āmantayāmi* 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.: *ṭhayapayāma* D I 120,33, mid. *ujjhāpayāmase* 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*; *nīyādayāhi* Thī 323; mid. *parivajjayassu* Vv 53,15.
 impv. 2 pl. mid.: *kappayavho* Sn 283.
 impv. 3 pl. *pālayantu* Ja II 34,13*.
 opt. 1 sg.: *papothayeyyaṃ* 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; *paññāpentī* 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; *pārentu* Ja II 34,25.
 opt. 1 sg.: *manteyyaṃ* Sn p. 107,6.
 opt. 2 sg.: *āroceyyāsi* M II 210,17; *dhāreyyāsi* Mil 47,25.
 opt. 3 sg.: *jāleyya* M II 203,20; *dasseyya* Mil 47,4.
 opt. 1 pl.: *saṃvejeyyāma* S I 146,35; *sādheyyāma* Ja II 236,25.
 opt. 2 pl.: *katheyyātha* Ud 11,18; *pāteyyātha* DhP-a III 201,8.
 opt. 3 pl.: *vāceyyūṃ* D I 97,14; *tāseyyūṃ* 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 *vādeti*) Sn 825; *bhajehi* 'worship!' occurs in Ja III 148,11* for the usual *bhaja*, *bhajāhi* (cty: *bhajeyyāsi*); to Skt *upahudati* corresponds Pāli *ūhadeti* 'defiles with dung'; *maññesi* pret. 2 sg. 'you thought' presupposes *maññeti* beside *maññati*; *gāheti*,² without any caus. sense (the caus. is *gāheti* Vin II 88,11), is the common side-form of *gaṇhāti* 'seizes'. Instead of the usual *akkhāhi* (§ 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; *āsati* '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 *stauti* (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. *yātha* Mhv 14,29 from the root *yā*. Similarly ind. 2 sg. *vāsi* Ja II 11,21; 3 pl. *payanti* 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. *ābhanti* 'they light up' Vv 6,10, *paṭibhanti* 'they become clear' Ja II 100,19 from the root *bhā*.

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 *nī*, *ji* (§ 131), or to that of *e* stems (according to § 139) as the case may be. Examples are numerous: ind. 1 sg. *pacceṃi* D I 186,1; 2 sg. *pacceṃi* D I 185,33, *pacceṃi* Dhp 125; 1 pl. *pacceṃa* 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 *neti* to *neti*) the 3 pl. *seti* 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. *samūhantu* 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 Jīnālamkāra 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>siyaṃ</i> , <i>assaṃ</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>siyaṃ</i> , <i>assu</i>

The mid. forms in the ind., occurring only in the Gāthā language, are innovations on the analogy of *labhāma*; *labhāmase*, *labhanti*: *labhante*. In the opt. the forms *siyaṃ*, *siyā*, *siyaṃ* correspond to Skt *syām*, *syāt*, *syus*; the form *siyaṃsu* M II 239,4 in the 3 pl. is remarkable. It is a new formation replacing *siyaṃ*, just as in the aor. there is *addasaṃsu* beside *addasum*. The forms *assaṃ*, etc., are derived from the strong stem like Greek ἄνδρα. 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 *bhavatīhoṭi*. Quite frequently *atthi* is used, also with a plural subject, as a fossilised form in the indefinite sense of 'there is', e.g. Dh-p-a I 41,25.

2. In the pres. form of the root *brū* the stem of the 1 pl. Skt *brūmas* 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 11,12.

¹The form *brūmi* may be found occasionally also in Skt. In Pkt we have AMg ind. 1 pl. *būma*, impv. 2 sg. *būhi*. In AMg the ind. 1 sg. is *bemi*, 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* Dh-p 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. *jaheyyaṃ* Ja I 153,1; 2 sg. *pajaheyyāsi* S IV 350,23; 3 sg. mid. *jahetha* (§ 129). The stem *jahā-* in 3 sg. *jahāti* Sn 1, *pajahāti* 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 *dahāsi*, *dahāti* (§ 123) are older. From the stem *daha-* we have ind. 1 sg. *samādahāmi* M I 116,15; 2 sg. *saddahasi* S IV 298,12; 3 sg. *saṃdahati* Mil 40,29; 1 pl. *saddahāma* 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. *saddaheyyāma* Mil 330,2; 3 pl. *saddaheyyuṃ* S II 255,26. The root *dhā*, however, also takes the *e*-inflection, particularly in the Gāthā language¹: ind. 1 sg. *samādhemi* Thī 50; 3 pl. *odhenti* Th 1233; impv. 2 sg. *puṇidhehi* Thī 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* Dh-p 39 and *jāgaramāna* Dh-p 226. From the second there is ind. 1 sg. *paṭijaggāmi* Ja I 438,30; 3 sg. *ḷagati* A III 156,9; 3 pl. *jagganti* A III 156,7; opt. 3 sg. *paṭijaggeyya* Dh-p 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. *jūhato* Sn 428. *Jūh-* may be derived also from *juvh-* = *juhv-* (Skt 3 pl. *juhvatī*).

§ 143. The pres. forms of the root *dā* 'to give' have had a varied development. There are found:

(a) the stems *dudā-* and *dada-*: ind. 1 sg. *dadāmi* Sn 421; 2 sg. *dadāsi* Mhv 10,50; 3 sg. *dadāti* D I 103,23; 1 pl. *dadāma* Th 475, mid. *dadamhase* Ja III 47,3*, 3 pl. *dadanti* Vv 44,25; impv. 2 sg. *dada* Ja III 412,6* and *dadāhi* Ja III 109,14*; 1 pl. mid. *dadāmase* Ja III 131,15*; 2 pl. *dudātha* Vv 44,19; opt. 1 sg. *dadeyyaṃ* 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. *dadema* Ja VI 317,16* and *dadeyyāma* M II 116,23; 2 pl. *dadeyyātha* Ja III 171,16; 3 pl. *dadeyyuṃ*.

(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* Thī 49; 3 sg. *detu* Ja II 104,8; 2 pl. *detha* Ja II 103,22; 3 pl. *dentu* Mhv 5,179; opt. 1 sg. *dēyyaṃ* 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. *dammī* 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. *dajjāsi* 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. *vajjāsi* 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 *vajjāsi* by *vadeyyāsi* at Thī-a 228.6.

¹Cf. Childers, PD, s.v. *dajjati*; E. Kuln, Beitr., p. 105. The form *dajjami* 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 *nuñcati*, etc., discussed in § 135.3. Cf. *kantati* 'spins' (root *kart*, *kṛṇatti*); *chindati* 'cuts off' (root *chid*, *chinatti*); *bhañjati* 'breaks' (root *bhaj*, *bhanakti*); *bhindati* 'splits' (root *bhid*, *bhinatti*); *bhuñjati* 'enjoys' (root *bhuj*, *bhunakti*); *yuñjati* 'joins' (root *yuj*, *yunakti*); *riñcati* 'leaves' (root *ric*, *riṇakti*); *rundhati* (cf. § 60) 'surrounds' (root *rudh*, *ruṇaddhi*); *himsati* 'injures' (root *hims*, *hinasti*). Here is a combined paradigm:

ind. 1 sg. *bhuñjāmi* Sn p. 12.12;
2 sg. *niyuñjāsi* Th 1114, *himsasi* 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, *chindāhi* Ja III 184.17,
mid. *yuñjassu* Thī 5;
3 sg. *bhunjatu* Sn 479;
2 pl. *anuyuñjatha* D II 141.22.

opt. 1 sg. *paribhuñjeyyam* Sn p. 92.15.
3 sg. *chinde* DhP 370, *himseyya* Sn 368, *chindeyya* Ja III 65.1,
mid. *bhuñjetha* DhP 70;
3 pl. *sambhañjeyyam* S I 123.26, *chindeyyam* 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. *paṭisaṃyuje* 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 *jñā* (*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. *jānāmuse* Vv 84.47; 2 pl. *jānātha* Thī 346; 3 pl. *jānanti* Sn 441; impv. 2 sg. *jānāhi* Thī 59, mid. *pajānassu* D II 243.20*; 3 sg. *jānātu* It 28.9; 2 pl. *jānātha* Ja II 250.24; 3 pl. *jānantu*.

(b) From the stem *jāna-*¹ there exist ind. 3 sg. *avajānati* Sn 132.438 (metri causa?); 3 pl. mid. *-jānare* Sn 601; impv. 2 sg. *jāna* S IV 374.13, *vijāna* Sn 1091 (*vijānāhi* under influence of metre Ja III 32.7*); 2 pl. *jānatha* DhP-a III 438.14. Note in this connection also *vikkīnatha* 'sell!' Ja I 121.20 (for the *ī* as against Skt *krīṇāti* see § 21). For *jīnāti* 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. *jāneyyāma* Mil 330.4 and *jānemu* S I 34.11*; 2 pl. *jāneyyātha* M II 215.22; 3 pl. *jāneyyam* 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 *jāneyya*. This type is analogical,

formed after the opt. *dajjaṃ* from *dadāmi*. The form *jāniyāma* Sn 873 is very probably historical and the same as Skt *jāniyāma*.

¹ Similarly there are found in JMāh., AMg *jāṇasi*, *jāṇai*, *jāna* beside *jāṇasi*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 510). Also Māh. *vikkiṇai*, AMg *kiṇai*, Ś. impv. *kiṇadha*; see Pischel (§ 511). In some Pkt dialects also the root *bhaṭ* follows the analogy of stems of Cl. IX, e.g. Ś. *bhaṇāsi* (see Pischel [§ 514]); this does not seem to have been the case in Pāli.

§ 146. Similarly:

2. The root *grah* (*grhṇāti*) 'to seize' has side by side the stems *gaṇhā-* and *gaṇha-*:

(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, *paṭigaṇhātu* Sn 479 (for metrical reasons *paṭiggahātu* Ja I 495.2*).

(b) From *gaṇha-*: ind. 3 sg. *gaṇhati* Ja I 303.23; impv. 2 sg. *gaṇha* 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. *gaṇhatha* Ja I 111.17 or *gaṇhātha* M I 459.6. The opt. is *gaṇheyyaṃ* Ja I 255.9. For *gaṇāyati* 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. *abhinimmineyyāma* 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 153.7³; opt. 3 pl. *bandheyyuṃ* 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 *cinā-* in compounds. Cf. ind. 2 sg. *pacināsi* Ja III 22.2³; 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 *hinā-* as against Skt *hinoti*. Thus ind. 3 pl. *pahiṇanti* D II 321.1; impv. 3 sg. *pahiṇatu* Dhp-a III 34.24; opt. 2 pl. *pahineyyātha* Dhp-a III 318.8.

3. From the root *dhū* 'to shake' there are, as against Skt *dhūnoti* (in Dhātup. also *dhunāti*), the stems *dhūnā-* or *dhūnā-*. Cf. ind. 3 pl. *dhunanti* Thī 276, *o-saṃ-nid-dhunanti* D II 336.19; impv. 2 sg. *niddhunāhi* Th 416, 1 pl. *dhunāma* Th 1147; 2 pl. *dhunātha* Sn 682, *o-saṃ-nid-dhunātha* D II 336.17. Also ind. 3 sg. *vidhūnati* Ja II 90.1; impv. 2 pl. *vidhūnatha* Ja I 335.9.

4. The two stems *suṇo-* and *suṇā-* are derived from the root *śru* (*śṛṇoti*) '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 443.22³; 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. *suṇanti* S I 114.31, Ja II 24.12; impv. 2 sg. *suṇa* Thī 404 and *suṇāhi* Sn p. 21.20; 3 sg. *suṇātu* Vin I 56.10; 1 pl. *suṇāma* Sn 354; 2 pl. *suṇātha* II 41.15³; 3 pl. *suṇantu* Sn 222; opt. 1 sg. *suṇeyyaṃ* Ud 48.32; 3 sg. *suṇe* Ja IV 240.29³ and *suṇeyya* Sn 325; 1 pl. *suṇemu* Vv 53.23 (according to Vv-a 242.16), and *suṇeyyāma* M II 90.18.

¹ The 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) *sakkuṇā*¹ after Cl. IX (with svarabhakti) whence opt. 2 sg. *sakkuṇeyyāsi* Ja III 301.22; 3 sg. *sakkuṇeyya* Ja I 361.6; 1 pl. *sakkuṇemu* Ja V 24.26* or *sakkuṇeyyāmu* M I 457.22. (c) ind. 1 and 2 sg. *sakkāmi*, *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* Dhṛp 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* Thī 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. *pariyāpuṇātha* 'learn!' S I 50.13.

