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INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE
MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

LOUIS H. GRAY, A.M.

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
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TO
MY FATHER
AND TO
THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER

INTRODUCTION

THE united evidence of comparative linguistics, ethnography, and religion has established the doctrine of Indo-Iranian unity on a firm foundation, thereby affording a cardinal doctrine for the comparative study of Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian. The work of Wackernagel and of Bartholomæ, based upon this principle, has given the older dialects of the Indo-Iranian their due. But, on the other hand, the phonology of the Middle and New periods of this group has not thus far received the attention which it deserves, and it is in an attempt to supply the deficiency that this volume has been written. It aims to prove that the later Indo-Iranian dialects are still closely akin, and have had in many instances analogous developments, which are legitimate evolutions of processes acknowledged in the oldest Indo-Germanic languages of India and Iran.

A priori we should expect dialects derived from a common source to pursue similar courses of phonological development, as far as their surroundings, changing in course of time, permit. To deny this seems tantamount to attacking the entire principle of phonetic law on which comparative linguistics must rest. To affirm it is to give new strength to scientific research. The Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages show many developments in phonology which may be paralleled with entire justice. To such similarities I have sought to call attention, and I hope that the material which has been gathered may be of service to other linguistic students, and prove that the underlying principle of the book has its justification.

A paper of mine, entitled *Certain parallel Developments in Pāli*

and New Persian Phonology, read before the American Oriental Society at Cambridge, Mass., in April, 1899 (*JAOS.*, xx. 229-248), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

‘It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the Mazandarāni in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangali in the east. Between the Indian and the Iranian divisions of the Aryan dialects a development may be traced which is frequently closely parallel. . . . Such a study, which it is my hope and intention to make, might be of service in the study of dialectic developments in general, and although confined to the Indo-Iranian dialects, it might by its implications be not altogether without bearing on the interests of the great body of the Indo-Germanic phonology.’

The result of the investigations which I there proposed to make has been, at least to me, a signal confirmation of my belief.

Mine is not the first attempt to parallel the phonological evolution of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The first Orientalist who, so far as I know, drew attention to the connexion between the two great modern dialect-groups was Reland. He wrote in his study *De linguis insularum orientalium* (‘Dissertationes miscellaneae,’ iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), ‘Nonnullae voces [linguae singalaeae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, راز, *Ras*, ܪܫ *Chaldaeis*, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, بند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pers. دیو *Div*, Genius.’ (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissensch.*, 241.) A very similar suggestion was made exactly a century later, when ‘en 1808 John Leyden fait du zend un dialecte pracrit, parallèle au pali, le pali étant identique au magadhi des grammairiens et le zend à leur

sauraseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magisme, mais n'ayant jamais été parlé par les indigènes de Perse' (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, i. p. xxi, cf. *SBE.*, iv. 2, p. xxiii). In 1878 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Paṣṭō or Language of the Afghāns compared with the Irānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Irānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 35 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *ṛ* to *ē* in Skt. *vrkṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varəša* : Phl. *vəšak*, New Pers. *bəšak* with the Prākritic *gēha* 'house' beside *gṛha* (see below, § 78). The same scholar also alludes to the mutations common to both dialect-groups of initial *y* to *j*, of intervocalic *k* to *g*, or its syncope, of the epenthesis of *-ary-* to *-er-*, and of the apparent substitution of *y* for intervocalic *d* and *g* (see below, §§ 331, 116, 128, 8, 256, 143). Geiger, *ibid.*, 208, notes that the occasional interchange of *l* and *n* in Afyān may be paralleled in Indian (see below, § 281). Against the view held by Geiger and Horn, Hübschmann has expressed himself emphatically (*IF. Ans.*, x. 23), but his objection seems to me scarcely valid.

The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects which I have considered may be classified as follows :

a. Indian. 1. Middle Indian or Prākrit. This group embraces Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākrit *kar' ḗξοχη*, with Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī (also called Ārṣa and Jaina Prākrit), and Śaurasēnī, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍeya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākārī, Caṇḍālī, Śabarī, and others form Mārkaṇḍeya's *viḅhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṅśa and Pāiśāci. Apabhraṅśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prakrits or literary dialects of the period. Pāśāci together with Cūlikapāśāci seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prakrit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prakrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēnadialect'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prakrit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Macdonell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prakrit (or Apabhraṃśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamāgadhī and Jāina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and Mahāvira and the development of the drama gave them opportunity, and they then proved themselves worthy of cultivation in literature, both sacred and profane (Pischel, §§ 13-15).

2. New Indian. The New Indian dialects are derived from the Apabhraṃśas or folk-dialects of the Prakrits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śaurasēni-Apabhraṃśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṃśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṃśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sinhalese and Māladive is derived from a dialect closely akin to Pāli (Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 86-93). Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxiv-xxv, and *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i.

6-7, 33-34, and Grierson, *Seven Grammars . . . of the Bihārī Language*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1883, 3-7, should also be consulted.

I have discussed the New Indian dialects in the following order: Assamese, Nāipālī, Kāsmīrī, Uriyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Sinhalese and its older form Eḷu, Māladive, and Gypsy. There are numerous sub-dialects in all of them. The most comprehensive classification of these languages is in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India, First, Rough List*, Calcutta, 1898. Here, for instance, sixty-four sub-dialects of Gujarātī are given with their districts and the number of persons speaking them; Bangālī has sixteen varieties of vernacular, and Western Hindī fifty-two. For further information see Cust, *Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, 35-64, 158-161; Beames, *Comp. Gramm.*, i. 96-107; Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 88-89.

Language maps of India should also be consulted, such as those given in Hoernle's *Comp. Gramm.*, and his edition of the *Prākṛta-Lakṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1880; Beames's *Outlines of Indian Philology*, London, 1868; Grierson's *Seven Gramm. of Bihārī*, i; Cust's *Mod. Lang. of the East Ind.*; Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Westminster, 1893, plate 10, and others.

b. Iranian. 1. Middle Iranian. The sole surviving representative of Middle Iranian is Middle Persian, or Pahlavi, which is closely related to Old Persian (Salemann, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 225-226).

