II

THE INDO-ARYAN NASALS IN GUJRATI

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1. 1. The following discussion of the treatment of the Indo-Āryan nasals in Gujrātī is based on materials which I have been collecting with a view to a more complete account of the sound changes of the language, but of which circumstances have delayed the publication.

Much that is contained in the older comparative grammars of the modern Indo-Āryan languages is of little value, as at the time of their writing the new ideas of the Junggrammatiker had either not been published or at least had not been appreciated by the writers. The inviolability of sound laws is still a golden principle for a student of linguistic change to hold to, and if he is forced to confess to a violation, he must frankly recognize the fact, investigate it fully, and, if possible, explain it. Any modifications of the original theory have not so much struck at its foundations as multiplied the conditions under which we may expect variation. The importance of this has not, unfortunately, always been realized by more recent writers on the sound changes of the modern Indian languages.¹ They have been too often content with saying that such and such a sound develops in two or more ways in the same language without attempting to specify the conditions of variation. To do something towards such a specification with regard to the nasals, and

¹ Since writing this article I have had the privilege of reading M. J. Bloch's excellent book *La formation de la langue marathe*, which all students of Indian languages in particular and of comparative philology in general will welcome as one of the first scientific attempts to explain the phonetic history of a modern Indian language.

particularly *m*, in Gujrātī I have attempted in the following pages.

1. 2.

Abbreviations

A. Apabhraṃśa.	Mod. Modern.
fr. derived from.	O. Old.
G. Gujrātī.	P. Pañjābī.
H. Hindī.	PI. Primitive Indian
HD. Hēmacandra's Dēśi-	(Urindisch).
nāmamālā.	s. having the same meaning.
IA. Indo-Āryan.	Ś. Śaurasēnī.
Idg. Indogermanic.	wcl. with compensatory
L. Lexicographers.	lengthening.
M. Marāṭhī.	* indicates a conjectural form.

Where the language with which the Gujrātī word is compared is not specified, Skt. (Sanskrit) is to be understood.

1. 3. There is good reason to believe that Gujrātī is descended from a dialect of Śaurasēnī (a question I hope to discuss at greater length afterwards)¹; possibly the Apabhraṃśa of Hēmacandra forms a link in the chain. But this point still needs investigation (see Sir G. Grierson's notes in the *Linguistic Survey of Gujrātī*).²

1. 4. Primitive Indian as represented by the language of the Veda possessed the following nasals: *ṇ*, *ñ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, *ṃ*. Of these *ṇ* and *ñ* are never found independently, but only in connexion with their corresponding stops; *ṇ*, due originally to the presence of an *ṣ*- or *r*-sound, is found neither initially nor finally, but is otherwise independent; *n* and *m* are quite independent and are found in all positions; it is possible that final *-m* was replaced by *-ṃ*,

¹ Dr. Barnett's statement in *Antiquities of India*, p. 34, that G. is descended from Āvantī seems without sufficient foundation. The Āvantī dialect of Ś. has left so few monuments that it is impossible to draw a safe conclusion.

² A difficulty in the way of a close connexion is the different treatment of *-m*. In A. every *-m* tended to become *-ṃ*, e.g. *nāḍa*, *caṇḍaru* from *nāma camaraḥ*: G. *nām cāmar* (see 3. 3 ff.). The chief point of connexion is the close resemblance of verbal forms (cf. 5. 1).

although the modern Brāhman pronunciation gives *-m*. The exact value of *ṁ*, found only before sibilants and perhaps finally, is undetermined. That it was something more than a mere nasality of the preceding vowel seems to be shown by the fact that when it becomes such the vowel is lengthened wcl. (see 6. 417) and that the grammarians distinguished between it and the sound they called *anunāsika*, which seems to have been a simple nasality of the accompanying vowel. The modern pronunciation given to *ṁ* seems to me to be that of a nasalized labial spirant *-ṽ-* or *-ṡ-*, e.g. I have heard *siṃhaḥ* as *siṡhaḥ* from a Marāṭhā scholar.

1. 5. Gujrātī possesses the following nasals: *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, and the nasalization of vowels represented by the mark *-* over the vowel. Of these *ṇ* is found finally as a current pronunciation of final *-ṅ* in pausa and before consonants (see 6. 411), and sometimes I think it appears between a nasalized vowel and a guttural, particularly if the vowel is short, e.g. *āḡūṭhō* or *āṅḡūṭhō*; otherwise it has no independent existence. *ṇ* is formed with the tip of the tongue turned back and striking the palate a trifle further back than for *ṭ*, etc.; the mouth passage does not seem to me to be completely closed during the whole formation of the sound, and it is perhaps a cerebral nasalized spirant rather than a nasal proper; it often imparts a certain amount of nasality to the preceding vowel, in this way resembling the history of the group *ama* > *aṡa* > *āva* (see 3. 32). It occurs in all positions except initially. *n* is formed by contact between the tip of the tongue and the roots and inside edge of the upper front teeth; it occurs in all positions. *m* is formed by closure of the lips and is like English *m* except that the lips are held rather more tautly; it is unrestricted in position. Any vowel may be nasalized, and the nasalization, generally equivalent in strength to Jespersen's $\delta 2$, is coincident with the duration of the vowel.

