

# Some Linguistic Peculiarities in the Ardhamāgadhī canons with special reference to vowels and single consonants

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Aṃga canonical literature holds an important place in Jain literature. Gautama and the other *Gaṇadharas* have edited and compiled the sermon of Lord Mahāvira preached throughout his life. And according to the Śvetāmbara canons the language is known to be the Ardhamāgadhī.

## **Ardhamāgadhī—A Language —**

Before to discuss on the Ardhamāgadhī as a language, the singnificance of the name of Ardhamāgadhī is found important here. In the fourth *Aṃga* text—*Samavāyāṅga*, the Ardhamāgadhī language is acknowledged thus—*"bhagavaṃ ca ṇaṃ addhamāgahīe bhāsāe dhammaṃ āikkhi |sā vi ya ṇaṃ āriya-aṇāriyam duppaya cauppaya miya pasu pakkhī sarīsivāṇaṃ appappaṇo hiyasiva suhadāya bhāsattāe pariṇamaī"*. The Lord propagated the law in the Ardhamāgadhī Language—this peace-happiness-and-bliss-giving Ardhamagadhī undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and tamed animals, the birds and the worms". In the *Bāgbhaṭālaṅkāra tilaka* (1.1) it is said about the Ardhamāgadhī—*sarvārdhamāgadhīṃ sarva bhāsāsu pariṇāmiṇiṃ | sārīyāṃ sarvato vācaṃ sārvaññoṃ pranidadhāmahe*. It means we salute *vāc* that is fully Ardhamāgadhī and which modifies herself into all the different Language and is perfect and omniscient.

In the *Prajñāpanāsūtra*, the Aryans are categorised into nice classes, in which the sixth class is mentioned for *bhāsāriya*, those who are Aryans by language. It is asked about them—*se kiṃ taṃ Bhāsāriyā?*—what is meant by 'Aryans by speech? Answer is thus—*bhāsāyā je ṇaṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsanti jattha vi ya ṇaṃ bambhī livī pavattaī*—Aryans by speech are they who speak the Ardhamāgadhī language and who use the *Brāhmī* script in writing. In the *Aupātikasūtra*, too like the *Samavayāṅgasūtra*, it is mentioned that Lord Mahāvira propounded his law through the Ardhamāgadhī Language —*tae ṇaṃ bhagavaṃ Mahāvīre....addhamāgavāe....bhāsāe bhāsai | arihā dhammaṃ*

*parikahei/tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāṇiyam agitāe dhammaṃ āikkhi /tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāṇiyam agitāe dhammaṃ āikkhai/sā vi ya ṇaṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā tesim savvesim āṇāriyaṃ appaṇo sabhāsāe pariṇāmeṇaṃ'.*

Hemacandra in his Prakrit Grammar, while formulating the characteristic features of Māgadhī, in the *vr̥tti* of the very first sūtra *ataḥ etsau puṃsi māgadhyām* (4.487) has mentioned that old scriptures are composed in the Ardhamāgadhī language—*porāṇaṃ addhamāgaha bhāsāṇiyayaṃ havai suttaṃ*. Hemacandra admits that the characteristic features of Ardhamāgadhī is quite different from that of Māgadhī. Hence, he did not mention any rules of Ardhamāgadhī along with Māgadhī or any other Prakrits.

Herman Jacobi in his own style has classified the language of Jain Literature. According to him the language of the Jain literature corresponds mostly with the nature of Mahārāṣṭrī and the other is Jain Prakrit. Jain Mahārāṣṭrī was the medium of language through which the Jain commentators and Annotators explained the canons. And Jain Prakrit is the language of the old scriptures, i.e. canons Grammarians from Vararaci (4th/5th century A.D.) upto Mārkaṇḍeya (17th Century A.D.) acknowledged the Jain Prakrit either as *Ārṣa* the language of the *ṛsis* or *ruḍha*, the self created. Hemacandra in his sūtra *ārṣam*, mentions that this has many options and exceptions. It is needless to say that due to huge variations and options, Grammarians could hardly be able to formulate any sūtra for the Ardhamāgadhī language. Trivikrama ignored to describe the characteristic fetures of Ardhamāgahi as he did so for the *Deśya* language. He admits that *Ārṣa* like *Deśya* is nothing but a self created language. So it is not the off spring of Sanskrit. It is free form any connection of polished language—*svatantratvācca bhūyasā*, if only follows its own rules. Prem Candra Tarkavāgīśa, while commenting on the *Kāvyādarśa* (2.12) opines on the origin of Prakrit is thus that its basis (*prakṛtiḥ*) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or it may be that *Prākṛta* stands for *prāk-kṛta*—created before, in earlier period (*pūrvam*). So it is called *Prākṛita*.