2. New Iranian. New Iranian dialects are exceedingly numerous. They are divided as follows: New Persian and the dialects of the Pamir, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūci, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pamir dialects include Wāxī, Šiyānī, Sariqolī, Rōšānī, Tājiki, Sangliet, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaynōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lāhijānī, Gilakī, Tališī, and Tāt (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sīvēndī, Yazdī, Zafrahī, Kāšāhī, Vōnišūnī, Kuhrudī, Nāyini, Natanzī, and Kāšānī (Geiger, 381-383). The Afyān

dialects are the Northern and Southern, which do not differ materially from each other (Geiger, 203 ; Darmesteter, *Chants pop.*, p. iv). Balūci, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrāni), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūci literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrāni is the more primitive speech. North Balūci is divided into Layāri in the North and Marri in the South, while Southern Balūci comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūri, Kirmānšāhi, Gūrāni, Mukri, and Zaza (Socin, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 249-252, cf. Justi, *Kurd. Gramm.*, pp. xix-xxvii). The sub-groups of the Ossetish are Tagaurish or Irish, Ironish, in the (North-) East, Digorish or Dugorish, in the (North-) West, and Tualish in the South. Tagaurish, of which Tualish is merely a sub-dialect, is by far the most important Ossetish vernacular (Hübschmann, *Etymol. und Lautl. der oss. Spr.*, 11-12). The admirable summary of New Iranian by Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 417-423, and his language chart, *ibid.*, 421, should be consulted in this connexion. Recent bibliography on Middle and New Indo-Iranian may be gathered from Scherman's *Orientalische Bibliographie*, and older literature is collected by Pott, *Techmer's Zeitschrift*, ii. 109-115, 209-213, 230-234, 241-248.

I have intentionally refrained throughout my work from foot-notes and references to my sources, which would have unduly increased the size of the book. I have endeavoured, however, to work through the principal literature on my subject, and to be as complete as possible. For the Prākṛit I had to rely mainly on Hēmacandra (ed. Pischel, Halle, 1877-1880), Vararuci (ed. Cowell², London, 1868), and the Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa (ed. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1880). Lassen's *Institutiones linguae prācriticae*, Bonn, 1837 ; Hoerne, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvii. 1-48, also furnished hints. Pischel's *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900, did not appear until after my manuscript was in the printer's hands. I have used it, nevertheless,

in correcting my proof, although sometimes, for typographical reasons, errors in the Prākṛit, arising from too close adherence on my part to the native grammarians, could be checked only by a reference to Pischel (e. g. §§ 25, 57, 121, 184, etc.). For Ardhamāgadhī I relied mainly on E. Müller's *Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit*, Berlin, 1876; for Māhārāṣṭrī on Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen*, Leipzig, 1886, and for the 'Gāthā dialect' on E. Müller, *KB.*, viii. 257-292, and Lefmann, *ZDMG.*, xxix. 212-234. The material on the Lēṇa dialect is drawn from Senart's *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, Paris, 1881-1886. I used for Pāli the grammars of E. Müller (London, 1884), Frankfurter (London, 1883), Minayeff (tr. Guyard, Paris, 1874); Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*, Berlin, 1876, and articles by Mitra, *JRASBe.*, xxiii. 604-614, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 275-313.

For the New Indian I had, of course, the excellent, though somewhat antiquated, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, by Beames, London, 1872-1879; Hoernle's *Comparative Grammar of the Gauḍian Languages*, London, 1880, and articles by Grierson, *ZDMG.*, xlix. 393-421, l. 1-42; *Calcutta Rev.*, ci. 258-274, and Bhandarkar, *JRASBo.*, xvi. 314-345, xvii. 99-182. Among my sources for individual New Indian dialects I may mention particularly Grierson's *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, Part I, Calcutta, 1883, and his papers on Kāśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxv. 280-305, lxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, London, 1872 (cf. *ZDMG.*, xv. 690-752); and the articles on Sinhalese by Kuhn, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1879, 399-434 (tr. D. Fergusson, *IA.*, xiii. 53-65); E. Müller, *IA.*, xi. 198-220, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xxi. 177-273. The latter scholar's *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, Strassburg, 1901, and *Māldivische Studien*, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1900, 641-684, *ZDMG.*, lv. 371-387, came in time to correct the final proof. My source for Gypsy phonology, a group of dialects to which I have referred but rarely,

is the study by Miklosich in the *Denkschriften der W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xxx.

The Iranian material is far less scattered. For Pahlavi I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-i Oim and the Sassanian Frahang ('Old Zand-Pahlavi' and 'Old Pahlavi-Pazand' glossaries) by Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay and London, 1867-1870 (see the excellent new edition by Reichelt, *WZKM.*, xiv. 177-213, xv. 117-156), and the edition of *The Book of Arda Viraf* by Haug and West, Bombay and London, 1872-1874. Salemann's *Mittelpersisch* in the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* came after the final proofs were read. This *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by Geiger and Kuhn, Strassburg, 1895 to date, has been my main source for New Persian, the Pamir, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyân, Balûci, and Kurdish. It has been supplemented for New Persian material by Horn's *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg, 1893, and Hübschmann's *Persische Studien*, Strassburg, 1895; for Afyân, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paštô*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balûci, by Geiger, *ibid.*, xix. 107-153, 399-464, *Sitzb. M. Ac. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. Cl.*, 1889, 65-92; for Kurdish, by Justi's *Kurdische Grammatik*, St. Petersburg, 1880, and Fr. Müller's study on the Zaza dialect, *Sitzb. W. Ac. der Wiss., Phil.-hist. Cl.*, xlviii. 227-245. The Ossetish material is drawn from Hübschmann's *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, Strassburg, 1887. I also consulted numerous other works and articles for minor points or without results.

I follow Brugmann's *Grundriss* for the Indian transcription and the Geiger-Kuhn *Grundriss* for the Iranian, with a few additions and modifications, which follow. Indian: *m̄* instead of *ṃ*, *ṣ̄* instead of *ṣ̌*, and *ṩ* for *ṣ̌*, also *r̄*, *r̄h*, *l̄* for cerebral *r*, *r̄h*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ṛ*, *ṝ* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhi I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *ḡ*, *ḡ̄*, *ḳ̄*, *ḥ̄*, 'uttered

with a certain stress in prolonging and somewhat strengthening the contact of the closed organ, as if one tried to double the sound at the beginning of a word' (Trumpp, *Grammar*, 13); for Sinhalese, *a*, *ā* have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his *m̄*, *n̄* by *m*. Iranian: I transpose the functions of *č* and *c*, and of *ǰ* and *j*, to harmonize with the Indian system, so that *c*, *j* denote palatals, and *č*, *ǰ* affricatae; for Afyān *g* I write *a*, in Balūci *i* instead of *ī*, in North Balūci *kh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph* instead of *k'*, *č'*, *t'*, *p'*, and in Ossetish *a*, *i*, *c*, *ch*, *j*, *č*, *čh*, *ǰ* instead of Hübschmann's *ā*, *ī*, *tš*, *thš*, *dš*, *ts*, *thš*, *ds*. Socin's Kurdish transcription is conformed to the regular Iranian system and compared throughout with Justi.