2. Initial *n-*, *m-*

2. 1. *n-*, Ś. *n-* becomes (Mod. IA. *n-*) G. *n-*: *nār* f. "woman": *nārī* s.; *navō* "new": *navah* s.; *nāthō* "having fled": *naṣṭah* "destroyed"; *nām* n. "name": *nāman-* n. s.; *nās* m. "destruction": *nāsaḥ* s.; *nā* "not": *na* s.; *naḷ* m. "pipe": *nalah* "reed"; *nisāsō* m. "groan": *niḥśvāsaḥ* s.; *nāmvū* "to pour": *nāmayati* "to bend"; *nīm* m. "Azadirachta Indica": *nimbaḥ* s.

2. 2. *m-*, Ś. *m-* (Mod. IA. *m-*) remains: *māg* m. "road": *mārgah* s.; *maḷ* m. "dirt": *malam* s.; *mūḷ* n. "root": *mūlam* s.; *mākḥ* f. "fly": *makṣā* s.; *māthū* n. "head": *mastakam* s.; *mūthō* "sweet": *mṛṣṭah* s.; *mārvū* "to strike": *mārayati* "to kill"; *mājvū* "to clean": *mārjati* s.; *mātō* "mad": *mattah* "intoxicated".

3. Intervocalic *-ṇ-*, *-n-*, *-m-*

3. 1. *-ṇ-*, Ś. *-ṇ-* becomes (M. *ṇ*, H. *n*) G. *-ṇ-*: *khaṇ* n. "moment": *kṣaṇam* s.; *cōṇō* "fourfold": *caturguṇah* s.; *ghāṇ* m. "stink": *ghrāṇah* s.; *chāṇ* n. "cowdung": *chagaṇam* s.; *suṇvū* "to hear": *śṛṇōti* s.; *ōkhaṇvū* "to pound": *avakṣaṇōti* s.; *kaṇas* n. "ear of corn": *kaṇisaḥ* s.; *gharṇī* f. "mistress of the house" fr. **garhiṇikā*: *grhiṇī* s.

3. 2. *-n-*, Ś. *-ṇ-* (M. *ṇ*, H. *n*) becomes G. *-ṇ-* (cf. G.M.P. -ḷ- fr. -l-: H. -l-): *māṇas* m. "man": *mānuṣah* s.; *tāṇvū* "to stretch": *tānayati* s.; *dhaṇī* m. "master": *dhanikah* "rich"; *hīṇ* "base, low": *hīnaḥ* s.; *ghaṇō* "many": *ghanah* "thick"; *ūṇō* "not quite filled": *ūnaḥ* "less"; *viṇ* "without": *vinā* s.; *pāṇī* n. "water": *pāṇīyam* s.; *vakhāṇ* n. "story": *vyākhyānam* s.; *āṇvū* (or *āṇṇvū*) n. "courtyard": *aṇḡanam* s.

3. 3. Up to the present it does not seem to have been noticed that in Gujrātī we have a double treatment of Pī. intervocalic *-m-* regulated by definite conditions. For example, Sir G. Grierson in his article in the ZDMG.,

Actually Gujrātī is one of the few languages, including Singhalese and the North-West dialects (see Grierson, *Piśācī Languages*, p. 118), which have not uniformly changed *-m-* to *-ṽ-*. The conditions appear to be as follows. The treatment of *-m-* depends on the position of the accent,² i.e. the later penultimate stress of the type $\acute{\text{---}} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$, $\acute{\text{---}} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$, $\acute{\text{---}} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$.

3. 311. Immediately : *jamvū* "to eat", *jamaṇ* n. "meal", H. *jaunār* m. "feast" fr. **jamanakāra-jāunār* : *jamati* "to eat"; *cāmar* m. or f. "flyflap" : *cāmarah* s., H. *cāwar* m. s. : *camarah* s.; *ugāmvū* "to lift out", H. *ugānā* "to raise" fr. **ugāwnā* : **udgāmayati*, Skt. *udgamayati* "to cause to come up"; *namvū* "to bend" intrans., H. *naunā* s. fr. **naūnā* : *namati* s.; *nāmuvū* "to pbur", H. *nānā* "to cause to bend" fr. **nāūnā* : *nāmayati* s.; *kamaḷ* m. "lotus", H. *kāwal* m. s. : *kamalah* s.; *bhamrō* m. "bee", H. *bhaārā* m. s. : *bhramarah* s.; *sāmḷō* "dark", H. *sāwlā* "dark-complexioned" : *śyāmalah* s.; *nām* n. "name", H. *nāw* m. s. : *nāman*- n. s.; *gām* m. "village", H. *gāw* m. s. : *grāmah* s.; *visāmō* m. "rest", M. *visāvā* s. : *viśrāmah* s.; *sīm* f. "border", H. *sīw* s. : *sīmā* s.; *tam* m. "darkness", H.

² The same writer, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 ff., ignores any influence of stress accent in the development of the Mod. IA. languages. To do this in the case of G., at least, seems to me impossible. There is little or no stress now, but its effects are evident. It is worth noting that in many words it must have had a different position from any accent postulated to explain Marāṭhī changes.

tāwālā m. "darkness before the eyes, fainting": *tamas-n*. "darkness"; *damvā* "to tire": *damayati* "to subdue"; *vām* m. or f. "fathom": *vyāmaḥ* s.; *vimal* "clean": *vimalaḥ* s.; *samō* m. "time": *samayaḥ* s. (if it were a loan-word like H. *samai*, *samāi*, we should expect **samē*); *dhamaṇ* f. "bellows": *dhamanī* "pipe"; *lōm* m. "hair of the body": *lōmam* s.; *bhām* f. "angry woman": RV. *bhāmaḥ* "anger"; *dhīmō* "steady": *dhīmant-* "thoughtful".