The Prakrit of the Jain canon or *Ārṣa*, i.e. Ardhamāgadhī is the language of Goods—*āriṣavayaṇe siddhaṃ devānaṃ addhamāhā vāṇī*. Accordingly

Prakrit is the language that is easily understood by children, women etc. and is the basis of all languages. Like rain water it had one and the same form in former times, but it became diversified on account of difference in locality and grammatical modifications and has come to be known as Sanskrit and other language mentioned by Rudrata. So Sanskrit and other languages have been formed or developed from Prakrit. Like Buddhists, as they considered Māgadhī *mūla bhāṣā* while the Jains have Ardhamāgadhī as the same.

In the *Nāṭyśāstra* of Bharata (17.48) Ardhamāgadhī is mentioned as one of the languages.

*Māgadhyāvanti jā prācyā śūrasenya rdhamāgadhī/*

*Bāhlikā dākṣiṇātyā ca sapta bhāṣā prakīrtitā//*

Kramadīśvara is the only grammarian, who formulated any sūtra for Ardhamāgadhī - *mahārāṣṭrī miśrārdhamāgadhī* (5.98), that Ardhamāgadhī is a mixture of Mahārāṣṭrī and Māgadhī.

In Linguistic point of view, Ardhamāgadhī is an important part of Prakrit as well as in the Middle Indo Aryan language. MIA being the part of Indo Aryan which is developed from Indo European through Indo-Iranian, Ardhamāgadhī has a direct relation with Indo European.

### **Sound System of Ardhamāgadhī**

The sound system in the Aṃga literature is based on the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhī which does not carry any change from that of prakrit in general.

Vowels – *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e* and *o*.

Hemacandra, in the very first sūtra of his Prakrit grammar mentions about a term '*lokāt*' in the vṛtti which denotes that in Prakrit the vowels like *ṛ, ṛ, ḷ, ḷ ai* and *au* have no existence. So in the Ardhamāgadhī of the Aṃga literature we cannot have any exceptions of the aforesaid rule. Not only the Ardhamāgadhī, but all the dialects and subdialects of Prakrit admit the same principle.

In application of single consonants, the Ardhamāgadhī of Aṃga literature has not such difference from other Prakrits. All the mutes, i.e. from *k* upto *m* have been used in it. In case of semi vowels, *y* sometimes becomes *a* rather than becoming *j*. All the Sanskrit mutes have undergone phonological changes, like

other Prakrits, in the language of the *Aṃga* literature also. In case of sibilants, only the dental *s* is found in place of *ś*, *ṣ* and *ṣ*.

Here, too, no Māgadhism has been found to influence the Ardhamāgadhī. So no palatal *ś* is used so far. 'h' is preserved in usual position. Like other Prakrit, *visarga* is not used in the language of *Aṃga* literature. The consonants used in the *Aṃga* literature are as follows —

<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>	
<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ṃ</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	

## Phonology

### *a*

In *Aṃga* literature as well as in Ardhamāgadhī, Sanskrit vowels are used or accepted but the changes which are found in Mahārāṣṭrī have the same impact on Ardhamāgadhī. So the same can be found in the language of *Aṃga* literature. Some examples can be cited for its favour, e.g. *ekonotriṃśat*, *aunattīsā* (Nā, 1.3.8), *āyudha*, *aujjha* (Sam. Pra 144), *ekonopañcāsat*, *aunāpaṇṇa* (Bh. 2.43). In some examples we can find that as Mahārāṣṭrī owing to the existence of *anusvāra* the long *ā* becomes *a*. e.g. *āntarāika aṃtarāiya* (Ā 6.34, Th. 2.431, 3.523, Sam 58.2, Bh 6.33, 34, 9.46, 68, etc). The long vowel *ā* before a conjunct consonant becomes *a*, such as *āmla > aba* (Bh. 18.109), *āmra > aṃbaga* (Aṇu 3, 48). Besides those examples, in the *Aṃga* Hemacandra's Sūtra *hrsvaḥ saṃyoge* (1.84) support this application. Other examples are— *āchidya > acchiṃda* (Ā.Cū 13.27), *āchetṛ > acchiṃdiṃtu* (Sam 33.1), *āchedya > acchejja* (Ā 8.21-24, Sū 2.1.65; 2.2.49), *āryajambu > ajjajambu* (Nā 1. 1.6-8; Uv 1.4.5; Aṃta 3.70; 6.14) *ārjava > ajjava* (Ṭh 4.71; 6.27; Sam 10. 1 etc.), *ārta > aṭṭa* (Ā. 1.13; 5.18; Sū 1.5.25; 1.10.4; Uv 2.22, 24, 28; Paṇ 2.2; Vip 1.1.57, 1.2.42 etc.) *ādhyā > adḍha* (Sū 2.7.3, Bh 2.94, 3.32; Nā 1.2.7, 1.3.8; Uv 1.11.16; 2.3;