¹The form expected is *sakuṇa-*; the *kk* is probably taken from the form *sakko-*, which was in living use. Also in Pkt *sakkaṇomī* and *sakkuṇomī* 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' Dhṛp 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-tthanati* and *-tthanayati* 'thunders' (§ 52.2) Ja I 332.1* = *stanati*, *stanayati* after Cl. X, just as beside *munāti* there is *maññati* after Cl. IV. The forms are: ind. 3 sg. *anutthunāti* Sn 827; 3 pl. *thunanti* Sn 884, *anutthunanti* Sn 901, *nitthunanti* Vv-a 224.1. Cf. also the part. pres. sg. nom. *anutthunam* 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-*), Dhṛp-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. *karothu* Thī 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. *vikubbeyya* Dīp 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. *kāratī*. 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* Dhṛp 42 and *kareyya* Sn 920; 1 pl. *kareyyāma* S I 58.14; 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. *kayirā* (from **karyā*, §§ 47.2, 129A.1) Dhṛp 42 (for metrical reasons *kayirā* Ja IV 127.8*); 2 pl. *kayirātha* Dhṛp 25. (e) The stem *kuru-*, abstracted from ind. 3 sg. mid. *kurute* Dhṛp 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 **kumma* = *kurmas*.

¹For the suggestion that *munāti* 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. *kurvejja*; see Pischel (§ 508). Forms like Māh. *kuṇai*, *kuṇa*, 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 *kareī*.

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 *-āmi*, also *-am*;¹ in 1 pl. there is *-ma* instead of *-mas*. For type I the paradigm may be shown by *dassāmi* (vowel root) = *dāsyāmi* and *lacchāmi* = *lapsyāmi* (consonant root), for type II by *karissāmi* = *karīsyāmi*.

	Ia	Ib	II
sg. 1.	<i>dassāmi, dassam</i>	<i>lacchāmi, 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>lacchāma</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. *gamissase* '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; *hāhasi* 'you will forsake' Ja III 172.26* and *vihāhisi* Ja I 298.26* from the root *hā*; *palehiti* 'he will fly' Th 307 from *palāy-*; *ehisi* 'you will go' Dhp 236; *ehiti* 'he will come' Ja II 153.18*; *karihiti* 'he will do' Thī 424. Other examples in § 151 (at the end) and § 153. 1. On the *i* after *h*, cf. § 19.1.

¹As 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); *ṭhassati* 'he will stand' D I 46.10 = *sthāsyati* (3 pl. *ṭhassanti* 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*; *upaññissam* from the root *ñā* 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; *upaṭṭhissam* 'I shall serve' Ja VI 523.19*. The change into *e* is rarer: *hessāmi*, *-āma* from the root *hā* Ja IV 415.19*.

1. Roots in *u*: *soṣṣāmi* 'I shall hear' S I 210.9* = *śroṣyāmi* (2 sg. *soṣṣati* for *soṣṣasi* § 65.2; 3 sg. *soṣṣati* 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* = *jeṣyasi*; *nessāmi* 'I shall lead' Ja I 222.23 = *neṣyāmi* (2 pl. *nessatha* Dhp 179); *pacessati* 'he will collect' Dhp 44 = *ceṣyati* (beside *pacissati* Ja III 22.4* according to § 15); *essāmi* 'I shall go' Ja VI 365.5, *essasi* Ja VI 365.6, *essati* Dhp 369, *essanti* Dhp 86 = *eṣyāmi*, etc. Similarly of compounds: *pacessam* Vin I 255.24, *samessati* S IV 379.19, *samessanti* IV 70.12. Also verbs which have an *e* stem in pres. take after this type. Thus *nidhessāmi* '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 *śī* as against Skt *śaiṣyate*. (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, *saṃgāmessāmi* 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. *vassāpessatha* 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 *sambhoti* *sambhossāma* Mhv 5.100, from *pahoti* '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 futures like AMg *saṃ-dhissāmi*, *pari-hissāmi*; see Pischel (§ 530).

²In Pkt cf. Māh. *hossam*.

³Cf. Pkt *hohimi*, *hohisi*, *hohii*; 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 *śak* '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 *sakkhī* (for **sakkhisi*) Ja V 126.5*; also *sagghasi* with voicing of intervocalic consonants (§ 61.1). From the root *vac* 'to speak': 1 sg. *vakkhāmi* Ja I 346.2 = *vakṣyāmi*; 3 sg. *vakkhati* S I 142.32; 1 pl. *vakkhāma* S IV 72.9; 3 pl. *vakkhanti* Vin II 1.21. From the root

bhuj 'to enjoy': *bhokkham* Ja IV 127,20* = *bhoksyāmi*. 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 = *bhetsyati*. From the root *labh* 'to attain': 1 sg. *lacchāmi* 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 *vis* '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 *darś* 'to see': 1 sg. *dakkham* Th 1099 = *draksyāmi*; 2 sg. *dakkhasi* S I 116,11* and *dakkhisi* Thī 232; 3 sg. *dakkhati* S II 255,23 and *dakkhiti* Sn 909; 3 pl. *dakkhinti* Vin I 16,34. The forms *mokkhasi* Vin I 21,18* and *mokkhanti* Dhp 37 from the root *muc* = *moksyasi*, *moksyanti* 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 *dakkhissam* (instead of *-issam* for metrical reasons) Thī 84 (Thī-a 89,19; *passissam*); 2 sg. *dakkhissasi* M III 5,10; 1 pl. *dakkhissāma* Ja III 99,7* (cty: *dakkhissāma*); 2 pl. *dakkhissatha* M II 60,5. Similarly 1 sg. *sakkhissāmi* 'I shall be able to' Ja I 290,7; 2 sg. *sakkhissasi* Vin III 19,33; 3 sg. *sakkhissati* Dhp-a III 176,4; 1 pl. *sakkhissāma* Ja II 129,5; 2 pl. *sakkhissatha* Dhp-a III 80,7; 3 pl. *sakkhissanti* 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 *sak*.³

¹Analogous futures in Pkt are *daccham*, *moccham*, *vaccham*, *checcham*, *bhoccham*, etc.; see Pischel (§§ 525, 526, 529, 532).

²Cf. Māh. *dacchihisi* in Pischel (§ 525).

³The verb form *paveccati* '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, *kassāmi* Th 1138 (in the same verse *karissāmi*!) from the root *kar* 'to do'. Instead of *kassam* there is also *kāsum* Ja IV 287,13*, and this leads easily over to the forms 1 sg. *kāhāmi* Th 103; 2 sg. *kāhasi* Dhp 154; 3 sg. *kāhati* Ja II 443,14* and *kāhiti* Ja VI 497,2*; 1 pl. *kāhāma* Vv 84,37; 3 pl. *kāhanti* Ja VI 510,3*

and *kāhinti*¹ Thī 509. From the root *har* with *vi* 'to sojourn, live' we have *vihassam* Th 1091 = **viharsyāmi*; 3 sg. *vihassati* S I 157,1*. Then with *h* 2 sg. *vihāhisi* Dhp 379, and also the simplex 3 sg. *hāhiti* Ja VI 300,6*. Instead of *a* we have *i* in the root syllable in 1 sg. *vihissāmi* Thī 181; 1 pl. *vihissāma* Thī 121; also 1 sg. *āhissam* 'I shall bring in' Ja VI 323,7* (cty: *āharissāmi*); and further *e* in *vihessati*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. *patihañkhāmi* S IV 104,26 (= **hanṅsyāmi*?); *hanṅhati* Ja IV 102,9* (cty: *hanissati*); the opt. *hanṅchema* Ja II 418,11 (cty: *hanissāma*) proves that the fut. meaning of the stem *hanṅch-* 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 *ahañham*.³

¹The corresponding forms in Pkt are *kāham*, *kāhisi*, *kāhi*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 533).

²The forms of the root *har* have thus coincided with those of the root *hā*. Cf. §§ 150, 151.

³Franko, D. trsl., p. 180, note 7, adopts for the passage D II 72,6,19 the very plausible reading *āhañh' ime Vajjī* (= *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 *pāhim* (Ull. 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*, *atissāmi* Sn 970 = *aṣiṣyāmi*, *khādissāmi* Ja III 52,19 = *khādiṣyāmi*; 2 sg. *karissasi* Ja III 54,25 = *karisyasi*, *harissasi* Ja VI 364,26 = *harisyasi*; 3 sg. *jayissati* (beside *jessati*) Ja. II 252,15* = *jayiṣyati* (beside *jesyati*); *nayissati* Vin I 43,17* = *nayiṣyati* (beside *nesyati*), *hanissati* Ja IV 102,25 = *haniṣyati*; 1 pl. *yācissāma* Vin II 196,36 = *vasiṣyāmas*, *vasissāma* Mhv 14,26 = *vasiṣyāmas* (beside *vatsyāmas*); 2 pl. *labhissatha* Ja III 126,24 = *labhiṣyatha* (beside *lapsyatha*), *pubbajissatha* Mhv 6,199 = *pravrajisyatha*; 3 pl. *gamissantī* Sn 445 = *gamniṣyanti*, *samanumodissantī* M I 398,9 = *modiṣyante*, etc.

2. The forms *bhavissāmi*, etc. = *bhaviṣyāmi*, 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. *hessaṃ* Th 1100 and *hessāmi* Thī 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 = *bandhayiṣyāmi*; *pālayissāmi* 'I shall protect' Ja IV 129,15 form their fut. after type II; 1 sg. *titikkhissaṃ* Dhp 320, *vīmaṃsiṣṣāmi* Ja I 390,17, *caṅkamissāmi* Th 540; 1 pl. *sussūsiṣṣāma* S II 267,21; 3 pl. *sussūsiṣṣanti* 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, *tiṭṭhissāmi* M III 129,13, *vuṭṭhahissāmi* Mhv 36,76; 2 sg. *pivissasi* Ja VI 365,8, *nisīdissasi* A IV 301,19; 3 sg. *nisīdissati* Vin I 9,4, *paṭiṭṭhahissati* Dhp-a III 171,21; 1 pl. *upaṭṭhahissāma* Dhp-a IV 7,15; *pivissāma* Ja I 99,8; 2 pl. *pivissatha* Vin I 78,7; 3 pl. *vuṭṭhahissanti* D II 74,6.

With reference to § 133: 1 sg. *gacchissāmi* Ja III 10,3, *gacchissaṃ* 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 *pavisissāmi* Ja III 86,7, *ādissāmi* Thī 308, *pucchissāmi* Sn p. 32,1, *phusissaṃ* 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. *siñcissanti* 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. *āpajjhissatha* M I 124,28; 3 pl. *kujjhissanti* Dhp-a III 101,6, *naccissanti* Vin II 12,22.

With reference to § 136,3: 1 sg. *passissāmi* Vin I 97,25, Ja I 62,12; 2 sg. *passissasi* Vin I 97,24; 3 sg. *passissati* Ud. 40,28; 1 pl. *passissāma* Ja II 213,8, etc.

With reference to § 136,4: 1 sg. *vihaññissaṃ* Th 386; 3 sg. *paññāyissati* Ja I 484,23, *niyyissati* A V 195,10, *sūyissati* S IV 344,22, *khīyissati* Ja I 290,4; 1 pl. *muccissāma* Ja I 434,20; 2 pl. *muccissatha* Dhp-a III 242,14.

With reference to § 137: 3 sg. *jiyyissati* 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. *gāyissanti* Vin II 12,22, etc. 1 sg. *palāyissāmi* Ja II 247,23 (also *sajjhāyissāmi* Ja II 243,12 with reference to § 188, 1).

¹It is significant that in the eties 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*, *vacchati* 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 *pamuñce*.

§ 156. The athematic conjugation.

1. Cl. III. With reference to § 142: 1 sg. *jahissami* Ja IV 415,19*, Ja IV 420,26, *saddahissāmi* Mīl 148,31, *paṭijaggissāmi* 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, *paṭijaggissatha* Dhp-a IV 10,15, etc.

2. Cl. VIII. With reference to § 144: 1 sg. *bhañjissaṃ* Th 1095, (*pari*-)*bhuñjissāmi* 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. *jānissāmi* Ja III 53,22.

vikkiṇissāmi 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. *anujānissāma* M II 57,5; 3 pl. *samanujānissanti* M I 398,8.

With reference to § 146: 1 sg. *gaṇhissāmi* Ja I 222,24; 2 sg. *gaṇhissasi* Ja I 222,24; 3 sg. *gaṇhissati* Ja III 280,22; 1 pl. *gaṇhissāma* Ja II 104,9; 2 pl. *gaṇhissatha* Ja II 197,17, etc.

4. Cl. V and IX. With reference to § 147: 1 sg. *suṇissāmi* Dhp-a III 195,10; 2 sg. *suṇissasi* Dhp-a III 195,9; 1 pl. *sakkuṇissāma* Ja II 415,22; 2 pl. *suṇissatha* Dhp-a I 97,11, *pāpuṇissatha* Ja I 253,26; 3 pl. *pāpuṇissanti* 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*¹) 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*; *āpajjissa* 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*, *pāpuṇissa*, *paṭiṭṭhahissa* 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. *abhavissamsu* 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', *āpajjissatha* '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. II, 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 *sammucchissatha*. Not so R.O. Franke, WZKM, 8, p. 327.

4. Aorist

§ 158. The aor. of Pāli 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: *udaṃ* 'I gave', *agā* 'he went'. Also *acc-agā*, *samajjh-agam* (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 Gāthā language we have still *apucchimsu* 'they asked' beside *pucchimsu*; but the forms which later predominate and finally take over completely are *desesiṃ* '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. Pālie, p. 88, § 220.