Numerous parallels between the phonological phenomena here noted and sound-changes in other Indo-Germanic dialects will at once be perceived. Thus the syncope of *g* discussed in § 147 may be compared with the same process in Attic *έγών*: Boeotian *λών*; Attic *δάλγος*: Tarentine *δάλος*; Latin *Iguvium*, Umbrian *Ikuvinus* beside later *Iiouinur* (cf. also § 143); Latin *rēgem*; Old French *rei*, Modern French *roi* (cf. Haag, *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869; Brandreth, *JRAS.*, NS. xi. 287-316, xii. 335-364). Limitations of space prevented me from referring to such parallel phenomena in dialects outside the Indo-Iranian. For the same reason I abstained from any extensive explanations by physiological phonetics of the sound-changes which I have recorded, and from all discussion of inflection or syntax.

Errors of detail, explanation, and example will undoubtedly be found in my Phonology, and I shall be grateful for all corrections and additions. If, however, my cardinal theorem holds good, I shall feel that the work has been not in vain. I trust that the book may serve, besides its main purpose, as a contribution towards comparative lexicography of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages, and with this object in view I have cited examples from as large a number of dialects as possible. Throughout my work I have sought to present facts rather than theories. My general conclusions in each chapter are summarized at its beginning (see

§§ 1, 113, 460), and every paragraph is introduced by the results of my study of the material contained in it. The deductions gained from the entire book may be summarized thus: the phonological tendencies discernible as early as in the Old Indian and Iranian period have developed steadily, each on its own line, in the Middle and New dialects, and through regular divergency, no less than through similarity of evolution, the tie of Indo-Iranian unity is potent still.

To Professor Hopkins of Yale my thanks are due for his courtesy in lending me from his private library certain works of importance which would otherwise have been inaccessible. I am indebted to the excellent reader of the Oxford University Press, who has contributed in no small degree by his care to the accuracy of the book. Especially do I wish to express my gratitude to my friend and teacher, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, who has grudged neither time nor toil in his generous assistance. My student-life with him for *guru* at Columbia University, where this book was written, will ever be a happy memory. Well said the Sanskrit poet :

*ekam apy akṣaram yas tu guruḥ śiṣyē nivēdayēt
pṛthivyām nāsti tad dravyam yad datvā sō 'nṛṇā bhavēt.*

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afy.	= Afyān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabrahmā.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Babh.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāiś.	= Pāiśāci.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōš.	= Rōšānī.
GAv.	= Gāōā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gil.	= Gilakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglīcī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śaur.	= Śāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Šiy.	= Šiyīnī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Siṁh.	= Siṁhalese.
Kāś.	= Kāśānī.	Šir.	= Širāzī.
Kāśm.	= Kāśmīrī.	Siv.	= Sīvēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrudī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Ur.	= Uryā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōnišūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Ya-y.	= Ya-yōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrahī.
Mult.	= Multānī.		

* = hypothetical forms. > = becomes. < = derived from.

The titles of Magazines are abbreviated according to the system of the *Orientalische Bibliographie*.

LIFE

I, LOUIS HERBERT GRAY, was born April 10, 1875, at Newark, New Jersey, the only child of Thomas Jefferson and his wife, Anna Elizabeth (*née* Earl). My father is still living, but my mother died in September, 1899. My early education was received at home and at the Newark Academy, from which I graduated in 1892. Entering Princeton College the same year, I received the degree of A.B. in 1896, and remained there a year longer as Fellow in Classics, devoting special attention to Sanskrit and Avestan, in addition to Classical and Germanic linguistics. Feeling my interest drawn entirely to Oriental languages, I entered Columbia University in 1897, where I have remained three years. I was twice appointed Fellow in Indo-Iranian and I have pursued courses in Sanskrit, Pāli, Avestan, Old Persian, Pahlavi, New Persian, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac. In 1898 I received from Columbia the degree of A.M. I am a member of the American and German Oriental Societies, and of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists. I have published 'The Metres of Bhartrihari,' *JAOS.*, xx. 157-159; 'Certain Parallel Developments in Pāli and New Persian Phonology,' *ibid.*, 229-243; 'Indo-Iranian Studies, i,' *AJPh.*, xxi. 1-22; 'Contributions to Avestan Syntax, the Conditional Sentence,' *Ann. N. Y. Acad. Sci.*, xii. 549-588; 'Zur indogermanischen Syntax von **nāman*,' *IF.*, xi. 307-313; 'The Indo-Iranian Deity Apam Napāt,' *Arch. f. Religionsw.*, iii. 18-51; and 'Classical Passages mentioning Zoroaster's Name,' which forms the fifth Appendix of Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 226-273 (New York, 1899). I am also one of the regular contributors to the *Orientalische Bibliographie*. Of my teachers my special thanks are due to Professors E. Y. Robbins and J. P. Hoskins, of Princeton, and at Columbia to Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, and Mr. Yohannan, and most of all to Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

VOWELS

§ 1. The vowels of the Indo-Iranian period have remained in general unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. But beside the many instances of preservation of an original vowel, there are numerous examples of changes either in quantity or in quality, or in both. The most striking mutations will be found in the cases of original *a* and *r*. The reasons why these two vowels are especially liable to change are not far to seek. Indo-Iranian *a* = Indo-Germanic *a*, *e*, *o*, *ā* is the most simple of all the vowels. It represents, moreover, the so-called 'natural vowel,' the basis of all articulate sounds, which lies midway between *ā* and *ō* (Sievers, *Phonetik*⁴, § 209). It is thus self-evident that the Indo-Iranian *a* is particularly liable to change. The changes in question are ordinarily due to the influence of surrounding consonants. Labials often colour *a* to *u*, and sibilants colour *a* to *i*. From such a change of *a* to *u*, *i*, a further development to *ū*, *ī* may take place.