Aṃta 3.6, 33,55 Aṇu 3.5,66; Vip 1.1.70, 1.10.3 etc.). Sanskrit *r* has four types of development in Prakrit as well as in Ardhamāgadhī, these are, *a*, *i*, *u* and *ri* in initial position. But except in very few cases the initial *r* becomes *a*, *i* and *u* in Ardhamāgadhī. Here, Some examples of *r* becoming *a* are given below —

*ṛju* > *aṃju* (Ā. 3.5; 15; Sū 1.9.1, 1.10.1; 26.13 etc) *ṛta* > *aṭṭa* (Nā 1.7, 36.1, 3,3 etc) *ṛṇadhāraka* > *aṇadhāraka* (Nā 1.18.21, 33), *ṛṇabhañjaka* > *aṇabamjaka* (Paṇ. 3.3), *ṛṇabala* > *aṇavala* (Paṇ 2.3) etc/

### ā

There is no such changes have been found regarding the development of Sanskrit *ā* in the language of Aṃga literature. But in some places due to the compensatory lengthening *a* becomes *ā*, e.g. *aśvaśikṣā* > *āsasikkhā* (Sam. 32.7), *aśvasena* > *āsasena* (Sam. Pra. 220.3), *aśvattha* > *āsoṭṭha* (Sam. Pra. 231.2, Bh 22.3), *aśvatthapavāla* > *āsoṭṭhapavāla* (Ā. cu 1.109), *aśvatthamanthu* > *āsoṭṭhamanthu* (Ā.cu 1.111) *aśvayuj* > *āsoya* (Ā. cu 25.15, Sam 15.5; 36.4; Bh 1211, 125 Nā 1.5.75 etc.), Hemacandra's sūtra *luṭṭa ya ra va śa ṣa sām—śa ṣa-sām dīrghaḥ* (1.43) is meant for compensatory lengthening.

### i

Like Prakrit, in the language of Aṃga literature we can have some remnants of the changing of some dissimilar vowels into *i* e.g. *aṅgāra* > *iṅgāla* (Su 1.5.7, 2.2.77; Ṭh. 4.177, Bh 2.64, 66 Nā 1.16.52; Aṃta 3.89 Anu 3.30; Vip 1.4.16 etc.) *aṅgāra karṣaṇī* > *iṅgāla kaddhaṇi* (Bh. 16.6), *aṅgāra karman* > *iṅgāla kamma* (Bh 8.242. v.1.38), *atra* > *ittha* (Ā. 4.20). In the same way *e*, *i*, e.g. *ekacatvāriṃśat* > *igayāla* (Bh. 2.118), *ekaṣaṣṭhi* > *igasaṭṭhi* (Sam. 88.3). *r* > *i* — in place of *r* we can have a large number of examples where *r* is developed into *i*. e.g. *ṛddhi* > *iḍḍhi* (Sū. 2.2.69, 73; Ṭh. 2.316-319, Bh. 1, 102, 3.1, 7, 27 etc. Nā 1.1.33, 67, 69 etc.) *ṛddhigaurava* > *iḍḍhi gārava* (Sam. 3.4), *ṛddhiprāpta* > *iḍḍhipatla* (Bh. 8.62, 406; 14.60 etc.) Prothesis or insertion of a vowel in the initial position of a word is popular in Prakrit, so is available in the language of Aṃga literature. Here, in the context of *i*, we find the word *strī* becomes *itthi* in several occasions, such as *itthi*, *itthi kahā*, *itthikāma*, *itthitta*, *itthipaḍimā*, *itthiveyaga* etc. The long *ī* sometimes becomes short *i* in Jain canonical

literature, e.g. *iriyā*, *iriyā asmiya*, *iriyāvahia*, *iriyāsamii (ti)*, but sometimes long *ī* also used in *Aṃga* literature is considered to be quite regular.