3. 3 1 2. Mediatly: *pācmō* "fifth", H. *pācwā* s. fr. **pañcamakaḥ*: *pañcamah* s.; *sātmō* "seventh", H. *sātva* s.: *saptamāḥ* s.; *dādam* m. "pomegranate": *dāḍimāḥ* s.; *nōm* f. "ninth day": *navamī* f. "ninth".

3. 3 2. Before the accent -*m*-, Ś. -*m*- becomes the nasalized labial spirant *ṁ*: this -*v*- falls together with -*v*- fr. Pl. -*v*-, -*p*-, -*b*-, and the nasalization is transferred to the preceding vowel.

3. 3 2 1. *kūvārō* "unmarried", H. *kūwār* s.: *kumāraḥ* "lad"; *sōpvā* "to consign", H. *saūpnā* fr. **sāvappa* -: *samarpayati* s.; *sōg* m. "disguise", H. *saūg* m. "imitation": **samāṅgaḥ* "having the same form"; *sōdhā* m. pl. "a particular fragrant drug", H. *saūdhā* "sweet-smelling": *samagandhaḥ* "a particular perfume made of similar ingredients"; *sōghō* "cheap", M. *savāg* s.: *samarghaḥ* s.; *pōdvā* "to crush": *pramardati* s.; *sōsrō* "passing through" fr. **samapasarakah*: *apasarati* "to pass away out" (?); *ābōḍō* m. "hair dressed in the shape of a mango" fr. **āmramākuṭakaḥ* (*ō* for *ō* by dissimilation with previous *ā*).

3. 3 2 2. Similarly in terminations, where the -*m*- is not felt to be a part of the root (in Jespersen's sense), it becomes -*ṁ*-: e.g. 1st sing. indefinite pres. *puchā* and 1st pl. fut. *puchīsū* fr. Ś. *pucchāmi*, *pucchissāmō* (see 4. 3), as opposed to *pācmō*, etc., where the -*m*- runs through the paradigm: *pācmō*, *pācmī*, *pācmā*, *pācmā*.

3. 3 3. When the pre-accentual syllable is long, -*m*-

remains : *jamāi* m. "son-in-law", H. *jāwāi* s., M. *jāvaī* s. fr. **jāmātrkaḥ* : *jāmātar-* s.; *samānō* "like" fr. *sāmāna-* (found in compounds) : *samānaḥ* s. (cf. *jōl* f. "twins" fr. **yaugala-* : *yugalam* "pair"; *pōthī* f. "book" fr. **paustikā* : *pustakam* s.; *mōh* n. "face" : *mukham* s.; *mōgrō* m. "jasmine" : *mudgarah* s.; Buddhist Skt. *dāridraḥ* "poor", Māgadhi *dāliddē* s. : *daridraḥ* s.).

3. 3 3 1. *samāvvā* "to accommodate", H. *samānā* "to be contained in", M. *sāmāvnē* "to contain", cannot be explained as from *samāpayati* "to bring to an end". To suppose a shifting of accent to the first syllable, thus protecting the -m- from change, would necessitate a form **samavvū*; and in any case in H. and M. the -m- would become -v-. The Skt. *śamyati* "to finish, settle" gives as good a sense, and satisfactorily explains the -m-. *śamyati* becomes **sāmē* (inf. **sāmṃvū*), from which a passive *samāvū* (= H. *samānā*) and a causative *samāvvū* (= M. *sāmāvnē*) are formed. Similarly, *gamāvvū* is formed from **gāmvū* : *gāmayati* (cf. *ugāmvū* fr. **udgāmayati*).

3. 3 3 2. *gosāi* m. "ascetic", H. *gosāi* : *gōsvāmin-* s., *ghaū* n. "wheat", H. *gēhū*, M. *gahū* s. : *gōdhūmaḥ* s., *kādav* m. "mud", H. *kādaū*, *kādarū* m. "slime" : *kardamaḥ* s. are loan-words. For the loss of the nasalization in the last see 6. 4 2.

4. Final -m, -n

4. The development of final nasalized syllables in Gujrātī, including those treated of in 5, depends upon the nature of the preceding vowel. With the low vowels *ā* and *u* nasalization is retained; with the high vowel *ē* the raising of the back of the tongue, causing a raising of the back of the velum also, leads to its loss. *ī* : A. -*iā*, Ś. -*iam*, Skt. -*ikam*, -*itam*, is probably later in its origin than the loss of *~* in *ē*.

4. 1. Final -m.

4. 1 1. -*ām*, -*īm*, -*ūm*, Ś. -*aṃ*, -*iṃ*, -*uṃ* disappear in G. when preceded by a consonant preserved into the Ś. period : 1st sing. fut. *karīs* "I will do" : Ś. *karissam* ; acc. sing. *kān* m. "ear" : *karṇam* ; *jībḥ* f. "tongue" : *jihvām* ; *āg* f. "fire" : *agnim* ; *dhaman* f. : *dhamanīm* ; *kāg* m. "a kind of corn" : *kaṅgum* s.

4. 1 2. Where -*aṃ* is preceded by a Ś. vowel, the two are contracted in G.