Turning to *r*, it is well known that of all the Indo-Germanic languages only the Old Indian and the Avesta have preserved Indo-Germanic *r* unchanged (Old Indian keeping also Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṛ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṝ̃*, *ṝ̄*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *r̄̃* in addition. In the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects we find a continuation of the process already begun in the older period by which the sonant liquids and nasals lost their original values, and became coloured by the surrounding consonants. Thus Old Indian

r, Avesta *ərə*, became *ar*, *a*, *ra*, *ir*, *i*, *ri*, and the like in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

The changes of the other vowels from their values in the Indo-Iranian period are not without analogy to the changes of *a* and *r*, although they are more sporadic. Labials frequently colour *i* to *u* as sibilants colour *u* to *i*. The change of *i*, *u* to *a* seems to be due to a weakening of the old value of *i*, *u* to *ə*.

The long vowels are subject to changes which are, generally speaking, analogous to those of the corresponding short vowels. Before two or more consonants all vowels, including also the Old Indian diphthongs, are to be considered short in the Middle and New Indian dialects. On the other hand, the simplification of a consonant-group is normally attended, in both the Indian and the Iranian dialects of the Middle and New periods, by the lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

The following paragraphs will contain more precise statements upon these several points in their proper places.

a = a.

§ 2. Indo-Iranian *a* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bharati* 'bears,' Prāk. *bharat*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *papi*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} 'ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baraiti* 'bears,' Old Pers. *barati*, Phl. *baraṭ*, New Pers. *barad*, Gab. *bartmūn*, Kāš. *bartan*, Māz. *bavardan*, Gil. *bardan*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Phl. *asp*, New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yaš(a)ṣ*, Afy. *aspā* (fem.), Bal. (*h*)*āps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *aṣa*.

a > i.

§ 3. This change is not infrequent, either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 1, the change of

a to *i* is due in many cases to the influence of a neighbouring sibilant.

a. Indian. In the Indian dialects *a* is changed to *i* more commonly in the West than in the East, so that the Sindhi shows the greatest number of examples of this phenomenon. The fondness of the Middle Indian dialects for the change was, on the whole, greater than that which is now shown by the New Indian.

Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} , Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jaina Prāk. *īngāla*, Guj. *īngār*, *īngōl*, Mar. *īngāl*, *īngōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jīdhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pali *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhi *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūdiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pali *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pali *pañjara*, Uṛ. *piñjira*, Hindi *piñjar*, Sindhi *piñir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pali *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindi *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhi *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. **prathara* 'first,' Hindi *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pahir(y)ōm*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šiy. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*. Av. *yākarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jaγar*, Kurd. *jark*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afy. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Sinh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Šiy. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *žan*, *jin*, Zaf. *žan*, Afy. *jinat*, *jūnat*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žan*, *žin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, archaic New Pers. *hān*, Oss. *inna*.

a > u.

§ 4. The change of *a* to *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is a very frequent one. It has been noted in § 1 that a labial often colours an original *a* to *u*.

a. Indian. As the change of *a* to *i* is more common in the western Indian dialects than in the eastern (see § 3, a), so the change of *a* to *u* is more frequent in the eastern dialects of India than in the western, and as *a* becomes *i* in Sindhi, Gujarāṭī and Marāṭhī, so *a* becomes *u* most often of all in Uṛīya and Bangālī.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḍhuma*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *pr̥thaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jaina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *paññuvisati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kāmkurī*, Bang. *kāmkur*, Hindī *kakarī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muṅirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *aṅgulikā* 'finger,' Apab. Prāk. *aṅguliu*, Pāli *aṅgulikā*, Nāip. *auṅlō*, Bihārī *aṅgurī*, Hindī *uṅgālī*, *aṅgulī*, Panj. *uṅgulī*. Skt., Pāli *dhanu* 'bow,' Simh. *dunu*. Skt. *manōrama* 'delightful,' Simh. **manurama-ka* > *manumaraka* 'grandson,' New Simh. *munuburā*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Simh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vanā* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Kāš. *bana*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *xʷaṭai* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šudā*, Kurd. *čian*, Oss. *caün*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Afy. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Wāxī *pus*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fus*, Tag. *fis*. Av. *√xʷan* 'call,' Phl.

xʷanʷanō, New Pers. *xʷāndan*, Wāxi *kādam*, Śiy. *šādam*, Sarq. *šādam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānay*, Kurd. *xʷāndin*, *xūndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(ih)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Śiy. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tānag*.

a > ā.

§ 5. The change of *a* to *ā* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the great majority of instances to compensatory lengthening, as noted in § 1. Sporadic cases of inorganic lengthening of an original *a* are not infrequent.

a. Indian. In the New Indian dialects Bangālī prefers the long vowel by compensatory lengthening before a simplified consonant-group, while Panjābī and Sindhī show short vowels, the Panjābī having a repeated consonant and the Sindhī a single one. Hindī stands midway between the two extremes in this regard. The Braj dialect of Hindī is especially fond of changing *a* to *ā*, and it is followed here by its sister dialects, the Mār-wārī, Māiwārī, and Kanāujī. In Marāṭhī the root-vowel of the infinitive is frequently lengthened.

Skt. *saṃṛddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmidhhi*, Pāli *samidhhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* 'mustard,' Jaina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparsana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*. Skt. *pradakṣiṇa* 'pertaining to the right hand,' Gāthā *prādakṣiṇa*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Nāip. *pāk*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, etc. (see § 2). Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsrū*), Kāsm. *vūč*, Uṛ. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharū*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrem*, *vāsrūm*. Skt. *khatvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khatṭā*, Uṛ. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāṭ(ālā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khāṭṭ*, Sindhī *khaṭ*, Guj., Mar. *khāṭ*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Uṛ. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Uṛ. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanāwīm*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālanēm*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pāli *naḡga*, U_r. *naḡgalā*, Bang. *neḡtā*, Hindi *naḡgā*, E. Panj. *naḡgā*, W. Panj. *nāḡgā*, Sindhi *naḡgō*, Guj. *nāḡuḡ*, Mar. *naḡgā*, *naḡgā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxi *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazāra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Wāxi *hasūr*, Sarq. *hazōr*, Afy. *zar*, Kurd. *hazār*. Av. *tāθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marəta* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *marī*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxi, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarī*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxi *sur(ī)*, Gab. *sart*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, Bal. (*h*)*āps*, etc. (see § 2). Av. *pašcaṡ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(in)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *pāšt*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastag*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxi, Šiy. *xaš*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x'āša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xasrū*.

a > ī.