### ***u* and the rest**

In the *Aṃga* canonical literature, *r* besides becoming of *a* and *i* become *u* in several cases. Some examples are as follows — *ṛtu* > *uu* (Ṭh. 5.106, 212, Bh. 5.15, 16, 9.156; Nā 1.1.33, 159 etc), *ṛtuparivarta* > *uu pariyatṭa* (Ā.cu 1.21), *ṛtubaddha* > *uuvaddha* (Nā. 1.5, 117, 118, 124, 125) *ṛtu sandhi* > *uu saṃdhi* (Ā. cu. 1.21.), *ṛjvāyatā* > *ujjuāyatā* (Th 7.112; Bh 25.91; 34.3, 13 etc.) *ṛju* > *ujju* (Sū 1.11.1, Ṭh 4.12-21 etc. Paṇ 4.7,8 etc), *ṛjukṛta* > *ujjukāḍa* (Ā. 1.65), *ṛjuka* > *ujjuga* (Uv 1.47; 7.33; Paṇ 4.7; 7.4), *ujjuya* (Ā.cu. 1.50, 52; 2.44; Sū 2.2.77; Bh. 18.104 etc.) Likewise *ujjuyā*, *ujjuyāre*, *ujjusūyā* and so many words can be found where *r* become *u*. In some places *a* is changed into *u*, e.g. *apakṛṣṭa* > *uiṭṭha*, here, of course, the elision of initial is occurred through the way that *apakṛṣṭa* > \**avaiṭṭha* > \**auṭṭha* and then *uiṭṭha*. We cannot find any other vowels changing into *u* except *o* and *au*, e.g. *oṣṭha* > *uṭṭha* (Nā 1.2.11,33; Uv. 2.21, Anu.3.46) *auṣṭrika* > *uṭṭiā* (Ṭh.5.191; Uv.1.29, 2.221 etc.) *auṣṭrikī* > *uṭṭiyā* (Vip, 1.6.14). In some places, due to *samprasāraṇa*, the *va* of the prefix *ava* becomes *u* and finally by internal contraction between *a* and *u* the resultant becomes *o*, and again since this *o* is placed before a conjunct consonant, automatically it becomes *u* as its short form. For example—*avaṣṭhivya* > *uṭṭhubhittā*, (Nā 1.1.161), *uṭṭhubhettā* (Bh. 15.141). *ū* also becomes short before a conjunct consonant, e.g. *ūrdhva* > *uḍḍha* (found in all the canons), *ūrdhva-kāka* > *uḍḍhamkāya* (Sū. 1.5.34), *ūrdhvajānu* > *uḍḍhamjānu* (Bh. 1.9, 5.85; Nā 1.1.6; Uv. 1.4 etc.)

In the language of the *Aṃga* literature the *o* is derived from some other sources. Generally Sanskrit *o* is preserved as the same in Ardhamāgadhī. But other sources are as the prefix *ava*. *u* and the diphthong *au*. Some examples are —*avakīrṇa* > *okiṇṇa* (Nā 1.5.25), *avaskanda* > *okhaṇḍa* (Paṇ 2.12). Likewise some words with the same characteristic are found amply in the canons, such as, *Ṭhāṇaṃ Nāyādharmakāhā*, *Vipāk*, *Bhagavatī*, *Uvāsagadsā*, *Panhāvāgaraṇāim* and *Anuttaraupapatika* etc. the words are - *ogāḍha*, *ogāḍhaga*, *ogāha*, *ogāhaṇā*, *ogiṇhittā* and so on. *au* > *o*, e.g. *audārika* > *orāliya* (Ṭh. 2.155-160, Bh 1.343,