4. 1 2 1. -*akam*, Ś. -*aam*, A. -*aū* becomes G. -*ā* : nom. acc. n. sing. -*ā* fr. -*akam*, e.g. *āṅṇū* fr. **aṅganakam* : *aṅganam*. It should be noted here that the acc. sing. of masc. words in -*ō* (fr. *akah*) is -*ō*, not -*ū* (fr. -*akam*) on the analogy : *kān* (fr. *karṇah*) : *kān* (fr. *karṇam*) ; *ghōḍō* (fr. *ghōṭakah*) : *ghōḍō* (for **ghōḍū* fr. *ghōṭakam*).

4. 1 2 2. -*ikam*, -*itam*, Ś. -*iaṃ* A. -*iā* become G. -*ī* : *dahī* n. "curds" fr. **dadhikam* : *dadhi* n. s. (but see 5. 2 3) ; *mahī* n. "curds" : *mathita*- "churned". It must be noted that when preceded by a nasal this -*ī* becomes -*ī* : m. *pāṇī* n. "water" : *pāṇīyam* s.¹

4. 2. It is possible that there is a trace of final -*n* in the nasalization of the adverbs of place *tyā*, *jyā*, etc. : cf. *tasmin*.

5. Final -*āmi*, -*āmaḥ*, -*āni*, -*ēna*, -*īni*

5. If the accent of the penultimate stress scheme fell on the termination, it was shifted to the root syllable on the analogy of a majority of connected forms and for the sake of sense protection : e.g. *pūcchantaō* fr. *pucchāntaō* after *pūcchasi*, *pūcchai*, *pūcchaha*, *pūccha*, *pūcchau*, *pūcchia*, *pucchium*, *pūcchiō*, etc., so also *pūcchāmi* fr. *pucchāmi* (cf. A. *pucchami*, *pucchimi*), etc. Add to this the growth of other means to replace the ideas conveyed by inflection, with the consequent loss of distinct pronunciation of inflections no longer necessary for intelligibility (see

¹ M. Bloch gives the same form for M., but says that it is a matter only of writing, not of speech. The G. seems to me to be simply *pāṇī*.

Jespersen, *Growth of Language, passim*), and it will be seen that the final inflectional syllables came to be pronounced without much stress.¹ This seems to accord with the linguistic history of Gujrātī. For the treatment of the nasals in these syllables differs from that of those in the body of the word. We have already in 4 seen that final *-m* and *-n* are treated differently from medial *-m-*, *-n-*, becoming a mere nasalization, which under certain circumstances is lost with the vowel it nasalizes. We have now to deal with cases where *m* and *n* are not final, but are followed by a vowel.

5. 1 1. 1st sing. pres. *āmi-*, Ś. *-āmi*, A. *-ami*, *-imi* becomes G. *-ā*, through **āṽ(i)*. If this is so, Pischel (§ 454) is wrong in deriving A. *vattaū* from **vartakam* (after the grammarians' form *pacakati* = *pacati*) with the secondary ending as in the Ś. fut. *karissam*. Rather it is from *vattāmi*, *vattami*, in which *-m-* became *-ṽ-* and *-i* was dropped (for A. *-ṽ-* fr. *-m-* see Pischel, § 251, Bloch, op. cit., § 67, above 3. 3 2). The A. paradigm thus becomes clearer :—

pucchaū, G. *puchā*, fr. *prcchāmi*.

pucchasi fr. *prcchasi*.

(*pucchahi*, G. *puchē*, has *-h-* after 2nd pl.).

pucchai, G. *puchē* fr. *prcchati*.

pucchahū for **pucchaū* (after 2nd pl., and with desire to distinguish it from 1st sing.) fr. *prcchāmah*.

pucchahu, G. *puchō*, fr. **prcchatha(h)*.

pucchahī, G. *puchē*, for **pucchamti* after the analogy
pucchaū : *pucchahū* : *pucchai* : *pucchahī*.

5. 1 2. Similarly, 1st pl. *-āmah* (*-āma*), Ś. *-āmō* becomes G. *-ā* in the 1st pl. fut., e.g. *karīśū* fr. Ś. *karissāmō*, Skt. *karīṣyāmah*.

5. 2. In *-āni*, *-ēna* (and perhaps *īni*) *-n-* becomes *~*.

¹ My views have undergone some changes since my last note in the JRAS.

5. 2 1. n.pl. *-āṇi*, Ś. *-āṇi*, *-āṇiṃ* becomes G. *-ā*,¹ e.g. *chōkrā* pl. : *chōkrā* n. "child"; *pākā* n.pl. : *pākō* "ripe", etc., cf. M. n.pl. *-ā*. In H. it becomes *-ē*, where it serves as the m.pl., as the n. has been lost, e.g. *ghōrē* pl. : *ghōrā* sing. "horse". But besides *-āṇi* there is also found in Prakrit the form *-āṇi*. Did these two forms exist side by side at the same time in the same language? It is possible, perhaps most probable, that *-āṇi* represents only a conservatism of writing, and that both symbols were uniformly spoken as *-āṇi*. It may, however, be that the two forms were current together. Jespersen, *Progress in Language*, p. 55, speaking of the shortening of frequently repeated words, says: "Wherever a person is often spoken of, the speaker is understood by everybody before he is half through the name, if it is rather a long one, and therefore he often does not take the trouble to pronounce the latter part of it. He thus exemplifies the principle we meet with everywhere: people do not pronounce distinctly unless they feel that distinctness is necessary if they are to be understood; whatever is easily understood from the context or from the situation is either slurred over or left out completely." Just as in English we have a multiplicity of doublets due to difference in distinctness of utterance, e.g. [kju, ŋkju, þæŋkju] = *thank you*, [jes] or simply a nasal vowel with the lips closed = *yes*, so perhaps one is justified in imagining that when a string of words came together all having the same inflection, e.g. *savvāṇi imāṇi pakkāṇi phalāṇi*, there was a tendency to pronounce one distinctly and to slur over the rest, producing something like *savvāṇi imāṇi pakkāṇi phalāṇi*.