§ 159. The different types of aor. ¹ may be classified according to their origin.

Type I. Example: the root *dā* 'to give'.

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>adam</i> Ja III 41,10*	(<i>adamha</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, 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, asicas, asicat ... asican*) or the thematic impf. (*asiñcam*, etc.). The endings *-amha, -attha* are taken from type III. But there occur also the endings *-āma, -atha*: *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>akattha</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.: *aśrausam, akārṣam; aśrauṣis, akārṣis; aśrauṣit, akārṣit; aśrauṣma, akārṣma; uśrauṣta, akārṣta; aśrauṣus, 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 *-mha* = *ṣta*, instead of the expected *-mtha*, 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 255,26*; a new formation based on this *pāpattha* is to be found in the 1 sg. *pāpattham* 'I fell' Ja VI 16,29*; *mā laddhā* 'she should not receive' Ja III 138,21* (cty: *mā latthā ti*) = Skt *alabdha*, but also *alattha*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>agamisaṃ, agamiṃ</i> Th 9	<i>agamimha</i> S I 202,33*
2.	<i>agami</i> Sn 339	<i>agamittha</i> Ja I 263,4
3.	<i>agami</i> D II 264,9	<i>agamisum, agamiṃsu</i> Ja II 416,23

This type is derived from the Skt *iṣ*-aor. *abhodiṣam, abodhūs, abodhūt, abodhiṣma, abodhiṣta, abodhiṣus*. The form *agamiṃ* is derived from the Ved. 'contracted' forms such as *akramīm, avadhīm*.⁴ Instead of *-isaṃ* 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, -iṃsu* 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 *abravi*

Sn 355 and *abruvī* Ja III 62,20* 'he spoke' = *abravīt* (its 1 sg. is then *abraviṃ* Cp 2.6.8; 3 pl. *abraviṃ* Ja V 112,30*). Also *āsī* 'he was' Sn 286 = *āsī* (its 1 sg. *āsiṃ*, *āsi* Th 157, but 1 pl. *āsum* Thī 224; 3 pl. *āsum* Sn 284). mid. forms: 2 sg. *-ittho* = *iṣṭhās*: *mā paṭisevīttho* 'do not expose yourself (to poison!)' Ja IV 222,9*, *pucchittho* 'you asked' D II 284,2, *amaññittho* Th 280 (cf. Ja II 29,17*), *vihaññittho* Th 385; 3 sg. *-ittha* = *iṣṭu*: *pucchittha* Mhv 17,33; *mā jiyittha* 'may it not disappear' Ja I 468,2*; *sandiittha* 'flowed' (root *syand*) D II 129,33; *mā vo āvuso evaṃ rucittha* 'may it not please you to do so!' Dhp-a I 13,23. From passive stems: *sūyittha* 'was heard' Dhp-a I 16,3; *adissittha* 'showed himself' Th 170, *dīyittha* '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.

¹In Pkt only AMg has retained aor. forms; see Pischel (§§ 516 foll.).

²Macdonell, Ved. Gr., §412a.

³The change of the voiced group into an unvoiced one is explained by the influence of forms like *upattha* 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 *itth* instead of *itḥ* are found also in Pkt. Cf. AMg *sevitthā*, *bhuñjitthā*. 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. *ajjhagaṃ* Th 405, *adhigaṃ* Thī 122, *samajjhagaṃ* S I 103,10; 2 sg. *ajjhagā* Vv 34,7; 3 sg. *agā* Sn 538, *ajjhagā* D I 223,3; 3 pl. *ajjhagū* Ja I 256,7*, *upaccagūṃ* A I 142,21*. To these belongs also the 1 pl. *āgamhā* Sn 597, although formally of type III.

2. The root *sthā* 'to stand': 3 sg. *aṭṭhā* Sn 429 = *asthāt*.

3. The root *bhū* 'to be': 1 sg. *ahuṃ* Ja III 411,5*, as against Skt *abhūvam* on the analogy of *adam*; 2 sg. *ahū* Thī 57 = *abhūs*; 3 sg. *ahū* Dhp 228, *ahud-eva* S IV 350,12 = *abhuūt*; 3 pl. *ahū*, *ahuṃ* D II 256,8* as against Skt *abhūvan* on the analogy of *adam*. As for 1 pl. there is *ahuṃ* Thī 225. The form *ahumha* belongs to § 163,3.

4. The form *akā* 'did' Ja V 29,2* (cty: *akāsi*) = Ved. *akar* is also historical. On the analogy of *adā*: *adam* there was formed 1 sg. *akaṃ* Ja V 160,1* (cty: *akarim*) to *akā*. Similarly *assuṃ* 'I heard' Ja III 542,1*, *assu* 'you heard' Ja III 541,10* (cty: *assosiṃ*, *assosi*) presupposes 3 sg. **assu* = Ved. *aśrot*. Also historical are 3 sg. *addā* 'he saw' Th 1244 = Ved. *adrāk*, and 3 pl. *āgu* (root *gā* + *ā*) D II 258,8 = *āguḥ* (new formation 3 sg. *āga* D II 258,20 on the analogy of *āhu*: *āhu*), and perhaps *pāvā* Sn 782 from root *vac* + *pra*.¹

¹For the suggestion that *pāvā* is perhaps based upon a Skt imperfect form *prāvak(t)*, 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. *kasam* 'I ploughed', *pavapaṃ* 'I sowed' Thī 112, *pāpataṃ* 'I fell' Ja V 70,12*; *amaññam* 'I thought' Ja V 215,6*, *adadam* 'I gave' Vv 34,8; 2 sg. with primary ending *apucchasi* 'you asked' Sn 1050; 3 sg. *papatā* 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' Thī 143. Moreover 3 sg. mid. *ajāyatha* 'originated' Dīp 5,40, *samapajjatha* 'became' Ja V 71,30*, *upapajjatha* 'originated' Th 30, *abhassatha* 'fell down' Sn 449, *samakampatha* 'shook' Ja VI 570,12*, *abhāsatha* 'said' Vism 312,34*.¹

(b) The forms in 2 sg. with the ending *-o* are aor. forms: *mā pamādu* 'do not tire!' Dhp 371; ²*āsado* 'you came in, reached' Ja I 414,0*; 3 sg. *abhida* 'broke to pieces' Ja III 29,17* or *abbhidā* Ja I 247,39* =

abhida, *acchida* 'tore asunder' Sn 357, *āsadā* Th 774; 3 pl. *acchidum* S I 35,14.

2. A remarkable innovation³ has taken its origin from the middle forms *alattha*, *pāpattha* 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. *alatthamhu* 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*.

¹See Gombrich, 1988, p. 170.

²For original *pāmado*. See Brough, 1962, p. 194.

³See 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. *ākaram* etc.: 1 sg. *akaram* Ja III 206,21*; 2 sg. *akarā* Ja III 135,17*; 3 sg. *akarā* 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 *draś*: 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* Thī 124 and *avoca* Thī 494; 1 pl. *avacumha* and *avocumhā* 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.

¹Cf. 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. *abbhaññāsīm* Vin III 5,23; 3 sg. *aññāsī* Sn 540; 3 pl. *abbhaññāsum* S IV 11,30 or *abbhaññāmsu* D II 150,31 or (under the influence of type IV) *aññimsu* Ja III 303,17. Also 3 sg. *pāyāsī* D II 73,8; 3 pl. *abhiyamsu* S I 216,10 and *pāyimsu* D II 96,24 from the root *yā* 'to go' (*ayāsīt*); 3 sg. *pahāsī* Sn 1057 from the root *hā* 'to leave' (*ahāsīt*). Similarly from the root *dā* 'to give': 1 sg. *adāsīm* Ja I 167,9; 2 sg. *adāsī*; 3 sg. *adāsī* Ja I 279,17; 1 pl. *adamha* Vv 65,4 and (with transfer to type IV) *adāsīmha* Thī 518; 2 pl. *adattha* Ja II 166,21; 3 pl. *adaṃsu* Ja I 22,9. From the root *sthā* 'to stand': 1 sg. *aṭṭhāsīm* Thī 73; 3 sg. *aṭṭhāsī*¹ Vin II 195,25; 3 pl. *aṭṭhamsu* 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. *pāmiṃsu* Th 469.

2. Aor. of roots in *ī*. From the root *nī* 'to lead' (*anaiṣīt*): 3 sg. *nesī* Ja V 281,23; 3 pl. *ānesum* Ja IV 137,22. From the root *ji* 'to conquer' (*ajaiṣīt*): 3 sg. *ajesī* Vin II 1,12. From the root *hi* 'to send' (*ahaiṣīt*): 3 sg. *pāhesī* 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. *śru* § 159.III. From the root *dhū* 'to shake' (*adhausīt*): 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. *ahosiṃ* Th 620; 2 sg. *ahosi* Ja I 107,9; 3 sg. *ahosi* Sn 835, *anubhosi* Ja III 112,24, *adhibhosi* 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. *adhibhosi* is to be explained on the analogy of *adaṃsu*.

4. Aor. of roots in *r*. Cf. *kar* § 159.III.³ From the root *har* 'to take away' (*ahārṣīt*): 1 sg. *pahāsīm* Thī 99, *vihāsīm* Th 513; 3 sg. *ahāsī* Dh 3, *pahāsī* Ja III 85,12*; 3 pl. *ahaṃsu* Ja V 200,6*, also *vihiṃsu* Th 925.

¹Cf. AMg *thāsi*; see Pischel (§ 516).

²AMg 3 sg. *ahesi*.

³AMg 2 sg. *akāsi*.

§ 164. Historical forms are preserved also by roots in mutes and sibilants. Thus 3 sg. *acchechi*¹ 'cut off' Sn 355 = *acchātsīt* from the root *chid*. In the same way, (*a*)*sakkhi* 'was able to do' D I 96,10, may be derived from **aśākṣīt* from the root *śak* (whence 2 sg. (*a*)*sakkhiṃ* Th 88; 2 sg. *asakkhi* Dh-p-a I 16,15); *akkocchi* 'howled' Dh-p 3 from **akraukṣīt* from the root *krus*; *pāvekkhi* 'entered' Ja III 460,2* from **pra-avaikṣīt* from the root *viś*. Old aor. forms of the root *darś* 'to see' (*adrākṣam*, *-kṣīs*, *-kṣīt*, *-kṣus*) are quite numerous: 1 sg. (*ad*)*dakkhiṃ* 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*: *adam* there was formed 1 sg. *addam* Ja III 380,6* (cty: *addasam*).

¹Also in S IV 205,17, 207,13, II 47,10 we have to read *acchechi taṇham*.

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* (cty: *addasa*), and also 1 sg. *addasāsiṃ* 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. *pivāsiṃ* 'I drank' Ud 42,14; 3 sg. *vīramāsi* '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 *ajesī*, *anesī* (§ 163.2) just as the *ā*- and *o*-stems form their aor. after *akāsi*, *assosi*. A few examples will suffice: 1 sg. *sesiṃ* 'I lay' Ja V 70,14* (from *seti* § 140.4), *vadesiṃ* 'I spoke' Dh-p-a III 174,16 (§ 139.2), *kathesiṃ* 'I related' Ja III 369,17 (§ 139.1), *cintesi(m)* 'I thought' Ja VI 570,19*, *kāresiṃ* 'I had ... made' Ja III 11,21; 2 sg. *vadesi* Dh-p-a III 173,21, *paccesi* M I 445,29 (from *eti* § 140.3); 3 sg. *pūjesi* '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, *saṃgāmesi* (§ 187.1) Ja V 417,17; 3 pl. *samesum* 'they assembled' Ja II 30,16, *pūjesum* Dīp 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. Aor.s 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. *aggahiṃ* Th 97 = Ved. *āgrabhīm*, 3 sg. *aggahī* Ja V 91,4* = *āgrabhūt*. Similarly from the root *kram* 'to stride' (*ākramiṣam*, *ākramīt*), 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. *pakkāmiṃ* Th 34, 3 sg. *pakkāmi* Vin I 8,10 and *pakkami* Mhv 19,56; 1 pl. *upasamkamimha* S IV 97,8, 3 pl. *pakkāmuṃ* Sn 1010 and *pakkamiṃsu* 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. *udapādiṃ* '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 *ucāriṣam*): 1 sg. (*a*) *cāri(m)* Th 428; 3 sg. *acāri* Dh-p 326; 3 pl. *acārisum* Sn 284. From the root *tar* 'to cross': 3 sg. *atāri* Sn 355 (= Ved. *ātārit*); 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. *acarimṣu* Sn 809, *vicarimṣu* Ja II 96,27 and *atarimṣu*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. *karimṣu* Ja II 352,8. Here are a number of forms, some of which are historical: 1 sg. (*a*) *labhiṃ* 'I attained' Th 218, *udikkhisam* 'I noticed' Th 268, *paccavekkhiṃ* 'I observed' Th 395 (cf. Skt *aikṣiṣṭa*), *nandissam*² 'I was pleased' S I 176,12* (Skt *anandīt*), *adassim* 'I saw' Cp 1.2.2, *saṃdhāvissam* 'I ran through' Th 78, *asevissam* 'I visited' Ja

IV 178.4* (Skt *aseviṣṭa*); 2 sg. *mā vadi* 'do not say!' Ja II 133.11; 3 sg. *vedī* 'he knew' DhP 419 (= *avedī*), *vandi* 'he praised' Sn 252, *vasī* 'he lived' Sn 977, *pabbaji* 'he left the life of the laity' D II 29.30 (but Skt *avrājī*), *pāvassi* 'poured rain' Sn 30 (Skt *avarṣī*); 1 pl. *paṭikkosimha* 'we disputed' M I 85.8, *labhimhā* D II 147.18, *āvasimhā* Vv 65.4, *avasimhase* Ja IV 98.14*; 3 pl. *khādiṃsu* 'they ate' Ja II 129.23, *avattiṃsu* 'they existed' Sn 298, *vaḍḍhiṃsu* 'they grew' (Skt *avardhiṣṭa*) Ja II 105.17, *paṭikkosiṃsu* 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. *abhiṣiṃsiṃ* Vv 81.18, *caṅkamim* Th 272; 3 pl. *sussūsiṃsu* Vin I 10.8.