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γin*, *ξin*, etc. (see § 3).

a > ū.

§ 7. This change is closely akin to the one described in the preceding paragraph.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Kāśm. *vūc*, etc. (see § 5).

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Afy. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, etc. (see § 4). Av. *maidyaṡna* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxi *malung*,

Šiy. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mīā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šir. *nīmīk*.

a > *ě*.

§ 8. This change is of comparatively rare occurrence. It is due very frequently to the palatalizing influence of a neighbouring *y*.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before single consonants: before a consonant-group it is to be considered short. Of the New Indian dialects Panjabi and Gujarāṭi show the greatest number of examples of the change of *a* to *ě*. The intermediate step of the change from *a* to *ě* is shown by the change of *a* to *ā* in Sinhalese, or by the Marāṭhi *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjabi change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhi *acaraj*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindī *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Sinh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *pheggu*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kāśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindī *sēnh*, Hindī *sēndh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhi *sēndhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *lahari* 'wave,' Hindī *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindī, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Sinh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, Ur., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(a)*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm., Ur., Bihārī, Hindī *aṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhi *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Sinh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kāśm. *maṃz*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *majhi*, *māmjh*, *maṃh*, Panj. *māmjh*, *majjh*, Sindhi *maṃjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Sinh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Sinh. *dena*, *dana*.

Skt. *vaṅgana* 'egg-plant,' Ur. *bāigu*, Bang. *bēgun*, Hindī

bāiṅgan, Panj. *bāiṅam*, Mar. *bāiṅgan*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kaśm. *satatājih*, Uṛ. *satcāliśa*, Bang. *śatcalś*, Bihār., Hindī *sāimṭālis*, Panj. *samṭālī*, Sindhī *satētālīh*, Guj. *suḍṭālīs*, Mar. *sattēcalīs*.

b. Iranian. The change of Indo-Iranian *a* to *ē* is very rare in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Kurdish. In the Zaza dialect of the Kurdish the Iranian *a* is often pronounced *āi*.

Samn. *dū* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gil. *da*, *dū*, *di*, Afy. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d*. Av. $\sqrt{\text{karəš}}$ 'drag,' Phl. *kašṭanō*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kēšan*, *kišan*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mir*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šast*, *šast*, Afy. *špēta*, Kurd. *šast*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afy. *tēšta*. Av. *xʷaəhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *xʷāhar*. Wāxi *xʷi*, Sarq. *yax*, Sangl. *ixʷa*, Minj. *yaxʷa*, Afy. *xōr*, Bal. *gvaḥār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxi *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiy. *vašt*, Sarq. *vozt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaṅn. *uzs*, Afy. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

a > ō.

§ 9. This change, like the preceding one, is not of frequent occurrence either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. It is well known that the common pronunciation of an original *a* approaches *ō* in Assamese, Uṛiya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uṛiya and Bangālī, and in Sinhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Uṛ. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baīr*, Hindī, Panj. *bāir*, *bēr*, Sindhī *bēru*, *bēri*, Guj., Mar. *bōr*. Skt. *sammarṣa* 'confusion,' Pāli *sammōsa*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Mar. *bōkar*, etc. (see § 3). Skt. *śmaśru* 'moustache,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *mōnch*, Hindī *mūch*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *caḥṣu* 'eye,' Prāk., Pāli *cakḥhu*, Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Bang. *cōmṭha*, Hindī, Mar.

cōinc. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindi *ēgyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārah*, Sindhi *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puha(v)i*, Pāli *paṭhavi*, *pathavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*, Siñh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maḍu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāś. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxi *pānz*, Šiy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afy. *pinja*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*, Oss. *fonj*. Skt. *√dam* 'tame,' New Pers. *dām* 'domestic animal,' Oss. *domun* 'to tame.'

a > au.

§ 10. This change is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, a).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puṣṭand*, New Pers. *puṣtan*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāś. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phaṣay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujana*, Oss. *fīcun*.

Aphaeresis of a.

§ 11. The loss of an initial *a* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Aphaeresis of *a* in the Indian dialects is especially frequent when the initial vowel is unaccented and is followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *alamkāra* 'adornment,' Prāk. *alamkāra*, *alamkia*, Pāli *lamkāra*, Eḷu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *heṭṭha*, Pāli *heṭṭhā*, Uṛ., Bang. *heṭṭha*, Sindhi *heṭṭhe*, Guj. *heṭṭhe*, Mar. *heṭ*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Uṛ. *bacāibā*, Bang. *bācān*, Hindi *bacāinā*, Mar. *vacāvinēm*. Skt. *aranya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇna*, Śaur. Prāk. *araṇna*, Pāli *arañña*, Old Hindi *rañj*, Hindi *ran*,

Sindhi *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Sinh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *ataṣṭi* 'linseed,' Kāśm. *aliś*, Ur. *tēṣṭi*, Bang. *tiśi*, Hindi *tiṣṭi*, *alsi*. Skt. *aśōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *asōka*, Sinh. *hō*. Skt. *anurāga* 'love,' Prāk. *aṇurāa*, Sinh. *nurā*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Sinh. *vaḷa*.

b. Iranian. In New Persian it is a law that initial *a* before a single consonant is dropped.

Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Wāxi *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Sīv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asənga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθagaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *azdā* 'knowledge,' Afy. *zda*. Av. *apras* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāš*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxi *vāz*, Sarq. *vūz*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāši*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərəməyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afy. *vōr*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ašmān*.

Syncope of *a*.

§ 12. The syncope of internal *a* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is quite rare in the New Indian dialects, and it is rarer still in the Middle Indian period. Entire syncope of an original *a* is often preceded by the weakening of *a* to the so-called 'neutral vowel' *ə*, in case *a* is unaccented but is preceded or followed by an accented syllable.