5. 2 2. Inst. sing. *-ēna*, Ś. *-ēna*, A. *-ēṃ*, *-ē* becomes G. *-ē* (M. *-ē*): e.g. *dūdhe* inst. sing. : *dūdhi* n. "milk". It has been extended to all nouns of whatsoever origin, e.g. *chōkrē* : *chōkrī* f. "girl".

¹ Only found in *-aka-* stems, i.e. where G. sing. is *-ā*; *-a-* stems (e.g. *ghar* n. "house") have pl. in *-ō*.

5. 2 3. n. pl. *-īni* is perhaps to be found in G. *dahī* fr. *dadhīni*. The Pkt. form *dahīm* points to this derivation rather than **dadhikam* (see 4. 2), which would give Pkt. *dahiam*, while *dadhi* would be represented in Pkt. by **dahim* (cf. Pkt. *vārim* : Skt. *vāri*).

5. 2 4. It should be noted that this change affects *-n-* only when it forms part of an inflection, and does not touch any other unaccented *-n-*, if it forms part of the root: e.g. *mākaṇ* m. "bug", *vēraṇ* f. "angry woman", *kākaṇ* n. "bracelet" : *matkun-aḥ*, *matkun-am*, *matkun-āḥ*, etc., *vairiṇ-ī*, *vairiṇ-īm*, *vairiṇ-yaḥ*, etc., *kaṇkanam*, *kaṇkan-āni*, etc.

6. Consonant groups containing a nasal

6. All consonant groups are simplified in G. with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel. If this vowel is preaccentual, it appears as short in Mod. G., while accented *ū*, *ī* before a Mod. G. consonant group become *u*, *i* (and perhaps in all words of more than one syllable).

6. 1. Stop + nasal.

6.1 1. In the group guttural + *n* the *n* is assimilated.
kn : *mukāvū* "to separate" fr. **mukna-*, Ś. *mukḥ* : *muktaḥ*; *sākvū* "to be able", Ś. *sakḥadi* : *śakṇōti* s.

gn : *nāgō* "naked" : Ś. *naggō*, Skt. *nagnah* s.; *āg* f. "fire" : Ś. *aggī*, Skt. *agniḥ* m. s.; *bhāgō* "broken" : *bhagnah* s.

6. 1 2. In the group *jñ* the *j* is assimilated, giving *ññ*, Ś. *ññ*, O.G. *nn*, *nh*, G. *n* wel., or initially *n-* : *rānī* f. "queen" : Ś. *raññī*, Skt. *rājñī* s.; *janōī* f. "sacrificial cord" : *yajñōpavitam* s.; *vinavū* "to solicit" : Ś. *viñṇavēdi*, Skt. *viññapayati* s.; *ān* f. "command" : Ś. *añṇā*, Skt. *ājñā* : *nāṇvū* "to try" : *jñānam* "knowledge".

6. 1 3. The groups *tm*, *pn* result in a "compromisslaut" and become Ś. *pp* (*tt* ?), *mm* (?), G. *p*, *m* wel.

6. 1 3 1. *tm* : *āp* "you" (polite form) : Ś. *appa-*, Skt. *ātmā* nom. sing. "self".

6. 1 3 2. *pn*: *pamvū* "to get": *prāpnōti* s. Sir G. Grierson's derivation (Phon. ii, p. 17) of *pām-* from *prāp-* (*prāpayati*?) does not seem to me satisfactory, despite *kamād* m. "flap of a door": *kapāṭaḥ* s. (is this *m* due to contamination with some other word?).¹ *āpayati* "to get" becomes G. *āvū* "to come to". *sāmṇū* n. "dream": *svapnam* s. This is probably a contaminated doublet form fr. **sāmū* fr. **svapnakam* and **sivṇū* fr. Ś. *sivṇam*, PI. **supina-*, Idg. **supəno-* (cf. Gk. *ὑπνος* fr. **ὑπavos*).

6. 2. A long nasal is shortened wel.: *ṇṇ* becomes *n* wel. An intermediate stage between *ṇṇ* and *n* is marked in O.G. (and in O. Western Rājasthānī, see JRAS. July, 1913) by *nh*. Cf. Tulsī Dās *dīnh*: Pkt. *diṇṇō* "having been given". What is the phonetic or physiological explanation of this symbol is unclear. At least it was not identical with *nh* fr. *sn*, *ṣṇ*, *śn*, where *h* is still sometimes heard.

6. 2 1. *ṇṇ*: there is no certain example of this; the derivation of *khūn* f. "murder" fr. *kṣuṇṇaḥ* "pulverized" in face of the Persian *khūn* "blood" is almost certainly wrong. But cf. *n* fr. *ṇṇ* fr. *rṇ*, and fr. *ṇṇ* fr. *ññ* fr. *jñ* and *ny*.

6. 2 2. *nn*, Ś. *ṇṇ*: *chānō* "concealed": *channaḥ* s.; *ān* n. "corn": *annam* "food"; *bhīnō* "wet": *bhinnaḥ* "split, disintegrated (*as by water)"; *kinrī* f. "fiddle": *kinnarī* "divine musician"; *anāj* n. "corn": *annādyam* "food".