¹ It is quite clear that the variation between *acāriṃsu* and *avarīṃsu* was partly determined by the word-rhythm.

² *ss* 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 *ī* form aor. IV from the uncontracted stem (aor. III from the contracted stem, § 165.2); 3 sg. *ānaya* Mhv 1.30 (beside *ānesi*); 1 pl. *ānayimha* Ja III 127.15, 3 pl. *ānayaṃsu* Ja IV 138.3 (beside *ānesum*). Also from the root *bhū*: 3 pl. *bhaviṃsu* DhP-a IV 15.5 (Skt *abhāvīṣus*) beside the (possibly contracted) form *ahesum*.

With reference to § 132: 1 sg. *nisīdiṃ* Thī 44, *paṭiṭṭhahim* Cp 3.7.3; 3 sg. *apivi* Mhv 6.21, *nisīdi* Vin I 1.8, *uṭṭhahi* Ja III 104.23, *adhiṭṭhahi* Th 113.1; 3 pl. *nisīdisum* Mhv 7.40 and *nisīdiṃsu* D I 118.28, *uṭṭhahiṃsu* Ja I 202.21.

With reference to § 133 I: 1 sg. *agacchisam* Th 258, *adhigacchissam* Sn 446, *upāgacchim* Thī 69; 3 sg. *āgacchi* Sn 379, *samāgacchi* Vin I 96.15; 2 pl. *upagacchittha* Mhv 5.101; 3 pl. *upagacchiṃsu* Vin I 92.10. There are besides, particularly in Sinhalese manuscripts, forms

with *ñich* instead of *ech*²; 3 sg. *āgañchi* Sn 979, *upagañchi* Cp. 2.6.9; 3 pl. *upagañchun* D II 99.1.

With reference to § 133.3: 3 sg. *āruhi* Mhv 35.26; 3 pl. *āruham* 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 gilī* '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. *pavisim* Mhv 18.56, *pucchiṃsu* Ja I 221.29 and *pucchisum* Mhv 10.2, *supim* Vin II 78.2. Also 2 sg. *abbuhi* 'you drew out' Thī 52 (v.l. DhP-a I 30.17: *abbahī*) from the root *barh* (*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. *muñciṃsu* Ja IV 142.5, *abhiñciṃsu* Mhv 11.41.

¹ Aor.s 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 *āharim*su, *akamha* in Ja III 47.4* by *karimha*, etc.

² Cf. Trenckner, Notes, p. 123.

§ 168. Thematic conjugation:

3. Cl. IV. With reference to § 136.3: 3 sg. *nilīyi* 'sat down' Ja II 208.8; pl. 3 *nilīyim*su Ja II 200.26, *allīyim*su Ja I 347.32. Also 1 sg. *amaññissam* D II 352.13; 2 sg. *ūpajji* 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. *naccim*su Ja I 362.6 or *anaccum* Th 164, *nipajjisum* Mhv 7.29 or *nipajjim*su 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. *passim*su 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 *bhijjitha* Ja I 468.10, *dayhittha* Ja I 215.18, *khīyi* Ja I 489.18 and *khīyittha* Vin I 57.33, *sampūri* 'was filled' Ja IV 458.29; 3 pl. *muccim*su Ja II 66.16, *haññim*su D I 142.33. Also 1 sg. *namassi* Thī 87; 3 pl. *namassim*su Sn 287.

With reference to § 137: 3 sg. *jīyittha* Ja I 468.2*.

With reference to § 138: 1 sg. *bhāyim* Dh-p-a III 187.3; 2 sg. *bhāyi* Th 764, Ja I 222.26; Dh-p-a III 187.2; 3 sg. *jāyi* Ja III 391.20 and mid. *ajāyittha* Dīp 5.16, *anupariyāyi* 'transformed' Dh-p-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. *palāyimsu* Mhv 24.20 (cf. Skt *apalāyisṭa*); 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!' Dh-p-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' Dh-p-a III 39.22; 2 pl. *mā vadḍhayittha* 'do not increase!' Dh-p-a I 93.4, *mā dassayittha* 'do not show!' Dh-p-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. *hanl* 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* Dh-p-a I 117.24; 3 pl. *jahimsu* Ja III 19.23 and *jahum*¹ Ja III 19.23, *pidahimsu* Mhv 31.119, *paṭijaggimsu* Ja III 127.5.

With reference to § 143: 2 pl. *dadittha* Ja III 171.3.

3. Cl. VII. With reference to § 144: 1 sg. *bhuñjim* Mil 47.23, *amuyūñjisam* Th 157; 3 sg. *acchindi* Mhv 5.240, (*a*)*bhindi* A IV 312.3*, Ja I 467.15, *rundhi* Ja I 409.20; 1 pl. *pajahimhā* M I 448.15; 2 pl. *amuyūñjittha* Th 414; 3 pl. *acchindimsu* Vin I 88.29, *bhindimsu* Dīp 7.54, *abhuñjimsu* Th 922 and *abhuñjisum* Mhv 7.25.

4. Cl. IX and V. With reference to § 145: 1 sg. *paṭijānim* Dh-p-a I 21.2, *abhijānissam* Th 915; 3 sg. *ajāni* Sn 536, *samjāni* Sv I 261.29 (cf. *ajini* 'conquered' Ja III 212.6*); 3 pl. *jānimsu* Ja II 105.4 (cf. *hiñimsu* Sn 290).

With reference to § 146: 2 sg. *gaṇhi* Ja VI 337.12; 3 sg. *gaṇhi* Ja VI 337.10; 2 pl. *gaṇhittha* Ja I 254.4; 3 pl. *gaṇhimsu* 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. *pahini* Ja I 290.25; 3 pl. *pahinimsu* Ja II 21.11, *vinicchinimsu* Ja I 2.9.

With reference to § 148: 1 sg. *pāpuṇim* Th 865; 3 sg. *sakkuṇi* Mhv 7.14, *pāpuṇi* Ja I 151.3; 3 pl. *pāpuṇimsu* Ja II 111.23.

With reference to § 149: 3 pl. *anutthunimsu* D III 86.22.

¹Wackernagel, 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-* = *drākṣ-* 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 *darś* 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 *adāsīmhā* 'we gave' Thī 518 (Thī-a 295.17: *adamhā*), as well as of the form *ahesumha* '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 *siṣ*-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 = *ajjhapatam* = Skt *adhyapaptam*);² *udapatvā* Ja V 255,17* = *udapatā* = Skt *udapaptat*; (*-ā* is sometimes changed to *-o* to "agree" with a masculine subject, e.g. *udapatto* Ja III 484,22*, V 71,11*); *pāpatam* 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; *upaṭṭhahe* 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*); *paṭiggāhe* Sn 689.⁴ 3 sg. mid. *āsimsetha* Ja III 251,11* (cty: *āsimsi*).

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*, *babhūva* 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 *āhamsu* (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 *avedīt*.⁴

¹ See von Hinüber, 1986, § 480.

² Cf. Childers, PD, s.v. *bujjhati*; E. Müller, PGr., p. 117. On the paradigm cf. Minayeff, PGr., § 182, p. 65; E. Kuhn, Beitr., p. 114. On *jahum* see § 169.2 with f.n.

³ See Bechert, 1955.

⁴ Perhaps °*uppattalomalavāsaso* D III 155,9* hides the perfect form *āva*, 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 punabbhavam* (the copula has to be supplied) Sn 754.¹ Cf. M II 130,16. A periphrastic opt. is to be found in ... *itī 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 patitāmi* '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 *vañcitanmi* 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 *atthi* 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; *otiṇṇo 'mhi* 'I have dismounted' M I 192,6; *sītibhūto 'smi* 'I have been forsaken' Th 79, fem. *sītibhūt' amhi* (= -tā 'mhi) Thī 15; *āgato 'mhi* 'I have come' Ja II 20,13; 2 sg. *ṭhito 'si* 'you are standing' Ja III 53,12, fem. *sītibhūtāsī* Thī 16, *gatāsī* '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, *sītibhūt' amha* (fem.) Thī 66, *āgat' amhāse* D II 275,11*; 2 pl. *āgat' attha* Ja I 20,11, *jāt' attha* 'you have become' Dh-p-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* (= *muttā amhi*) 'I am released' Thī 11; *vañcit' ammi* (sic! = *vañcitā 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 Satthu e' eva samvaṇṇito sambhāvito* 'M. has been praised and honoured by the Master himself' M III 194,2, or *patto me āsavakkhayo* '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 nibbāṇam* 'you have attained Nirvāṇa' Dh-p 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, fn. 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. *sayāno 'mhi* 'I am lying' M I 57,1 (as also immediately preceding *ṭhito 'mhi, nisinno 'mhi*).

2. part. pres. with *tiṭṭhati*. Thus *te aññam-aññam patvā sarīrāni lehentā atṭhamasu* '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 Dh-p-a III 93,2.

3. absol. with *tiṭṭhati*. Thus *mūlam pi tesam palikhañña tiṭṭhe* 'attempt should be made to pull out even their roots' Sn 968; *mahantam phaṇam karitvā atṭhāsi* 'he formed an enormous hood' Vin I 3,18; *hatthilandam ... ekasmiṃ gumbhe laggitvā atṭhāsi* 'remained hanging from a bush'. Cf. S IV 60,15.

4. part. pres. with *carati* or *vicarati*. Thus *nāññesam pihayaṃ care* 'one should not be jealous of others' Dh-p 365; *Bodhisatto ekam upamaṃ upadhārento vicarati* 'B. was busy thinking out a simile' Ja III 102,16. Cf. D I 26,24.

5. absol. with *viharati*. Thus *paṭhamajjhānaṃ upasaṃpajja 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 unavasesam 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 abhinivissa 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 Sinhalese. Cf. Geiger, LSprS, § 67. Thus, for instance, *kiṃ pana te imam dhanam gahetvā va na gamiṃsu* 'why have they not taken their money with them (in death)?' Dh-p-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*: *ñāyati* 'becomes known' Mil 25.8; *paññāyati* D I 93.3 = *prajñāyate*; the roots *dā* and *dhā* have *dīyati* (*diyyati*) Thī 467 and *dhīyati* (*dhiyyati*) D I 73.23 = *dīyate*, *dhīyate*. In *ādiyati* (*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 *hāyati* Ja I 181.20*. From the root *śyā* 'to congeal' there is *sīyati* Th 312 = *sīyate*. Roots in *ī* and *ū*: *jīyate*; *parājīyati* 'goes under' Ja I 290.20; *nīyati* (*nīyyati*) 'is led' Sn 580 = *nīyate*; *parikkhīyanti* 'they are being annihilated' Thī 347 = *kṣīyate*. Root *bhū*: *anubhūyati* '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': *pūراتि*³ Dhp 121 = *pūryate*; cf. moreover forms of the root *har*: *paṭihīrati* 'is avoided' Th 453, *samhīrati* '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 = *bhaṇyate*; *haññati* 'is killed' = *hanyate*; *patāyanti* (root *tan*) 'they arise out of ...' D III 201.17* = *pratāyante*; ⁵*vuppati* 'is sown' Th 530 = *upyate*; *dissati* 'is seen' Th 44 = *drśyate*; *kassate* 'is ploughed' Th 530 = *kṛsyate*; *gayhati* 'is seized' (§ 49) Vin I 88.35 = *gṛhyate*; *dayhati* 'is burnt' Sn 63 (*viḷayhase* Ja II 220.12) = *dahyate*; *vuyhati* 'is carried away' Th 98 (*nibbuyhati* '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 *-iyati*. See Norman, 1976A, pp. 337-38.

³ Cf. § 52.5. Also Māh. *pūrai*.