2.12; Nā 1.2.76, 1.8, 180 etc.), *aupagrahika* > *ovaggahiya* (Bh. 9.46; 68), *aupamika* > *ovamiya* (Bh. 6.132, 133), *aupamya* > *ovamma* (Th. 0.504, Bh. 5.93, Paṇ 1.22 etc.) *aupapātika* > *ovavāiya* (Ā. 1.2, 4, 118; Sū 1.1.11; Bh 9.157;13-107 etc.) *aupaśamika* > *ovasamiya* (Bh. 14.81, 13.16 etc.) Somewhere *u* becomes *o*, such as, *utsanna* > *osaniya* (Paṇ 1.29) *utsannadoṣa* > *osannadosa* (Bh. 25.604), *upaśamya* > *osaniya* (Sū 1.4.6), *uśīra* > *osīra* (Paṇ 10-18), *upahata* > *ohaya* (Bh. 3.126, 128; Nā 1.1.34, 46, 48; Vip 12.14-27. etc.) *upagrha* > *ohara* (Paṇ 1.12). In all cases regarding the changes of *au* and *u* to *o* is due to a regular phonetic changes occurred in Ardhamāgadhī and other Prakrits.

Here, in above discussions the phonetic changes of vowels in individual are taken place. Besides these vowels, the phonetic changes of the vowels contracted with the consonant can also be found in the canonical literature. In linguistic point of view the phonetic changes of a vowel have so many reasons and aspects. The quantitative change of a vowel, i.e. shortening and lengthening of a vowel depends on accent. But somewhere the qualitative changes of a vowel take an important place. According to the very regular phonological behaviour the immediate preceding long vowel of conjunct consonant becomes short and in the same way due to the compensatory lengthening a short vowel can be changed into a long one. In some cases it is found that with a slight changing of a place of articulation, a vowel changes its form. Changing of palatal *i* into gutturo-palatal *e* or vice-versa is very popular in Ardhamāgadhī and other Prakrits as well. The same can be found in the case of labial *u* and the labio-velar *o*. In *Aṃga* literature the reciprocal changes of the both are very sporadic. Very bold existence of *e* and *o* before a conjunct consonant cannot be overlooked. But in such occasions it is to be noted that the unit of measurement must be short. Sanskrit *ṛ*, *ḷ*, *ai* and *au* be in free or with a consonant, undergo changes by the phonetic rules of the Prakrit language. There are no exceptions of this rule in the *Aṃga* literature. Sanskrit *ḷ* related to a consonant becomes *ili* in all cases. But very few examples are available in the canons.

We find the development of *ṛ* into *a*, *i*, and *u* and initially into *ri*. But this system does not always happen in Ardhamāgadhī. In very rare cases the initial *ṛ*

is changed into *ri*. Such an example is '*vajra-ṛṣabha-nārāca*'. Here in *ṛṣabha*, the initial *ṛ* is changed into *ri*, thus the word *risaha* is found in the canonical texts. Besides changing of *ai* and *au* into *e* and *o* respectively some times *ai* and *aii* become prevalent in Prakrit.

### Development of Single Consonants

All the consonants of Prakrit have been used in the Ardhamāgadhī of *Aṃga* canonical literature. No Single consonants without vowel are found as per normal phonetic rule admitted in Prakrit. Similarly like other Prakrits, the initial consonants in a word, in most cases, become unchanged.

In the *Aṃga* literature, the initial *k* of a word remains unchanged, except in few cases. Such as *k > kh* — *kubja > khujja* (Ṭh. 6.31 Bh 14.81; Paṇ 1.37, Vip 1.9.35), *khujjatta* (Ā 2.54), *khujjā* (Bh 9.144, 146; 11.159; Nā 1.1.82; Aṃta 3.58), *khujjiya* (Ā. 6.8). There are some examples found in the *Aṃga* literature where *k* become *g*, such as, *kuhara > guhara* (Pan. 4.5), *k > c*; eg. *kirātaputra > cilāputta* (Nā. 1.18.62.1) *kirāti > cilāi* (Nā. 1.1.82), *kirātikā > cilāiā* (Bh. 9.144), *kirāta > cilāya* (Nā 1.18.6, 8, 11, 12; Pan 1.21)

In the aforesaid three cases, changing of *k* into *kh*, *g*, and *c* has three different causes. It is due to accent that the *k* of *kubja* becomes aspirated and changes into *kh*. In case of *k* becoming *g* in *guhara* is nothing but the analogy with *guhā*, so *kuhara* becomes *guhara*, the *k* of the word *kirāta* becomes *c* due to the influence of *i* the palatal vowel related with *k* and thus the word *cilāya* is formed.