6. 2 3. *mm*.: *samārvū* "to kill" fr. **sammārayati*; *sāmō* "opposite": *sammukhaḥ* s.; *dām* m. "money": *drammaḥ* "a coin", borrowed fr. Gk. *δραχμή*.

6. 3. In the groups semi-vowel + nasal and nasal + semi-vowel, the semi-vowel is assimilated, except in the groups *mr*, *ml* where a *b* is developed between the two sounds, when intervocalic.

¹ M. Bloch (§ 137) follows Grierson, and suggests a feeling of linguistic equivalence between *m* and *v* as the cause. This, however, would seem to be wrong in the light of the history of *-m-* in G.

6. 3 1. Semi-vowel + nasal.

6. 3 1 1. *rn*: *kān* m. "ear": Ś. *kaṇṇō*, Skt. *kaṇṇaḥ* s. *pān* m. "a roll of betel leaf with areca, lime, etc.": *parṇaḥ* "leaf"; *sōṇā* n. "gold": Ś. *sōvaṇṇam*, Skt. *sauvarṇam* s.; *ūn* n. "wool": *ūrṇam* s.; *jūnō* "old": *jūrṇaḥ* s.; *vān* m. "colour": *varṇaḥ* s.; *cunārō* m. "lime-burner": *cūrṇakāraḥ* s.; *cūn* n. "lime": *cūrṇam* s.; *jīnō* "thin": *jūrṇaḥ* "worn".

6. 3 1 2. *rm*: *cām cāmdā* n. "leather": Ś. *cammaṇ*, Skt. *carmaṇ-* n. s.; *camār* m. "cobbler": *carmakāraḥ* s.; *kām* n. "business": Ś. *kammaṇ*, Skt. *karmaṇ-* n. s.; *ghām* m. "sweat": *gharmaḥ* "hot"; *comās* n. "monsoon": *caturmāsam* s.; *bhām* n. "tax on leather": *bharman* "wages"; *kēvaldhām* n. "total absolution": *dharma* m. or n. "right"; *dhāmaṇ* f. "snake": *dhārmaṇaḥ* s.; *kāmaṇ* m. "witchcraft": *kārmaṇam* s.

6. 3 1 3. *lm*: *kāmas* f. "sugar-cane juice": *kalmaṣam* "dregs"; *gumḍā* n. "boil": *gulma-* m. or n. "clump".

6. 3 2. Nasal + semi-vowel.

6. 3 2 1. *ny*, Ś. *ṇṇ*: *pūn* n. "virtue": *puṇyam* s.; *rān* n. "wilderness": *araṇyam* "forest".

6. 3 2 2. *ny*, Ś. *ṇṇ*: *sūnō* "solitary": *sūnyaḥ* "empty"; *dhān* n. "corn": *dhāṇyam* s.; *mānvā* "to obey": *manyatē* "to honour"; *ān*¹ "another": *anyaḥ* s.; *nākhvū* "to throw down": *nyakṣaḥ* "low".

6. 3 2 3. *my*, Ś. *mm*: *samāvā* "to be mitigated": *sāmyati* "to come to an end"; *ghuṁvā* "to consider, to resound": HD. *ghummai* "to roll" fr. **ghumyati*: *ghumaghumāyate* "to resound".

6. 3 3. *mr*, *ml* become *-mbr-*, *-mbl-*, Ś. *mb*, G. nasalized long vowel + *b*; finally, long vowel + *m*; initial *mr-* becomes *m-*.

6. 3 3 1. *mr*: *mākhaṇ* n. "butter": *mrakṣaṇam* "oil"; *ābō* m. "mango": Ś. *ambaṇ*, Skt. *āmram* s.;

¹ There is a doublet *ān*: cf. M. *āṇi* "and". M. Bloch (§ 135) suggests an Idg. difference of form.

tābū n. "copper" : *tāmram* s. ; *ām* f. "mango fruit" : *āmram* s.

6. 3 3 2. *ml* : *ābāvū* "to have the teeth set on edge" : *āmlam* "sourness".

6. 4. In the group, nasal + stop or sibilant, the nasal is lost and the preceding vowel lengthened and nasalized. In the preaccentual syllable this vowel is shortened, and in the postaccentual shortened and denasalized.

6. 4 1. Accented and preaccentual syllable.

6. 4 1 1. *ñk* : *ākdī* f. "hook" : *añkaḥ* s. ; *kākaṇ* n. "bracelet" : *kañkanam* s. ; *rāk* "humble" : *rañkaḥ* "beggar".

ñkh : *sākhaḥ* m. "chain" : *śrñkhalah* s.

ṅg : *āg* n. "limb" : *aṅgam* s. ; *āglī* f. "finger" : *aṅgulī* s. ; *bhāgvū* "to be broken" fr. **bhaṅgyatē* ; *pāglō* "lame" : *paṅgulaḥ* s. ; *śīg* n. "horn" : *śrṅgam* s. ; *āgnū* : *aṅganam* ; *kāg* : *kaṅguḥ* ; *rāgdō* "walking slowly" : *raṅgati* "to move to and fro" ; *āgūthō* m. "thumb" : *aṅguṣṭhaḥ* s. ; *bhīgārō* m. "wasp" : *bhrṅgaḥ* "bee" ; *āgārō* m. "ember" : *aṅgārakaḥ* s. Final long nasalized vowel + *g* often appears as long vowel + *ṅ* (cf. long vowel + *m* fr. long nasalized vowel + *b*, above 6. 3 3 and below 6. 4 1 5). I have heard it so at the end of a sentence and before words beginning with a consonant, but never before vowels.