⁴ Probably *hriyate*, *bhriyate* at first became **hiryate*, **bhiryate* through metathesis, and then *hirati*, *bhīrati* like *pūراتि*. In the same way is formed also *kīrati* '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*) = *bhājyate*; *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*); *vesīyati* 'is introduced' M I 88.25 from *veseti*; *sodhīyati* 'is purified' Bv 2.40 from *sodheti* = *śodhyate*; *posīyati* '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 *vedīyati* '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*; *pucchīyati* 'is asked' Dhp-a I 10.10 from the weak grade of the root *prcch*; *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*, *prcchyate*, *gāhyate*. But we have also *harīyati* 'is carried away' M III 148.13 from *harati*, as against Skt *hriyate* = *hīrati*; *yuñjiyati* in *samanuyuñjiyamāna* '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 *parichijjiyamāna* 'clearly marked off' Dhp-a I 22.1 from *chijjati* = *chidyate*. There is a similar double construction in *an-upalabbīyamāna* from *upa-labbhati* = *upa-labhyate* S III 112.6.

¹The corresponding forms in Pkt are Māh. *kārijjai*, *chejjant*, etc.; see Pischel (§ 543).

²Such forms are probably not pass.s., but show palatalisation of *-ayat* to *-iyati*. See Norman, 1976A, pp. 337–38.

³In Sn 281, *abhinibbajjiyātha* 'avoid!' from root *varj*, *varjayati* should perhaps be read, and the pass. form explained in the same way. If *abhinibbajjiyātha* (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. § 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 85.11 = *alāni*.

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* = *harśayati*.

2. Roots with medial *a* before a single consonant:

(a) the *a* is lengthened as in Skt. Thus *vādeti* 'makes speak, plays (musical instrument)' Sn 1010 = *vādayati*; *ubbāheti* 'heaves up' D II 347.17 = *udvāhayati*; *hāseti* 'makes laugh' Vin III 84.23 = *hāsayati*. Similarly *gāheti* = *grāhayati*; *tāpeti* = *tāpayati*; *pāpeti* = *pādayati*;

pādeti = *pādayati*; *yādeti* (§ 38.3) = *yādayati*; *vāseti* = *vāsayati*; *sādeti* = *sādayati*; *sāmeti* = *sāmayati*. For **lābheti* as against *lambhayati* we have *labbheti* 'lets attain' Vin IV 5.38*. From roots with final *r*: *kāreti* 'causes to do' Ja III 394.7* = *kārayati*; *pūreti* 'fills' Sn 30 = *pūrayati*. Similarly *tāreti* = *tārayati*; *-thāreti* = *-stārayati*; *dhāreti* = *dhārayati*; *māreti* = *mārayati*; *vāreti* 'holds back' and 'chooses' = *vārayati*; *sāreti* = *sārayati*; *sāreti* = *smārayati*.

(b) The *a* remains short as also in Skt in *gameti* 'makes go' M III 166.21 (*āgameti* 'waits' Vin I 78.6) = *gamayati*. Similarly *janeti* = *janayati*, *dameti* = *damayati*; *yameti* Dh 37 = *yamayati*; *bhameti* Mhv 23.80 = *bhrāmayati*.

(c) The quantity varies: *jāleti* 'kindles' (*ā* Mil 47.2, *ā* Ja II 44.1) = *jvālayati*; *namayanti* 'they bend' Dh 80, but *pañāmeti* 'sends away, stretches out' Ja II 28.12 (in Skt only *namayati*); *nikkhāmeti* 'lets go out' (*ā* Ja II 112.12, *ā* Vin I 187.35) = *kramayati*, *niṣkrāmayati*.

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' Dh 379 = *codayati* (root *cod*); *sodheti* 'purifies' Dh 141 = *sodhayati*. Similarly *peseti* = *preśayati* (root *iṣ* 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*; *sāveti* 'lets hear, proclaims' Ja III 437.13 = *śrāvayati*. Also *nāyeti* = *nāyayati* 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 *duṣ* (*dussati* 'is defiled' Vin I 188.17) forms the caus. *dūseti* 'defiles, insults' Ja I 454.10 = *dūṣayati*; *padoseti* Sn 659, M I 186.13 (in the parallel passage

M I 129,16 -*dūs-*); from *han* we have *ghāṭeti* 'causes to be killed' Sn 629 = *ghāṭayati*; from the root *prī*: *pīṇeti* 'pleases' D I 51,15 = *prīṇayati*. The caus. is based on the pres. stem in *nacceti* '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', *ānāpeti* '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*; *ṭhāpeti* 'establishes' (*ā*) Dhṛp 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*; *ussāpeti* 'raises up' (§ 58.3) = *ucchrāpayati* from the root *śri* with *ud*; *jāpeti* 'causes to conquer' S I 116,19 = *jāpayati* from the root *ji*. Peculiar to Pāli is the form *ānāpeti*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 *pāyayati*).

¹Also in Pkt, e.g. *ṭhāveti*; see Pischel (§ 551).

²On *hāpeti* = *hāvayati* see § 179.4.

³Often wrongly written with *ñ* through the influence of *añāpeti* '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: *nisīdāpeti* Ja III 392,7.

With reference to § 133: *ḍasāpeti* Ja II 31,3.

With reference to § 134: *khīpāpeti* Ja II 36,21; *pucchāpeti* Mhv 10,75; *okīrāpeti* 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* Dhṛp-a III 231,14, *dāyāpeti* 'causes (crops) to be mowed' Dhṛp-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: *nīdahāpeti* 'causes to lay down' Ja II 38,3, *saddahāpeti* Ja I 294,16.

With reference to § 144: *chīndāpeti* Ja I 438,16; *bhīndāpeti* Ja I 290,22; *hiṃsāpeti* Pv-a 123,16.

With reference to § 145: *jānāpeti* Ja I 452,20.

With reference to § 146: *gaṇhāpeti* Ja I 264,6.

With reference to § 147: *suṇāpeti* Dhṛp-a I 206,13. From the desid. *tikicchati* (§ 183) is derived *tikicchāpeti* 'cause to be cured!' Dhṛp-a I 25,13.

¹ See Pischel (§ 552) for the corresponding forms in Pkt.

² R.O. Franke, BB, 22, p. 220. But *nibbijāpema* Sn 448 = S I 124,8* and *nibbijāpetha* S I 127,17* are to be divided *nibbijja* + *apema* (*apetha*) as Fausböll (Sn Gloss., p. 335) has already done following the cty.

§ 182. The number of double caus.s is very large :

2. With reference to § 178.1.2: *kappāpeti* D I 49,22, *chaḍḍāpeti* Ja I 357,15; *vaḍḍhāpeti* Ja I 455,28; *vissajjāpeti* Ja I 294,28; *gāhāpeti* Ja I 166,19; *paṭiyādāpeti* D II 88,14; *adhivāsāpeti* Ja I 254,22; *kārāpeti* Vin I 89,18; *ohārāpeti* 'causes to decrease' Vin I 22,12; *mārāpeti* Ja II 417,9; *pārāpeti* Mhv 35,7.

With reference to § 179: *chedāpeti* 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; *laggāpeti* 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 *ṭhapeti* 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' Dh 203); *vicikicchati* 'hesitates' D I 106,1 = *vicikitsati* from the root *cit*, but *tikicchati* 'treats (medically)' Vin I 71,36 and *tikicchā* 'medical

treatment', *tekiccha* 'curable' (§ 41.2); *jigimsati*, *jigīsati* 'wishes to attain, conquer' Sn 700 = *jigīsati* from the root *ji*;² *titikkhati* 'tolerates' Dh 321 = *titikṣati* from the root *tij*; *pivāsati* 'wishes to drink' (Kacc. III 2,3, Senart, p. 434) = *pipāsati* from the root *pā*; *bubhukkhati* 'wishes to eat' (Kacc. III 2,3) = *bubhukṣate* from the root *bhu*; *vīmaṃsati* 'puts to test' M I 125,16 = *mīmāṃsati* (§ 46.4) from the root *man*; *vayakkhati* 'wishes to speak' D II 256,9* = *vivakṣati* from the root *vac*; *sussūsati*³ 'wishes to hear' D I 230,13 = *śuśrūṣate* from the root *śru*. Weakened and shortened stems too are met with as in Skt: *dicchati* 'wishes to give' S I 18,27* = *dītsati*, pl. 3. *dicchare* S I 18,37, from the root *dā*; *sikkhati* 'wishes to succeed, learns' (JPTS, 1909, p. 157) = *śikṣate* from the root *śak*; perhaps also *siṃsati* 'wishes to go' Vv 64,7 = (*si*)*sīrṣati* from the root *sar*.⁴ Skt *icchati* and *īpsati* have coincided in Pāli *icchati*. On the inflection see §§ 130.6, 154.4, 166 (end), 181.1 (end).

¹ Similarly in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 555).

² According to Kacc. III 2,3 (Senart, p. 434) from root *har* (Skt *jihīrṣati*).

³ The spelling *sussūyati* M III 221,8, etc., is probably wrong.

⁴ But (*pacce*)*āsiṃsati* is derived from Skt *śaṃs*.

10. Intensives

§ 185. The intens. verbs of Pāli are also derived from Skt stems.¹ Of very frequent occurrence is *caṅkamati* 'walks up and down' Vin I 15,25 = *caṅkramate* 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 (*lālappita* '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 *kācacchati* 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', *cañcalati* against *cañcalyate* 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* = *jāgarati* see § 142.4. For the inflection of intens.s cf. §§ 130.6, 154.4, 166 (end).

¹ For 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 *āya* 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); *piyāyati* 'loves' Thī 285 from Skt *priya*; *maccharāyati* 'is jealous' Ja III 158,2 from Skt *matsara*; *sukhāyati* 'is happy' Ja II 31,4 = *sukhāyate*.

2. From substantives in *a*: *kukkuccāyati* 'feels remorse' Vin I 91,32 from *kukkuccha*; *dhūpāyati* 'spits forth smoke' Vin I 180,27 = *dhūpāyati*; *dhūmayati* 'smokes' M III 184,13 = *dhūmayati*, -*te*; *mahāyati* 'honours by a festival' Ja IV 236,2 from *maha*; *rahāyati* 'wishes to be alone' M I 119,29 from *raha(s)*; *verāyati* 'rages' Dīp 15,67; *saddāyati* 'makes a noise' Ud 61,6 = *śabdāyate*; *sārajāyati* 'is embarrassed' S III 92,31 from *sārajja*. 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 *hirī* = *hrī*.

3. From a pronom. form: *mamāyati* 'loves, worships' Th 1150 = *mamāyate*.

4. Onomatopoeic expressions¹ are quite numerous: *kiṇakiṇāyati* 'rings' Ja III 315,9 (cty: *kiṇikiṇāyati*); *gaggarāyati* 'gurgles' Mil 3,7 from Skt *gargara*; *gaḷagaḷāyati* 'trickles' Th 189; *ghurughurāyati* 'snore' Ja III 538,21 = *ghurughurāyate*; *cicciṭṭāyati* or *ciṭciṭṭāyati* (§ 20) 'rustles'; *taṭataṭāyati* '(voice) shakes (with anger)' Ja I 347,12; *tintīṇāyati* 'sighs, groans' Ja I 244,3; *daddabhāyati* 'crackles' Ja III 77,10; *dhamadhumāyati* 'hums, roars' Mil 117,21.

5. Here are to be included also forms like *uggahāyanti* 'they learn' Sn 791, which is connected with Ved. *gṛbhāyati*;² *phusāyati* 'touches' (beside *phusati*) S I 104,3; *pacalāyati* 'shakes the head (in sleep)' Th 200; *ocināyati* 'turns back' Ja VI 4,19; *patāyanti* 'go out of' Ja III 283,16 (cty: *nikkhamanti*); perhaps also *saṅkasāyati* 'accommodates oneself to' S I 202,23 (S II 277,12 *saṅkāsāyati*).

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 *āpaya* (contracted to *āpe*), after the manner of the caus. verbs:

1. With *aya* (*e*): *gopayati*, *gopeti* 'protects' Dh 315 = *gopayati*, -*te*; *vijaṭeti* 'unravels' Mil 3,17 from *jaṭā*; *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 *dhūmāyati*; *patthayati*, -*eti* 'prays for' Th 51 = *prārthayate*; (*saṃ*)*piṇḍeti* 'heaps up, collects' Ja I 230,25 = *piṇḍayati*; *pihayati*, -*eti* 'desires' Dh 94 = *spṛhāyati*; *baleti* 'strengthens' Ja III 225,14 = *balayati*; *bhuseti* 'increases' Ja V 218,28 (cty: *bhusaṃ karoti*, *vaḍḍheti*), Skt *bhṛṣāyate*; *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*; *saṃgāmeti* 'fights' II 75,16; *sāmodhāneti* 'connects' Ja I 9,36 from *sāmodhāna*; *sākaccheti* 'talks with somebody' (JPTS, 1909, p. 137) from *sākacchā*; *sukheti* '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): *aihatthayati* 'covers the distance on the back of an elephant', *upaviṇayati* 'accompanies with the lute', *daḷhayati* 'makes firm', *visuddhayati* 'becomes purified'.