In prakrit no conjunct consonant is used in initial position of word. So even in assimilation of a conjunct with *k*, only the single consonants *k* or *kh* remain, eg. *krama > kama* (Nā 1.1.159, 178; 44.14; Pan 4.5), *krīta > kīya* (Ā. 8.21, 22, 23; Sū 2.165; Ṭh. 9.62; Sam 21.1; Bh 9.177), Similarly, *kīyakaḍa* or *kīyagaḍa*, Sanskrit equivalent *krītakṛta* can be found.

Sometimes the intervocalic *k* becomes elided, sometimes becomes *g* and sometimes remains unchanged. Hemacandra while formulating the sūtra for Mahaārāṣṭrī Prakrit (8.1.177) that intervocalic *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *y* and *v* are optionally elided. This option shows the existence of those intervocalic

consonants if these consonants suit for remain unchanged. In the Ardhamāgadhī 'y-śruti' has an important place, though it is also regular in Mahārāṣṭrī. *k* becoming *g* is a regular feature of Ardhamāgadhī. It is nothing but the change of an unvoiced consonant to the voiced one. These features are very regular and popular in the *Aṃga* literature.

In the same way the other mutes undergo changes in Ardhamāgadhī as well as the language of *Aṃga* canons. All these phonetic changes in Ardhamāgadhī have nothing remarkable differences from that of Mahārāṣṭrī are almost same in the language of the *Aṃga* canonical texts. So like Mahārāṣṭrī, in the canonical texts too, the changes of *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *dh*, *bh* into *h* is quite regular. *ch* and *jh* remain unchanged, *ṭh* and *ḍh* being intervocalic become *ḍh* in most of the cases. Some examples are as follows —

*kh*—*nakha* (Bh 5.53, Nā 1.4.24. Uv. 2.21. 28; Paṇ 10.18), elision of *kh*—*maukhara* > *mohara* (Th. 10.137. Paṇ 10.7), *mekhalā* > *mehalā* (Bh. 12.165; Nā 1.16.185, paṇ. 4.4; 10.14, 15 etc.) *śākhā* > *śāhā* (Ā-cū 1.96) *gh*—*megha* (Nā. 1.5.12, 13; Paṇ 4.7), likewise *meghamkarā*, (Th. 8.100.1), *meghamālīṇī* (Th 8.100.1) elision of *gh*—*meghā* > *mehā* (Bh. 10.65). In most of the cases *th* becomes *h* rather than becoming unchanged. eg. *maithuna* > *mehuṇa* (Sū 1.3.68, Sam 5.2, 6; Bh 1.286, 384 etc.) in some cases instead of becoming *h*, *th* becomes *ḍh* through *\*paṭhama* > *paṭhama* > *paḍhama*. This is an example of cerebralisation. *dh* sometimes remains unchanged but in of the cases it becomes *h*. eg. *sādhaka* > *sāhaka* (Paṇ 7.1; 1.8.236. 1 etc.). In the same way *bh* is also elided, thus, *sabhā* > *sahā* (Ā.cu. 2.36; 3.47), *svabhāva* > *sahāva* (Nā 1.9.54.4; Paṇ 2.8 etc.).

The same development of Sanskrit nasal sounds are found in both the Mahārāṣṭrī and the Ardhamāgadhī of canonical texts. *ṇ* and *ñ* being single, cannot exist in a word. They can assimilated with the consonants of their own groups (*vargas*). Although this feature is regular in Mahārāṣṭrī but in the Ardhamāgadhī of the *Aṃga* literature, *anusvāra* surpasses both the nasals. In the Ardhamāgadhī both dental *n* and cerebral *ṇ* are used initially but medially single *ṇ* is used. *m* has no change in Ardhamāgadhī, although Mahārāṣṭrī admits *jaṇṇā* *kāṇṇo* etc. in place of *m*.

Among the semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, and *v*, the features of initial *y* is rather peculiar. In Mahārāṣṭrī it becomes *j* in the same position, but in Ardhamāgadhī it becomes elided and a remains. eg. *yathārtha* > *ahāriha*, *yathāśruta* > *ahāsuya*, *yathāvakāśa* > *ahāvagāsa*, *yathāsatya* > *ahāsacca* etc. Sometimes *r*, due to the influence of Māgadhī becomes *l*. This is the common feature in Mahārāṣṭrī too. out of three sibilants only dental *s* remains in Ardhamāgadhī as well as in the texts of Aṃga canon.

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