ṅgh : *jāgh* f. "thigh" : *jaṅghā* s. ; *lāghvū* "to fast", *lāghnū* n. "fasting" : *laṅghati laṅghanam* s.

6. 4 1 2. *ñc* : *pāc* "5" : *pañca* s. ; *cāc* f. "beak" : *cañcuḥ* f. s. ; *kācī* f. "sleeved coat" : *kañcuḥ* s. ; *lāc* f. "bribe" : *lañcā* s. ; *kūcī* f. "key" : *kuñcīkā* s. ; *ācaḥ* m. "teat" : *añcalaḥ* "the hem of a skirt".

ñj : *mājar* n. "cluster of blossoms" : *mañjaram* s. ; *ājñī* f. "stye in the eye" : *añjanam* "eye ointment" ; *ājvū* "to paint the eyes with collyrium" : *añjayati* "to anoint" ; *pājṛā* n. "prisoner's bar" : *pañjaram* "cage" ; *bhājvū* "to break" fr. **bhañjati* ; *lājō* m. "dispute" :

lañjati "to blame"; *pījvā* "to card cotton": *piñjā* "cotton"; *pūjō* m. "rubbish": *puñjah* "heap"; *māñjīṭh* f. "Bengal madder": *mañjiṣṭhā* s.

6. 413. *ṇṭ*: *kāṭō* m. "thorn": *kaṇṭakah* s.; *vāṭō* m. "share": *vaṇṭah* s.; *ghāṭī* f. "ankle joint": *ghuṇṭakah* s.; *cāṭvā* "to pluck": *cunṭati* "to cut off" (fr. **cṛntati*: *krntati* ?); *lāṭvā* "to plunder": *luṇṭati* "to rob".

ṇṭh: *sāṭh* f. "ginger": *śuṇṭhiḥ* f. s.; *cūṭhva* "to turn and toss over": *cunṭhayati* "to hurt"; *lāṭhō* "violent": *luṇṭhati* "to agitate"; *kāṭhāl* "maritime": *kaṇṭhālāḥ* "boat"; *kāṭhō* m. "shore": *kaṇṭhakah* "neck, *top of a jar, *edge" (cf. *kāṭhāl*).

ṇḍ: *dāḍī* f. "clothes-stick": *daṇḍikā* "stick"; *khāḍvū* "to pound": *khaṇḍatē* "to break"; *āḍ* m. "testicle": *aṇḍah* "egg"; *māḍvū* "to dispose": *maṇḍatē* "to decorate"; *tāḍlā* m.pl. "grains": *taṇḍulam* "grain"; *bhāḍ* "obscene": *bhaṇḍah* "buffoon"; *rāḍ* f. "widow": *raṇḍā* s.; *māḍvō* m. "booth": *maṇḍapaḥ* s.; *Cāḍāl*: *Caṇḍālāḥ*.

6. 414. *nt*: *dāt* m. "tooth": *dantaḥ* s.; *kāt* "beloved": *kāntaḥ* s.; *sāt* m. "saint": *śrāntaḥ* "at peace"; *ātarḍī* f. "entrails"; *ātrō* m. "division": *antaraḥ* "inside, of different form"; *vātarvū* "to cut through": *vyantaram* "difference"; *tāt* f. "thread": *tantuḥ* m. s.; *sāṭvū* "to be finished": *sāntaḥ* "appeased".

nth: *gāṭh* f. "knot": *granthaḥ* s.

nd: *kāḍō* m. "onion": *kandaḥ* "a bulbous root"; *phāḍō* "deceit": *spandaḥ* "rapid motion, *fickleness"; *cāḍ* m. "moon": *candraḥ* s.; *khāḍvū* "to trample on", fr. **kṣundati*: *kṣuṇatti* s.

ndh: *ādhī* f. "dust-storm": *andhikā* "night"; *khāḍh* f. "shoulder": *skandhaḥ* s.; *gāḍhī* m. "druggist": *gandhikah* s.; *bāḍh* m. "dam": *bandhaḥ* s.; *sāḍh* f. "joint": *sandhiḥ* f. "connexion"; *rāḍhvū* "to block up": *rundhati* "to hinder"; *sājḥ* f. "evening": *sandhyā* "twilight"; *vājḥ* "barren": *vandhyaḥ* s.

6. 415. *mp*: *kāp* f. "shivering": *kampaḥ* s.; *cāpū* n. "jack-fruit": *campakaḥ* s.; *lipvā* "to smear", *lipnū* n. "smearing with cowdung": *limpati*, *limpanam* s.

mb: *lābō* "tall": *lambaḥ* s.; *kāblō* m. "blanket": *kambalaḥ* s.; *jābū* f. "rose-apple": *jāmbūḥ* s.; *ābī* f. "ear of corn": *umbikā* "fried stalks of wheat". Finally this nasalized long vowel + *b* becomes long vowel + *m*: *sām* f. "head of a pestle" fr. *sāb sambō sambah* s. (cf. *sābēl* f. "iron nail at the end of the yoke"); *lūm* f. "bunch of fruit": HD. *lumbī* "bunch". This is probably a sandhi change (cf. -*n* fr. -*ng*, see 6. 411) originally only taking place before consonants and at the end of a word group. Hence we find the doublet *sām* and *sāb* "from ring fixed at the end of a stick", both from *sambah*.

mbh: *kābh* m. "pot", *kābhār* m. "potter": *kumbhaḥ*, *kumbhakāraḥ* s.; *lābhā* n. "lottery": *lambhaḥ* "obtaining"; *sābharvū* "to collect": *sambharati* s.; *gābhīr* "grave": *gambhīraḥ* "deep - sounding". *khām* m. "pillar": *skambhaḥ* (also *khābh* m. s.) rests probably on the form **khāb*.