§ 188. Denom. verbs:

1. With the stem vowel *a*: *atricchati* 'desires this and that' Ja I 414,6 from *atricchā*; *usūyati*, *usūyati* '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*; *vijjotulati* 'sparkles' M I 86,31; *sajjhāyati*, 'recites' Mil 10,10 from *sajjhāya* = *svādhyāya*

(whence the caus. *sajjhāpayati*, *sajjhāpeti* Ja III 28,21* and *sajjhāyāpeti* Mil 10,8). Further *tintiṇati* Ja I 243,6 beside *tintiṇāyati* (§ 186.4), *dandhati* Ja III 141,2 beside *dandhāyati* (§ 186.1), *dhūpati* Mhv 12,14 beside *dhūpāyati* (§ 186.2), *sārajjati* A IV 359,8 beside *sārajjāyati* (§ 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*) = *karuṇāyate*; *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*: *aṭṭiyati* 'suffers' S I 131,12* from *aṭṭa* = *ārta*; *paṭiseniyati* 'behaves like an enemy' Sn 390 from *paṭisenā* = *pratisenā* 'enemy army'¹ (SBE X.2, p. 64). Also in Kacc. III 2,5 and 6 (Senart, p. 435): *putṭiyati* 'treats like a son', *pattiyati* 'desires an alms-bowl for himself', *dhanīyati* 'desires money', etc.

¹For 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; *jīvant* 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: *caṅkamanta* Vin I 133,23.

With reference to § 131: *jīnant* S I 116,19; *bhavant* (§ 98.3); *pahonta* 'sufficing' Dhp-a III 137,11; *abhisambhonta* Th 351; *u-sambhuṇanta* Sn 396.

With reference to § 132: *pivant(a)* Dhp 205; *tiṭṭhant* Sn 151 and *ṭhahanta* 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; *vilimpanta* 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 *nalāṭato sede muccante*); *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; *upavāyanta* 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; *ghātenta* 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: *samādahant* 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: *bhuñjanta* Ja III 277,11; *bhindanta* Mhv 5,185; *jānant* Sn 320 and *jānanta* Ja I 223,3; *gaṇhanta* Ja III 52,15; *vicīnanta* Ja III 188,12; *suṇanta* Sn 1023 and (according to Cl. I) *savant* Ja III 244,22; *sakkonta* Mil 27,25; *kubbant* Th 323 (= *kurvant*), *karont* (sg. gen. *karoto*, pl. gen. *karotaṃ* § 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, fn. 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: *sussūsumāna* Sn 383. From intens. stems: *jāgaramāna* Dh 226; *daddallamāna* S I 127,18*. From denom. stems (§ 188.1): *sārajjamāna* A IV 359,8.

With reference to §§ 131–35: *an-abhisambhuṇamāna* D I 101,3; *tiṭṭhamāna* Ja I 52,27; *gacchamāna* Ja IV 3,3; *saṃphusamāna* Sn 671.

With reference to § 136: frequently from pass. stems (see § 175 foll.) : *diyyamāna* Dh-a III 191,12 (= *dīyamāna*); *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; *viṃṃamāna* Ja I 214,4; *bhañṇamāna* Vin I 11,33; *tappamāna* Th 32; *gayhamāna* As 18,15 (= *grhyamāna*); *vuyhamāna* Th 88; *ḍayhamāna* 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; *pūjīyamāna* Bodh 141,10; *vuṭṭhāpiyamāna* A I 139,21; *pucchīyamāna* Dh-a I 10,10; *yāciyamāna* Ja IV 138,27; even from a double pass.: *-chijjīyamāna* (§ 76.2 at the end). From denom. stems (§ 188.2,3): *aṭṭīyamāna* Vin II 292,17; *namassamāna* Vin I 3,25.

With reference to §§ 137–38: *jīramāna* Th 32 or *jīyyamāna* M III 246,22; (= *jīramāna*); *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): *paṭṭhamāna* Ja I 279,20.

With reference to § 140 and § 142 foll.: *sayamāna* Th 95 and *semāna* Ja I 180,1; *saṃdahamāna* As I 13,2; *dadamāna* S I 19,3* (Ved. *dādamāna*).

With reference to §§ 144–48: *bhuñjamāna* Th 12; *jānamāna* Sn 1064; *parigaṇhamāna* Ja II 2,28; *añhamāna* 'eating' Sn 239 (from **añhāna* = *aśnāna*); *suṇamāna* 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 *paduṭṭhamāna* Dh-a I 179,9 = *paduṭṭha*; *vibhātāmāna* Dh-a I 165,11 = *vibhāta*, *aladdhamāna* Rās 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' Dh 131 (Skt *eṣamāna*); *abhisambudhāna* 'attaining the highest knowledge' Dh 46; *an-aṭṭhahāna* 'not getting up' Dh 280; *a-heṭṭhayāna* 'not injuring' S IV 179,3*; *paṭṭhayāna* 'begging for' Sn 976; *sayāna* 'lying' Ja III 95,17* (= *śayāna*); *saddahāna* 'faithful' S I 20,25* and *samādahāna* S I 169,16* (= *dadhāna*); *kubbāna* 'making' Dh 217 (= *kurvāna*) and *a-saṃkharāna* S I 126,26*, *purekkharāna* Sn 910. From a pass. stem: *paripucchīyāna* 'interrogated' Sn 696. The root *ās* 'to sit' has *āsīna* Dh 227 as in Skt. The form is however archaic.

¹In 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) = *marīyantam* (cty: *yo idāni marissati tam*); *paccessam* 'one who will return' Vin I 255,24 (root *i* + *prati*).²

¹E. Müller, PGr., p. 123 quotes from Dāth 3.80 the form *karissam*. It is, however, clearly the 1 sg. = *karīṣyāmi*. The Sinhalese paraphrase has *keremi*. For the fut. act. part. in Pkt, see Pischel (§ 560).

²The 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: *saṃbhavesi(n)* opposed to *bhūta* Sn 147, *taresi(n)* opposed to *tiṇṇa* 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* Dh 355, which suggests that *-gavesin* is for *-gamesin* (for *mlv* see § 46.4).

¹See Smith 1952, pp. 171–72 and Sadd Index, s.v. *taresin* (where *up(a)pattesiya* Kv 270,5 with a *-ya* suffix [cty: *up(a)pattim esati*] is included in this category, although this seems problematical), Caillat, 1970, pp. 15–16, and Norman, 1969, p. 205.

²Cf. AMg *āgamesi(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 *ū*: *īta* 'gone' (*samīta*, *atīta*, *peīta*, etc.), *jīta*, *nīta* as in Skt; *sūta* = *śrūta*, *bhūta* = *bhūta*. As there is *sūta* from *sunāti*, so there is *pariyāputa* S III 203.6 from *pariyāpuṇāti* 'learns'.

From roots in *ā*: *nāta* = *jñāta*; *sināta* Ja V 330.3* = *snāta*; *gāta* 'sung' D I 99.11 = *gāta*; *thīta* = *sthīta*; *hīta* (*ohīta*, *pīhīta*, *vihīta*, etc.) = *hīta*; *atta* 'seized' in *attadaṇḍa* Dh 406 = *ātta* (root *dā* with *ā*).

Roots in *r*: *kāta* = *kṛta*, *māta* = *mṛta*; *samsīta* 'one who has wandered about (in the existences)' Sn 730 = *samsṛta*; *samvūta* 'restricted' = *samvṛta*; *nibbūta* 'tranquil' Dh 406 = *nirvṛta*; ¹ *hāta* = *hṛta*; *aṭṭa* (§ 64) = *ārta* (the root *ar* with *ā*). Also from the root *star* 'to stretch out' we have *atthata*, *samthata*, *vitthata* as against Skt *stīrṇa*.

Roots in nasals: *hāta*, *māta*, *tāta*; *nūta*, *gāta*; *nikhāta* Sn 28 as also in Skt. Similarly *santā* 'quieted' = *śāntā* (root *śam*); *santā* 'tired' = *śrāntā*; *kāntā* 'dear, charming' = *kāntā*; *nikkhāntā* 'gone out', *pakkāntā*, etc. = *krāntā*; *jāntā* 'born, originated' from *jan*.

Roots in unvoiced and voiced mutes: *sittā* Th 110 = *sikta*; *vuttā* = *ukta*, *duruttā* = *durukta*; *bhuttā* = *bhukta*; *yuttā* = *yukta*; *puṭṭhā* 'interrogated' = *prṣṭhā*; *yīṭṭhā* 'sacrificed' Ja VI 522.6* = *īṣṭhā* (root *yāj*); *samsuttā* = *sṛṣṭhā* (root *sarj*), *suddhā* 'purified' = *śuddhā*; *khittā* 'thrown' = *kṣiptā*; *vuttā* 'sown' Ja I 340.19 = *uptā*; *suttā* 'one who has slept' Dh 29 = *suptā*. On *vatta*, *vaṭṭa* = *vṛtta*² see § 64.1.

Roots in aspirates: *duddhā* 'milked' Sn 18 = *dugdha*; *siniddhā* 'oily, smooth' Ja I 89.23* = *snigdha*; *daḍḍhā* (§ 42.3) = *dagdha*; *vuḍḍhā*, *vuddhā*, etc. (§ 64) = *vṛddha*; *laddhā* 'attained' = *labdha*; *luddhā* 'eager' It 1.10* = *lubdha*.

Roots in sibilants: *diṭṭhā* = *drṣṭhā*; *phuṭṭhā* 'touched' = *spṛṣṭhā*; *naṭṭhā* 'destroyed' = *naṣṭhā*; *kaṭṭhā* 'ploughed' S I 173.3* = *kṛṣṭhā*; *saṭṭhā* 'taught, commanded' Ja II 298.23* = *śāṣṭhā*; *samṭattā* 'frightened' Ja III 77.25* = *-trasta*.

Roots in *h* = Indo-Iranian *žh*: *vūḷhā* (§ 35) = *ūḍhā*; *mūḷhā* 'foolish' It 2.16* = *mūḍhā*; *samvūḷhā* (*sañvūḷhā*) 'spoken, composed' D II 267.19 (*samvūḷhā* Sv I 38.8) = *sam-ūḍhā* (root *ūh*); *abhūḷhā* 'torn out' Sn 593 from the root *abbahati* = *ā-brhāti*.

¹ But the users of the language felt that *(pari)nibbūta* was the past part. of *(pari)nibbāyati*.

² Instead of *kāntā* 'spun' M III 253.9 it would be possible to read *kāntā* = Skt *kr̥ntā*.

§ 195. Past parts in *-ita* too have been handed down in large numbers in historical forms.

Examples: *patīta*, *carīta*; *khādīta*, *saṃdhāvīta* D II 90.14, as in Skt; *sayīta* 'laid down to rest' D II 353.8 = *śayīta*; *paritasīta* 'thirsty' Mil 253.26 = *tr̥sīta* (root *tr̥s*); *vasīta* Th 258 (beside *vuttha* Ja I 183.22*) = *uṣīta* from the root *vas* 'to dwell'; *gahīta* = *ghṛīta*.

Often from caus. verbs: *dassīta* = *darśīta*; *pesīta* = *preṣīta*; *kārīta*, *codīta*, *dāpīta* as in Skt; *addīta* 'pained' Thī 77 = *ardīta*.¹ Similarly from desid. verbs: *jighacchīta* 'hungry' M III 186.2 = *jighatsīta*; *jigucchīta* 'scared' Mhv 6.3 = *jugupsīta*. From intens. verbs: *caṅkamīta* Mhv 15.208 = *caṅkramīta*.

From denom. verbs, § 186: *cirāyīta* Dh -a III 305.1, *dhūpāyīta* Th 448, *mamāyīta* Dh -a I 11.10* as in Skt.

With reference to § 187: *paṭṭhīta* Ja I 408.26 = *prārthīta*; *mantīta* Th 9 = *mantrīta*; *dukkhīta* Thī 29 = *duḥkhīta*.

¹ From the causative of root *jñā* we have *nāta* Dh 72; *āṇatta* 'ordered' Dīp 6.75; *paññatta* 'declared, fixed legally' Vin I 83.23 = *jñāpta*, *ājñāpta*, *prajñāpta* 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: *kilamīta* 'tired' Ja III 36.26 (beside *kilantā* = *klāntā*); *saṃtasīta* (root *tras*) Mil 92.2 (beside *-tatta*); *vasīta* 'inhabited' Mhv 20.14 (beside *vusīta* and *vuttha* § 195); *āharīta* S IV 59.25 (beside *āhāta* § 194); *saṃsarīta* Thī 496 (beside *samsīta* § 194); *jīntā* Ja II 251.20 (beside *jīta*); *gacchīta* Thī-a 126.11 (as explanation of *gata*).

With reference to §§ 134–35: *phusīta* Thī 158 (beside *phuṭṭhā*); *pucchīta* Ja II 9.18 (beside *puṭṭhā*); *supīta*, Sn 331 (beside *sutta*); *icchīta* Thī 46 (beside *iṭṭhā*); *saṃpaṭicchīta* Dh -a III 439.3; *pamuñcīta* Vv 53.8 (or *pamuñcīta* Vv-a 237.11?).