Skt. *pūgaphala* 'areca-nut,' Prāk. *popphala* < **pūgphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggai*, Pāli *jaggati*, Ur. *jāgana*, Bang. *jāgite*, Sindhi *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgarum*, Mar. *jāgaṇem*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindi *dublā*, Sindhi *ḍubirō*, *rabalō*, Guj.

dubaḷ(a), Mar. *dubaḷ*. Skt. *cāmara* 'fly-whisk,' Prak., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindi *cāmirī*, Mar. *cāmar*, *cāurī*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*.

b. Iranian. Syncope of Indo-Iranian *a* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

Av. *yasatanəm* 'of the angels,' Phl. *yaštān*, *yaśdān*, New Pers. *yaśdān* 'God.' Av. *pašana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahn(ā)*, Afy. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Afy. *šin* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šin*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmī(š)*, *namāš*, *namāš*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *višt*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vištā*, *vi(s)ā*, Afy. *višt*, Bal. *gīst*.

Apocope of *a*.

§ 13. The apocope of Indo-Iranian *a* is a very frequent phenomenon in the New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The Middle Indian dialects retain the final *a* unchanged. In the New Indian the final *a* of the Old and Middle Indian dialects is dropped unless it bears the accent. If final *a* is accented it is lengthened in Hindi. In U_r. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prak., Pāli *moggara*, U_r. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindi *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prak., Pāli *sacca*, U_r., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāmc*, Hindi *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhi *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prak. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāsm. *truvāh*, U_r., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindi *tērah*, W. Hindi *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahan*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Sinh. *teles*.

b. Iranian. The Middle Iranian dialects, unlike the Middle Indian, do not retain original final *a*. The New Iranian dialects follow the Middle Iranian in this regard, but the Digaurian Ossetish often retains the final *a* unchanged.

Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Phl. *darg*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* 'sharp,' Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēš*,

New Pers. *tēs*, Wāxi *tis*, Sarq. *tats*, Kurd. *tif(i)*. Av. *sarādu* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxi *das*. *las*, Šiy. *dis*, *lis*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl., Yaʿn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Oss. *das*.

Prothesis of a.

§ 14. Prothesis of *a* is not found in the Middle period either of the Indian or of the Iranian dialects. In New Indian the colloquial Hindi prefixes *a* to words beginning with a consonant-group whose first member is *s*. In the New Persian prothesis is one of the most common phenomena, since in that language no word may begin with a consonant-group. Prothesis of *a* is also quite common in Balūci.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindi *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindi *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindi *astrī* or *istrī* (see below, § 86).

This prothesis is also found in foreign loan-words, such as Eng. *school*, colloquial Hindi *askūl*, *iskūl*.

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaṣ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxi *varao*, Šiy. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Gab. *burā*, Afy. *vraṣa*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stāra* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afy. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxi *vrūt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brūt*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

ā = a.

§ 15. Indo-Iranian *ā* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhāreti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prak. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindi *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāidi* 'canal,' Wāxi *vād*, Šiy. *vēd*, Sarq. *vād*.

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pai*, New Pers. *pai*, Waxī *pād*, Šiy. *pād*, Sangl. *puđ*, Gil. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gābu*, Phl. *gas*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afy. *yalai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāzam* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *maz*.

ā > a.

§ 16. The shortening of an original ā is the most frequent change of all those to which this sound is subject, whether in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects. It is well known that the doubling of an original single consonant or the retention of an original consonant-group causes a preceding long vowel to become short in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. Beside the regular shortening of original ā under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original ā.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgasira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasiru*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthāpitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Uṛ. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvalā*, Sindhī *dēvali*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēul*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindī *mag*, *māmgā*, Sindhī *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahamga*, Nāip. *mahamgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahamgā*, Panj. *mahimgā*, Sindhī *mahamgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khaibōm*, Kāsm. *khyun*, Uṛ. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhī *khānu*, Guj. *khāvum*, Mar. *khānēm*, Sinh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Māhār. Prāk. *bhāginējja*, Pāli *bhāginēyya*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Uṛ., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gā(m)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*, Sinh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkasa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargas*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yān*.

Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbah*, Sarq. *rapé*, Kāš. *rūvās*, Tāl. *rvōs*, N. Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robās*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šiy., Sarq. *aftav*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*. *adav*, Bohtan *tāv*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsad*. Phl., New Pers. *ārd* 'meal.' Casp. dialects *ōr*, Nāy. *ar*, Afy. *ōra*.

ā > *ī*.

§ 17. The change of *ā* to *ī* occurs very rarely.

b. Iranian. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see preceding §). Phl., New Pers. *darmān* 'medicine,' Šiy., Sarq. *darmīn*. Old Pers. *amānaya* 'remained,' Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *māndan*, Kurd. *mīnim* 'I remain.'

ā > *ū*.

§ 18. The change of *ā* to *ū* is excessively rare in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the New Persian and its dialects as well as in numerous sporadic instances in the other Iranian dialects *ā* is changed to *ū* before *m* and *n*, as *ē* is changed to *ī* under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Uṛ. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpūs*. Hīndī *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Siṃh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsnā* 'paunch,' Prāk. *sunhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*. Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afy. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šiy. *rūn*, Afy. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *cīr*, Afy. *čālōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tarsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatiy*, Phl. *tarstītanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursay*, Kurd. *tarsunak*. Oss. *tharsun*.

$\bar{a} > \check{e}$.

§ 19. The change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is one of excessive rarity both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In Assamese and colloquial Bangālī the change of \bar{a} to \check{e} is not infrequent.

Skt. *mātra* 'measure,' Prak. *metta*, Pāli *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇṭhīm*. Skt. *āsā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prak. *āsā*, Ass. *esā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prak. *ratti*, *rāt*, Pāli *ratti*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Siṃh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pāli *ālōka* 'appearance,' Siṃh. *eliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *viṣār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjōr*, Kurd. *bazēr*, Eng. loan-word *bazaar*.

$\bar{a} > \check{o}$.

§ 20. The change of \bar{a} to \check{o} seems not to be found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is not infrequent. The change is especially frequent in Māzandarānī and Tālīsh, and in Afyān \bar{a} regularly becomes \check{o} , excepting before nasals, where the change is to \bar{u} (cf. § 18 above). It is also to be noted that in New Persian itself the pronunciation of \bar{a} often tends to approach the value of \check{o} .

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *rād*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt. *vār*, Afy. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāš*, *gvās*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. New Pers. (dialectic) *māng* 'moon,' Gab. *mām*, Māz. *mūng*, Gil. *mām*, Tāl. *mōng*, Tāt. *mang*, Kurd. *māng*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āv*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxī *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoγa*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yaγn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Siv. *au*, *av*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *āv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(u)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt. *ōv*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*. Av. *nqman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī

nung, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *nom*, Tag. *nom*.