6. 416. *hm* becomes *mh*, *mbh*, which falls together with PI. *mbh*: *abābh* n. "violation of celibacy" fr. **abrahma*- (cf. *abrahmacaryam* with the same meaning), with change of accent to the first syllable.

6. 417. *ṃś*, *ṃs*: *vās* m. "bamboo": *vaṃśaḥ* s.; *sāsō* m. "doubt": *saṃśayaḥ* s.; *pāsro* "tall": *prāṃśuḥ* s.; *kāsā* n.pl. "cymbals": *kāṃsyam* "bell-metal".

6. 42. In post-accentual syllables (due to secondary accent changes, see 5) the vowel loses its nasality. Present participle -*tō* fr. -*atō* **-antakaḥ*, e.g. *puchtō* fr. **pr̥cchantakaḥ*: *pr̥cchant*-, etc. The accent was shifted from -*ánt*- (which would have given **puchātō*) to the root syllable. *pacās* "50" fr. **pācās*, *pañcāsat* after *ēkpacās* "51", etc. *kādav* m. "mud" fr. **kādaū*, a loan-word (cf. H. *kādaū*).

6. 5. The normal development of sibilant + nasal seems to be to nasal + *h*: the *h* falls together with PI. *h* and Pkt. *h*, and is liable to disappear, particularly in uneducated speech. The treatment of sibilant + *m* is uncertain (see 6. 5 2).

6. 5 1. *ṣṇ*, *sn*, Ś. *ṇh*, G. *nh* or *n*, before which a short vowel appears to be lengthened, when *h* is dropped.

6. 5 1 1. *ṣṇ*: *unhō* or *ūnō* "hot": *uṣṇaḥ* s.; *un(h)ālō* m. "hot season": *uṣṇakālah* s.

6. 5 1 2. *sn*: *nhāvū* or *nāhvū* "to bathe", *nāhṇū* n. "ceremonial bath"; *snāti*, *snānam* s.; *nēh* m. "love" fr. **nhēhu*: *snēhaḥ* s.; *pānō* m. "flow of milk into the udder": *prasnavah* "flow".

6. 5 2. The examples of PI. *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm* in G. are not numerous enough to provide a sure description of their history. In the Pkt. dialects (see Pischel, pp. 215 ff.) *śn*, *ṣṇ*, *sn*, except when an anaptyctic vowel was developed between the sibilant and nasal, seem universally to have become *ṇh*. But for *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm*, although most examples show *mh*, there are traces of two other developments: (1) *ss*, e.g. Ś. *Mahissadī* fr. *Mahiṣmatī*, Mg. *ēdaśśim* fr. *ētasmin* (but *-sma* always becomes *-mha*); (2) *pph*, e.g. *bhippha-* fr. *bhīṣma-*, *seppha-* fr. *śleṣma-* (as well as *silimha-*, *sembha-*).

6. 5 2 1. Corresponding to these in G. we find *rās* f. "reins": *raśmiḥ* f. s.; and *āph* f. "warmth": *uṣmaṇ-* m. "heat" (nom. sing. *uṣmā*, i.e. feminine in form). Supposing *mh* fr. *sm* to be voiceless, then the development to *mph* is parallel with that of *mh* (voiced fr. PI. *hm*) to *mbh* (see 6. 4 1 6).

6. 5 2 2. Of *m* fr. *mh* (fr. *sm*) we have examples only in two unaccented words: *tamē* "you": RV. *yusmē* (with *t-* after the singular, and *-a-* perhaps fr. *amē* "we"); *amē* "we": RV. *asmē* s. The retention of the final *ē* is due in both cases to the monosyllabic forms of the sing. *mē* *tē*.

7. The origin of the present Gujrāṭī scheme of nasals as far as tadbhava words are concerned is, then, as follows:—

$m <$	$m-$ 2. 2	$n <$	n 3. 1
	$-m-$ 3. 3 1, 3. 3 3		$-n-$ 3. 2
	pn 6. 1 3 2		
	mm 6. 2 3	$\dot{n} <$	$\dot{n}g$ 6. 4 1 1
	rm 6. 3 1 2		
	lm 6. 3 1 3		
	my 6. 3 2 3		
	mr 6. 3 3 1		$-m-$ 3. 3 2
	sm 6. 5 2 3		$-m$ 4. 1 2
	sn 6. 5 2 2		$-n$ 4. 2
	mb 6. 4 1 5		$-āmi$ 5. 1 1
			$-āma$ 5. 1 2
			$-āni$ 5. 2 1
$n <$	$n-$ 2. 1		$-ēna$ 5. 2 2
	$jñ$ 6. 1 2		$-īni$ 5. 2 3
	nn 6. 2 1		nasal + stop 6. 4
	nn 6. 2 2		hm 6. 4 1 6
	rn 6. 3 1 1		nasal + sibilant 6. 4
	ny 6. 3 2 1		sm 6. 5 2
	ny 6. 3 2 2		mr 6. 3 3 1
	sn 6. 5 1 1		ml 6. 3 3 2
	sn 6. 5 1 2		