With reference to §§ 136–38: *gījjhita* 'desired' Thī 152; *samāpajjita* D II 109,27 (beside *samāpanna*), *maññita* 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' Dh-p-a III 233,17 (beside *gīta*).

With reference to §§ 142–45: *jahita* Ja III 32,3; *saddahita* M I 170,30; *paṭijaggīta* Dh-p-a III 138,19; *saṃjānita* in the abstract noun *saṃjānitatta* Dhs 4 (in explanation of *saṃñā*). Also *khādayita* '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*, *bhinna*, *-panna*, *-sanna* (but *nisinna* = *niṣanna*); *pakkhanna* 'fallen into something' Th 95 = *praskanna*; *tunna* 'goaded' Thī 162 and *nunna* 'pushed, propelled' A II 41,13, as in Skt; *ruṇṇa* 'bemoaning' Ja VI 525,4*, 'wail, lamentation' Th 554 (beside *ronṇa* 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* = *śīna* (root *śyā*); *līna* (*a-līna* 'unattached, passionless' Dh-p 245, *nilīna* 'concealed' Vin III 35,4, *patissallīna* 'withdrawn' Vin I 4,33) = *līna* (root *lī*); *vikkhīna* 'destroyed' Thī 22 = *vikṣīna*; *lūna* 'cut off' Thī 107 = *lūna*.

From certain roots in *r*: *jinna*, *tiṇṇa*, *puṇṇa* = *jīrṇa*, *tīrṇa*, *pūrṇa*. Also *patthiṇṇa* 'spread out' Vin I 286,34 = *prastīrṇa* (beside *patthata* § 194), as well as *ciṇṇa* 'done, performed' Sn 181 (*āciṇṇa* 'done, customary' M I 372,10, *pariciṇṇa* Th 178) beside *carita* as Skt *cīrṇa* and *carita*.

From some roots in *j* and *g*: (*saṃ*)*bhagga* 'broken' Dh-p 154 = *bhagna*; *nimugga* 'drowned' (§ 18) Vin I 6,31 = *nimagna* (root *majj*); *saṃvigga* '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 *diṇṇa*, *dinna*² against Skt *datta* (e.g. *dattūpajjvin* 'one who lives on what he receives as charity' Dh-p-a IV 99,18 as well as in proper names like *Brahmadatta*, as also in *atta* § 194).

There is the dialectal form *paṭimukka* 'bound down' S IV 92,1 (opposite of *ummukka* S IV 92,7) as against Skt *pratimukta*.³

¹Also Māh. *ruṇṇa*; 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. *-viṃ* D I 109,35, gen. *-vissa* D II 195,32; *vijitāvin* 'he who has been victorious', sg. nom. *-vī* Th 5, acc. *-vinam* Dh-p 422, pl. gen. *-vīnam* A III 151,26; *katāvin* 'expert' sg. nom. *-vī* M I 69,7; *kīlītāvin* 'he who has played', sg. nom. *a-nikīlītāvī* S I 9,6, 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 *ādinnavā* '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*, *pahātabba* Sn 558 (root *hā* 'to forsake') = *-hātavya*; *saddhātabba* Ja II 37,25 = *śraddhātavya*; *paccuṭṭhātabba* 'he who is to be greeted by standing up' M III 205,17 = *-sītātavya*; *netabba* = *netavya*; *sotabba* = *śrotavya*; *gantabba* Vin I 46,19 = *gantavya*; *vatthabba* Mhv 3,12 (root *vas* 'to live') = *vastavya*; *daṭṭhabba* Pv-a 10,18 (root *darś* 'to see') = *draṣṭavya*; *kattabba* Dh-p 53 and (§ 6, 1) *kātabba* Vin I 47,20 = *kartavya*; *viḥātabba* (from *viharati*) M III 294,27 = *hartavya*. Similarly also forms with *i*: *bhavitabba* 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*; *-kamtatba* Vin I 50.11 from *-kamati*; *uddharitabba* Vin I 47.6 from *uddharati*; *saṅgharitatba* Vin I 46.29 (from the root *har*); *jinitabba* DhP-a III 313.9 (from the root *ji*); *nisīditabba* Vin I 47.19 (from the root *sad*).

With reference to § 134–38: *-khipitabba* Vin I 46.25 as against *kṣeptavya*; *pucchitabba* Vin I 46.33 from *pucchati* as against *praṣṭavya*; *-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 *si*); *-pajjitabba* Vin I 164.10 from *-pajjati* (root *pad*); *paṭivijjhītabba* 'that which is to be comprehended' Sv 20.25 from *-vijjhati* (root *vyadh*). From pass. *-bhijjati*: *bhijjitabba* Ja III 56.23 as against *bhattavya*; 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. *khādītābba* 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*, *-bholi* (§ 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'; *ñāpetabba* Vin II 2.23 from *ñāpeti* (*jñā*); *ghaṃsāpetabba* Vin II 266.28 from *ghaṃsāpeti* 'causes to rub' (root *gharṣ*); *koṭṭāpetabba* Vin II 266.29 from *koṭṭāpeti* '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. *otāpetabba* 'that which is to be heated', *paṭiyādetabba* 'that which

is to be constructed' (root *yat*), *ṭhapetabba* '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 *chedātabba* '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. *heyavva*, Ś. Māg. *hedavva* besides Ś. *bhavidavva*; see Pischel (§ 570).

²Cf. AMg *paritāveyavva*, *dameyavva*.

³Instead of *tuvattitabba* Vin II 124.11 from *tuvatteti* 'lies down' one would expect *tuvattetabba*.

§ 201. Moreover there are in Pāli fut. pass. part.s in *-anīya* or *-aneyya*¹ = Skt *-anīya*. Thus *labhanīya* Thī 513 (*alabbhaneyya* 'unattainable' Ja III 205.9* is due to contamination of *labbha* [§ 202] with *labhanīya*); *pūjanīya* Sn 259 or *-neyya* Th 186 = *pūjanīya*; *anathaneyya* 'what should not be striven after, useless' Th 1073 from *arthay-*; *dassanīya* 'that which is worth seeing, charming' Vin I 38.25 and *dassaneyya* Dīp 15.39 = *darśanīya*. 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*, *mohanīya*, etc.; *khamanīya* 'toleration' Vin I 59.10 = *kṣamanīya*.

¹In Pkt *-añjja* and *-añja*. Cf. AMg *pūyanijja*, *daṃsanijja*, 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 *saddhātābba*.

Examples from roots in a vowel: *neyya* 'that which should be led' Sn 803 = *neya* (root *nī*); *bhabba* 'capable of' Vin I 17.18 = *bhavya* (root *bhū*); *pameyya* 'that which is to be measured' A I 266.18 = *pramēya* (root *mā*); similarly *viññeyya* 'that which can be perceived' Vin I 184.20, *deyya* Sn 982, *peyya* 'drinkable' D I 244.14 = *vijñēya*, *deya*, *peya*. Also *suppahāya* 'that which should be easily forsaken' Sn 772 (root *hā*); cf. RV 10.103.5 *vijñāya*.

From roots in *r*: *a-kāriya* 'unfeasible' Dh 176 = *kārya* (beside *kiecca* 'that which should be done, task, duty' Dh 276 = *kṛtya*), *a-samhāriya* 'indestructible' S V 219.2 = *hārya*, both with svarabhakti.

From other consonant roots: *khajja* 'masticable' and *bhajja* 'edible' Mil 2,14 = *khādya*, *bhojya*; *vajja* 'that which should be avoided, sin' Dh 252 = *varjya*; *vajjha* 'he who must be killed' Ja VI 528.2* = *vadhya*; *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 *lih* 'to lick' we have in Mil 2,14 *leyya* instead of **leyha* = *lehya*, due to the attraction of *peyya* occurring with it. Svarabhakti occurs in *a-sādhiya* 'incurable' Mhv 5.218 = *sādhiya*. We have a new construction in *a-sakkuṇeyya* 'impossible' Ja I 55.3 from the pres. *sakkuṇāti*, after the pattern of *deyya* from *dadāti*.

¹For the corresponding Prākṛit forms (cf. AMg *bhavya*, *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*, *daṭṭhayya*, *pattayya* 'that which is to be known, seen, attained' S IV 93.6, *ñāteyya*, *daṭṭheyya*, *patteyya* S I 61.26 (root *jñā*, *darś*, *āp* with *pra*); *a-tasītāya* '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 *lajjitāya*² 'that of which one has to be ashamed' Dh 316.

¹R.O. Franke, PGr., p. 35, f.n. 4. IF; Trenckner, Notes, p. 117.

²So read (cty: *lajjitabba*), as Trenckner points out (Notes, p. 117, f.n. 27). Norman in his edition of Dh-a III 490 wrongly divides the words into *alajjitā ye* and *lajjitā ye*.

4. Infinitives

§ 204.1. The inf.s in *-tave* = Ved. *-tave* or *-tavai*, as well as some forms in *-tāye*, *-tūye*¹ are confined to the Gāthā language (and artificial poetry).

(a) inf.s in *-tave*. From roots in a vowel: *netave* Dh 180, S I 107.24*; *sotave* Kacc. IV 2.12 (Senart, p. 485); *dātave* Sn 286, Ja I 190.3*, *yātave* Sn 834, *hātave* Dh 34, Sn 817. Also *nidhetave* Ja III 17.6* (cty:

nidhānatthāya) from the *e* stem of the root *dhā*. From other *e*-stems: *rajatave* 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* = *gāntave*, *vāktave*.

(b) inf.s in *-tūye*: *kātūye* Thī 418 (root *kar*, cty: *kātum*); *maritūye* Thī 426; *gaṇetūye* Bv 4.28 from *gaṇeti* 'counts'; *hetūye* Bv 2.10 from *hoti*.²

(c) inf.s. in *-tāye*³: *dakkhitāye* D II 254.7* from the new pres. stem *ḍakkha-* derived from the fut. of *darś*; *jagghitāye* 'to laugh' Ja III 226.10* (cty: *hasitvā*, or *hasitenā*), *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 *nāsakkhiṃ*.

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; *karaṇāya* (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 *-itae*, *-iitae*, such as AMg *itae*, *hottae*, *pucchitae*; 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 *jānitāye* 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*, *ñātum* (from the roots *dā*, *dhā*, *jñā*; *nibbātum* 'to die' Mhv 5.219 (root *vā*); *vitūtum* 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*: *kātum* = *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*; *puṭṭhum* Sn 91 = *praṣtum*; *avabhottum* 'to enjoy' Ja III 272.23 = *bhoktum* (root *bhuj*); *jaṭṭhum* 'to sacrifice' Sn 461 = *yaṣtum* (root *yaj*); *chettum*¹ Th 188 = *chettum*; *pattum* 'to attain' Dhpa 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: *daṭṭhum* = *draṣtum*.

Also constructions with *i* are quite numerous: *jīvitum* Ja I 263.3 = *jīvitum*; *kīlittum* Ja III 188.28 = *krīditum*; *bhavitum* Ja IV 137.25 = *bhavitum*; *uddharitum* (beside *uddhātum*) Ja I 313.6 from the root *har* (Skt *haritum* beside *hartum*).

From desid.s: *tikiicchitum* Ja I 485.11 = *cikitsitum*; *vimamsitum* Mhv 37.234 = *mīmāṃsitum*.

From a caus.: *dhārayitum* Anāg (JPTS, 1886) 35.23 = *dhārayitum*.

From a denom.: *gopayitum* Dhpa 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* Dhpa 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; *ṭhapetum* 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 *bhuñjitum*. 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*; *abhivijñitum* M I 71.32 (root *ji*); *nisīditum* Dīp 1.55; *uṭṭhahitum* Ja II 22.17, *upaṭṭhahitum* Dhpa III 269.20 from *ṭhahati*.

With reference to §§ 134–35: *pucchitum* Sn 510; *ukkhipitum* Ja I 264.9 as against *kṣeptum*; *phusitum* Th 945 as against *spraṣtum*; *pavisitum* Ja III 26.6 as against *veṣtum*; *supitum* Th 193; *pañicchitum* Ja IV 137.26; *muñcitum* D I 96.10; *siñcitum* Ja VI 583.27; *niḥbinditum* 'to feel disgust' D II 198.22 from the root *vid*, *vindati*.

With reference to §§ 136–38: *naccitum* Dhpa III 102.7; *-pajjitum* Th 1140; *pamajjitum* Th 452; *virajjitum* 'to be free' D II 198.22; *vijjhitum* Mhv 6.28; *passitum* Ja I 222.7. Also from a pass. stem: *pamuccitum* 'to free oneself' Th 253; *vimuccitum* D II 198.22. Further: *sināyitum* M I 39.6; *jhāyitum* 'to meditate' Vin II 147.34*; *palāyitum* Ja II 19.26; *sajjhāyitum* (§ 188.1) Dhpa III 445.21.