Aphaeresis of ā.

§ 21. The aphaeresis of *ā* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ataš*, *taš*, *atiš*, Šiy. *yač*, Sarq. *yuč*, Gab. *taš*, Minj. *yūr*, etc. (see § 3). Av. *āyapta* 'reward,' Phl. (*ā*)*yāftan*, New Pers. *yāftan*, Dig. Oss. *yāfun*, Tag. *yāfin*.

Apocope of ā.

§ 22. The apocope of original *ā* is similar to the apocope of the corresponding short vowel (see § 13, a).

a. Indian. Skt., Prak., Pāli *chāya* 'shadow,' Hindi *chām(v)*, *chāmh*, *chāṁm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāṁm*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prak., Pāli *niddā*, Hindi, Panj. *nīmd*, Sindhi *nīmr*, Guj. *nīddd*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrva* 'grass,' Pāli *dubba*, Ur., Bang. *dūba*, Hindi *dūb*.

Anaptyxis of ā.

§ 23. The anaptyxis of *ā* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *maṭ-patīfrasa* 'with recompense,' Phl. *patīfras*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfrāh*, *padafrāh*.

i = i.

§ 24. Indo-Iranian *i* is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prak. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prak., Pāli *vijju*, Ur. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhi *vijum*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bijalī*, *vīj*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Kāš. *paī*, Šiy., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afy. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *ci*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

i > *a*.

§ 25. The change of *i* to *a* is quite common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Indian the phenomenon occurs most frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and above all in Gujarātī. See now Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pāli *haliddā*, also Kāśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, Uṛ. *haldī*, Bang. *haluda*, Bihārī, Hindi *haldī*, Panj. *halāhī*, Guj. *halad*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tī*, *ia*, Pāli *iti*. Skt. *śīthila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *sathila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindi *ḍhal*, Hindi *ḍhīla*, Panj. *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhīrō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhīrō*, *ḍhīlō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *sadhāḷ*, *ḍhīla*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭhina* 'difficult,' Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *kaṭhin*, Panj. *kaṭhan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kaṭhaṇ*, Mar. *kaḍhin*. Skt. *garbhīṇī* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhīṇī*, Pāli *gabbbhīṇī*, Bang. *gābhīna* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindi *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhaṇ*, Sindhī *gābhīnī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṇ*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śāur. *divasa*, Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Sīmh. *divasa*, Sīmh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Tāl. *zumistān*, Wāxi *zam*, Šiy. *zimj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *zimai*, Kurd. *zavistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxi *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hišva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *ievūn*, Wāxi *zik*, Šiy. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *šiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *asmān*, *zumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

i > *ā*.

§ 26. The change of *i* to *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchū*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, *ūkha*, *ikha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindi *ikh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, Sīmh. *ingu*, *uk*.

c

i > *u*.

§ 27. The change of *i* to *u* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. The change of *i* to *u* is particularly frequent in unaccented syllables in Uṛīya and Bangālī.

Skt. *raḷila* 'lizard,' Pāli *raḷula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jaina Prak., Pāli *usu*. Skt., Pāli *bindu* 'drop,' Uṛ., Bang. *bindī*, Hindi, Panj. *būnd*, *bind*, Sindhi *būnd*, *būmrō*, *bīmri*, Guj. *būnd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *būnd*, Sinh. *poda*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Uṛ. *gēru*, Hindi *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintiḍi* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, Nāip. *titri*, Uṛ. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*. Skt. *iḷṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Sinh. *iṅgu*, *uk*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. The change of *i* to *u* is especially common in the Digaurish dialect of the Ossetish.

New Pers. *muḷah* 'eyelash,' beside *miḷah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kaš. *maja*, *muja*, *maḷa*, Bal. *micac*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *miḷānk*, *miḷi*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tal. *zumistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, etc. (see § 25).

i > *ī*.

§ 28. The lengthening of *i* to *ī* is due in the majority of cases to compensatory lengthening, as in the case of *a* developed from *a* (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prak. *sīha*, Gāthā *siṃha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *sīṅgh*, *sīnh*, *siṅgh*, Panj. *siṅgh*, other New Indian dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prak. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, Sindhi *jībh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jībh*. Skt. *āupaśīvi*, nom. prop., Pāli *upastva*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prak. *viśat*, Pāli *viśam*, *viśati*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *bīśa*, Hindi *bīs*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhi *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *viś*. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahiṅt*, Pali *bhagint*, U_r. *bhāunt*, *bhaunt*, Bang. *bhain*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhain*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhēnu*, Guj. *behēn*, Mar. *bahīn*.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucioθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *hustr*, *hujīr*, *xujīr*. Av. *vicinōiθ* 'gathered,' Phl. *ciṭanō*, New Pers. *cidan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinay*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapinjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapinjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*. Old Pers. *cišciy* 'something,' New Pers. *ciš*, Kurd. *tišt*.

i > a.

§ 29. The change of *i* to *a* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' U_r. *akhu*, *ikha*, *ūkha*, Hindi *ikh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, etc. (see § 26).

i > ē.

§ 30. The change of *i* to *e*, *ē* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, but it is exceedingly rare in the Iranian dialects, where a few cases of the compensatory lengthening of *i* to *ē* are found. In the Indian dialects the change appears most frequently before double consonants in Middle Indian (consequently the *e* in such cases is short). Of the New Indian dialects the Gujarāṭī presents the greatest number of examples of this change, which is, on the whole, more common in the West of India than in the East.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk. *ṇedda*, *ṇiddā*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pali *kēraṭika*, *kēraṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pali *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintiṭī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmtēli*, U_r. *tēmtul*, *tēmtuli*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pali *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindi *sēndūr*, Sindhi *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēndūr*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *ciy* 'what,' Kurd. *cē*, *cī*, *ca*, etc. (see § 24). New Pers. *gišniš* 'coriander,' Bal. *gēnic*.

Aphaeresis of i.

§ 31. Aphaeresis of original *i* is very rare in the Indian dialects. The Tagaurish dialect of the Ossetish presents several instances of the aphaeresis of *i* which has become initial after the loss of original initial consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prak., Pali *dāni(m)*.