With reference to § 142: *jahitum* Ja I 138.9; *saṃvidahitum* Vin I 287.13 from the root *dhā*; *pañijaggitum* Th 193.

With reference to §§ 144–48: *bhañjitum* Th 488; *bhuñjitum* (see above); *chinditum* Vv-a 119.7; *kiñitum* Ja III 282.10 and *vikkīñitum* Ja III 293.23 (in the explanation of *vikketum*); *bandhitum* Thī 299; *gañhitum* Ja II 159.4; *suñitum* Mil 91.16; *pāpūñitum* A II 49.16.

¹Corresponding innovations also in Pkt. Cf. AMg *vāreum*, Māh. JMāh. *marium*, Māh. *pucchium*, Ś. *bhuñjidum*, *suñidum*, etc.; see Pischel (§§ 573 foll).

§ 207. As in Skt, in cpds with *-kāma* the inf. has the ending *-tu*¹: *jīvitukāma* 'wishing to live' Dhpa 123; *pabbajitukāma* 'wishing to forsake the world' Dhpa III 273.8; *gantukāma* 'wishing to go' Ja I 222.13; *daṭṭhukāma* 'wishing to see' Sn 685; *amaritukāma* 'not wishing to die' D II 330.8.

¹Similarly also in Pkt; see Pischel (§ 577).

5. Absolutes

§ 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 Pāli as in Skt. The suffix *-tvā(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 *saddhāya* Ja V 176.8*, by *saddahitvā*, *aññāya* Ja I 368.21* by *ājānitvā*. The few forms in *-tāna*² are confined to the Gāthā language, as are also those in *-yāna*, which is evidently a new construction on the analogy of *-tvā*: *-tvāna*.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 *-tāna*, *-āna*; 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: *ñatvā*, *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 *sthitvā*); *pūtvā(na)* Dh 205 = *pūtvā* (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)* Dh 283 = *chittvā* (*e* according to § 10.2, or due to analogy of *jetvā*, *netvā*, § 210); *bhetvā(na)* Th 753 = *bhittvā*; 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)* = *dr̥ṣṭvā*.²

The roots in *n*, *m* retain the nasal through the influence of forms like Skt *sāntvā*. 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 *-itvā*: *patitvā*, *pacitvā*, *vanditvā*, *khādītivā* as in Skt; *nikkhamitvā* Ja III 26.14, *akkamitvā* Vin I 188.28 = *kramitvā* (beside *krāntvā*); *sayitvā* Ja II 77.14 = *śayitvā* (the root *śī*). Similarly from the causative⁴: *bhojayitvāna* Ja VI 577.29* = *bhojayitvā*;

gāhayitvā Mhv 10.31 = *grāhayitvā*; *ghāyitvā* Mil 219.16 from *ghātetī* (root *han*); *janayitvā* Mil 218.21 as in Skt; *ṭhapayitvāna* Mhv 19.31 = *stāpayitvā*; and in the same way from double caus.s: *gāhāpayitvā* Mhv 7.49, etc.

From desid.s, intens.s and denom.s: *a-jigucchitvā* Ja I 422.26 = *jugupsitvā*; *vūnamsitvā* Ja VI 308.2 = *mīmāṃsitvā*; *vavakkhitvāna* D II 256.9* = *vivakṣitvā*; *cirāyitvā* Vv-a 208.15, etc.

¹Also in Pkt AMg *chettā*, *bhettā*; see Pischel (§ 582).

²As AMg *disvā*; see Pischel (§ 334), and von Hinüber, 1982, p. 137. The form *dr̥ṣṭvā* is retained in *diṭṭhā* Ja V 215.28* (ety: *disvāna*); the same form is to be seen in *adiṭṭhā* (ety: *adisvā*), which is v.l. for *adaṭṭhā* Ja IV 192.6*, according to H. Kern (Toevoegsel en 't Woordenboek van Childers, I, p. 63).

³As AMg *hantā*, *mantā*.

⁴As AMg *uttāsaṭṭā*, *vigovaitā*.

§ 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 *-ayitvā*. Examples: *dosetvā* Ja I 152.10; *codetvā* Vin II 2.22; *sāretvā* (root *smar*) *ibid.*; *bhāvetvā* A V 195.15; *ghātetvā* Mhv 25.7; *ṭhapetvā* Dh 40; *gahetvā* (§ 139.2); *vandāpetvā* Vin I 82.23, *kārāpetvā* *ibid.*; *āmantetvā* (§ 187.1) Th 34; *a-gaṇetvā* 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 *-itvā*¹ 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 *uṣitvā*; *uddharitvā* D I 234.6, *saṃharitvā* Ja I 265.27 from *harati* as against *hṛtvā*; *otaritvā* Ja I 223.19 as against *tīrtvā*; *saritvā* Thī 40 as against *sṛtvā*; *ghaṃsitvā* Ja III 226.1 as against *ghṛṣṭvā*.

With reference to § 131: *vinayitvāna* Sn 485 beside *netvāna*; *a-jñitvā* Mhv 32.18 beside *jetvā*; *-bhavitvā* Sn 52 as against *bhūtvā*.

With reference to § 132: *pivitvā* Ja I 419.20 beside *pūtvā*; *nisīditvā* *passim*; (v) *uṭṭhahitvā* Vin I 2.29. Also *ghāyitvā* Dh-a III 270.3 as against Skt *jighṛtvā*.

With reference to § 133: *ārohitvā* Vin I 15,16, *orohitvā* Vin I 15,33 as against *rūdhvā*.

With reference to § 134: *pakkhipitvā* Ja I 265,3 as against *kṣiptvā*; *ādisitvāna* Thī 311 from the root *dis*; *pavisitvā* D II 331,19 from the root *vis*; *gilitvā* Mhv 31,52; *okiritvā* Ja III 59,14; *supitvāna* Th 84 as against *suptvā*.

With reference to § 135: *icchitvā* Ja I 256,17 from the root *is*; *muñcitvā* Ja I 375,11, in explanation of *mutvā*; *siñcītvā* Sn 771; *vilimpitvā* Ja I 265,29 as against *liptvā*.

With reference to § 136: *niliyitvā* Ja I 500,13; *kujjhītvā* Mhv 5,141; *samñayhitvā* D II 175,15; *-pajjitvā* Th 158; *sussitvā* Ja II 5,28; *pamajjitvā(na)* Dhṛp 172; *vijjhītvā* 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* Dhṛp-a I 15,14; *sajjhāyitvā* (§ 188. 1) Dhṛp-a III 447,19.

With reference to §§ 140 and 142 foll.: *hanitvāna* Ja III 185,20; *a-vijahitvā* Thūp 8,37; *dahitvā* Vin I 287,16 from *dahati* (root *dhā*); *paṭijaggitvā* Dhṛp-a III 30,10; *daditvā* Th 532.

With reference to § 144: *chīnditvā* D I 224,14, and *bhīnditvā* Ja I 425,4 beside *chetvā*, *bhetvā*; *bhuñjitvā* Ja III 53,20 in explanation of *bhutvā*; *riñcītvā* Thī 93 as against *riktvā*.

With reference to § 145 foll.: *jānitvā* Ja I 293,14* beside *ñatvā*; *kiñitvā* Mil 48,16; *gañhitvā* *passim*, as against *gñhitvā*; *nimminītvāna* Th 563; *bandhitvā* Vin I 46,17 as against *baddhvā*.

With reference to §§ 147-49: *vicīnitvā* Vin I 133,14 as against *cītvā*; *suñitvā(na)* Thī 44; *a-pāpuñitvāna* Thī 494; *karitvā* Sn 444 beside *katvā*.

¹For corresponding Pkt forms, particularly in AMg, see Pischel (§ 582). Cf. *vasittā*, *jinittā*, *bhavittā*, *jānitā*, *kiñittā*, *gñhittā*, *karittā*, etc.

§ 210A. There is some evidence for absol.s in *-ttā*, as in Pkt,¹ especially in conjunction with the verbs *abhiñānāti* 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 *chettā* and *chetvā* Sn 343 and Th

1263³ and between *katvā* and *kattā* Ja II 317,14* and IV 274,2*.⁴ The absol.s in *-ttā* are probably derived from *-ttā* metri causa: *sammasitā* Sn 69,⁵ *parivajjayitā* Sn 537, *āharitā* Ja III 399,2* (cty: *āharitvā*),⁶ *paccuggatā* 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 *-uu*, which is also found in the Aśokan inscriptions;¹ *daṭṭhu* 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. Absolutes in *-ya*.¹ From roots ending in a vowel: *abhiññāya*,² *aññāya* = *abhi-*, *ā-jñāya*; *ādāya* (and other compounds of *dā*) = *ādāya*; *nidhāya*; Dhṛp 142 and other compounds of *dhā* = *nidhāya*; *uṭṭhāya* (*paṭṭhāya* as postposition 'starting from ...') = *uṭṭhāya*. From the root *i* (Skt *-itya*) there is *pecca* 'having died' Dhṛp 15 = *pretya*; *paricca* Thī 71 = *parītya*; *samecca* D II 273,10* = *sametya*; *paṭicca* 'in consequence of' = *praṭītya*. From the root *bhū*: *abhibhuyya* Dhṛp 328. By analogy with *abhibhoti*: *abhibhuyya* there has been formed from *pappoti* an absolute *pappuyya* Sn 593. In Vin II 156,28* there is *uppuyya* from the simplex **appoti* = *āpnoti*.

From the root *kar*: *nikaicca* Vin III 90,24* = *nikṛtya*, *sakkacca* Vv 11,6 (usually *sakkaccam*) = *sakṛtya*, *paṭigaicca* (§ 38. 1).

From roots in a nasal: *āhacca*, *ūhaccu* 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*, *saṃgamma*, etc. = *-gama* Ja V 31,3* (cty: *gantvā*).

From roots in a mute: *āpucchā* Thī 416 (cty: *āpucchivā*), *saṃpucchā* S I 176,13* = *-pucchya*; *pariccajja* 'after forsaking' Ja III 194,20* = *parityajya*; *pavibhajja* 'after separating' Th 1242 = *-bhajya*; *saṃcicca* 'having deliberated' Vin I 97,2 = *saṃcīya*; *pubhijja* Th 1242 = *prahīdya*; *-pajja* = *-padya*; *-sajja* = *-sadya*; *panujja* 'having frightened away' Sn 359 = *pranudya*; *ativijja* '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* = *-grhya*; *pasayha* 'forcibly' D II 74,29 = *prasaḥya*. Besides *-gayha* there is also *gahāya* 'having seized' Sn 791, *samuggahāya* Sn 797, clearly from *gahāyati* (§ 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 *anveti*⁴ (root *i* with *anu*) and *uñchāya* 'having searched' Ja V 90,10* (cty: *uñchivā*).

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 *abhiruyhivā* quoted in Kacc. II 6,5 (Senart, p. 321), as against the usual *abhirūhitvā* and *abhiruyha*. Similarly *ogayhivā* from *ogāhati* '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*; *liṅgiya* Thī 398 = *-liṅgya* (cty: *āliṅgetvā*); *abhirūhiya* Thī 27 (beside *-ruyha*); *(saṃ)avekkhiya* Sn 115; *pekkhiya* Mhv 5,194 = *-īkṣya*; *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 *kāreti*, *kāretum* : *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: *nisiñciya* Mhv 7,8 as against *-sicya*.

With reference to § 136: *passiya* Thī 399.

With reference to § 144: *chindiya* Thī 480 as against *-chīdya*.

With reference to § 145 foll.: *avajāniya* Sn 713, as against *-jñāya*; *bandhiya* Thī 81 as against *-badhya*.

With reference to § 147 foll.: *suṇiya* Mhv 23,102 as against *-śrūtya*; *kariya* Thī 402 as against *-kṛtya*. Also the new pres. stem *dakkha-* (§ 136, 3) has given rise to *dakkhiya* Thī 381.

§ 214. Examples of absol.s in *-yāna* are: *uttariyāna* Ja IV 441,8* (cty: *uttarivā*, *avatharivā*); *ovariyāna* Thī 367 (v.l. *ovadiyāna* in Thī-a 250,26 explained by *ovadivā*); *pakkhandiyāna* Vv 84,11 (explained as *pakkhandivā* in Vv-a 338,13) from the root *skand*. A nasal extension *-m* is to be found in *khādiyānaṃ* 'having eaten' Ja V 24,4*, *anumodiyānaṃ* 'having been pleased' Ja V 143,9*.

§ 215. There are also examples of an absol. in *-aṃ* and, with a *-ka* extension, *-akaṃ*, which are developments of the Skt *ṇamul* absol.¹: *jīva-gāhaṃ* S I 84,12, *anvesaṃ* M I 140,4, *dantullehakaṃ* M III 167,22 (cty: *ullehitvā*); the form *ura-ttāliṃ* M I 86,3 seems to be the only example of an absol. in *-iṃ*.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 absolutes in that they do not necessarily refer to an action which is already completed.

²See Trenckner, Notes, p. 134 and cf. BHS *udaka-hāriṃ* (BHSG, § 35,6).

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