[b. Iranian. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vist*, New Pers. *bist*, Kāš. *vista*, *vis(sa)*, Waxī *vist*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gist*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*. Av. *hištaiti* 'stands,' Dig. Oss. *isthun*, Tag. *sthin*.]

Syncope of i.

§ 32. The syncope of *i* is excessively rare. Possibly the loss of a final *i* in a word which is made the first member of a compound may be considered here.

b. Iranian. Av. *xairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

Apocope of i.

§ 33. Apocope of *i* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi* 'sight,' Prak., Pali *dit̥thi*, Hindi *d̥ṭhi*, *d̥ṭh*, *ḍṭh*, Panj. *ḍit̥th*, Sindhi *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *d̥ṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindi *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *aš̄er*, New Pers. *z̄er*, Afy. *lar*, Kurd. *š̄ir*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

Prothesis of i.

§ 34. Prothetic *i* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is quite common, especially before initial consonant-groups whose first component is a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prak., Pali *it̥thī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, colloquial Hindi *istrī*, *astrī*, Sindhi *istrī*, Eḷu *itiri*, Sinh. *istrī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēz*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbē*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afy. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispi*, *spi*. Skt. *ṣṛgala* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afy. *caṣāl*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Afy. *γaaγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iyosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *anaga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübschmann considers the *i* in these cases to be original in the Oss., but he thinks that the Tag. dialect has lost the *i*, rather than that the Dig. shows a prothetic *i*.]

$i = \bar{i}$.

§ 35. Indo-Iranian \bar{i} is generally preserved without change both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Assamese no character for \bar{i} exists, *i* being written instead. The Old Hindi often writes *iy* for \bar{i} (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindi *jīyava*). The New Persian, as is well known, has confused in many words the *majhūl* ('unknown [to the Arabs]' = Persian sounds) vowels \bar{e} , \bar{o} with the *ma}rūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels \bar{i} , \bar{u} . The Judæo-Persian and the Balūci, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *ma}rūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prak. *jīvia*, Pāli *jīvita*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prak. *dīha(ra)*, *dīggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhi *ḍrighō*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Šīr., Šiy. *šīrin*, Minj. *xšīr*, Kurd. *šīr*, Oss. *axšīr*. Av. *vīra* 'understanding,' Phl. *vīr(āk)*, New Pers. *vīr*, Gab. *vīr*, Bal. *gīr*, Kurd. *bīr*.

$\bar{i} > a$.

§ 36. The change of \bar{i} to *a* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhīṣma* 'terrible,' Pāli *bhasma*, *bhisma*. Skt. *parikṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindi *parakhanā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavuin*, *parakhanār*, Sindhi *pārakhia*, *parkhanu*, Mar. *parakhanēm*, *parakhī*.

ī > i.

§ 37. The shortening of ī is naturally the most common change to which ī is subject. It occurs, however, with comparative infrequency in the Iranian dialects. For the principal conditions under which the change occurs see above under § 25.

a. Indian. Skt. *tikṣṇa* 'sharp,' Prāk. *tiṅha*, *tikkha*, Pāli *tiṅha*, *tikkha*, *tikhīṇa*, New Indian dialects *tikh*, except Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindi, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alika* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, U_r. *dusra*, Old Hindi *dūjā*, Hindi *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)a*, Sindhi *bijō*, *bīō*, Guj. *bijō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, U_r. *gahira*, Hindi *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhi *gahirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, U_r. *kīla*, Hindi *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhi *kīlī*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' U_r., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kīṭā*, Sindhi *kīṭō*, Guj. *kīṭō*, Mar. *kīṭā*, *kīṭ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sisṣa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindi, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhi *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kittī* i Sinh. *kit*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *jivāhy* 'thou shalt live,' Phl. *zīvandak* 'living,' New Pers. *zindak*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Štr., Šiy. *širin*, Oss. *axšir*, etc. (see § 35). Skt. *bīja* 'seed,' Bal. *bij*. New Pers. *kōhī* 'mountainous,' Kurd. *kōvi*.

ī > u.

§ 38. The change of ī to u is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Sinh. *duru*. Skt. *prāvāsīn* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *pavāsū*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mīšda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

ī > ā.

§ 39. The change of ī to ā is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraśctna* 'going sideways,' Pāli *tiraicchāna* 'animal.'

ī > ě.

§ 40. The change from ī to ě is not very common in the Middle Indian dialects, while in the New Indian and in the Iranian dialects it is still more rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kidyśa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kēriśa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhi *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *nedḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niḍḍha*, *nīla*. Skt. *grhītvā* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindi *khelna*, Gyp. *√khel* 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *pīr* 'old,' New Pers. *pīr*, Judaeo-Pers. *pēr*, Bal. *pīrūk*, N. Bal. *phirūk*.

ī > ō.

§ 41. The change of ī to ō is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'landing-place,' Prāk. *tīttha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tīttha*, Sindhi *tīrthu*, Sinh. *toḷa*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zīnjīr* 'chain,' Wāxi *zanstīr*, Šiy. *zīnsīr*, Sarq. *zanzair*, Bal. *zamsīl*, Kurd. *zanjōr*, *zanjīr*.

Apocope of ī.

§ 42. The apocope of final ī occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīni* 'pregnant,' Hindi *gābbhin*, Panj. *garabhaṅ*, Guj., Mar. *gābhaṅ*, etc. (see § 25).

u = u.

§ 43. Indo-Iranian u is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chupati* 'touches,' Prak. *chupaī*, Pāli *chupati*, Uṛ., Bang. *chum*, Old Hindi *chuh*, Hindi *chā*, Panj. *chūh*, Sindhi *chuh*, Guj. *chū*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prak. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhi *purusu*, Gyp. *poša*, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiya*, Maladive *firimīha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl., New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Wāxi *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xus(k)*. Av. *duydar* 'daughter,' Phl. *duxt*, New Pers. *duxt(ar)*, Wāxi *dagd*, Sangl. *day*, Minj. *loyda*, Yidg. *luydoh*, Afy. *lūr*, Kurd. *duxt*, *ditt*. Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Phl. *mutrak*, *mudar*, *muhr*, New Pers., Kurd. *muhr*, Oss. *mizur*.

u > a.

§ 44. The change of *u* to *a* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punar* 'again,' Prak. *puṇu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *suruṣga* 'mine,' Pāli *suruṅga*, Uṛ. *suḍaṅga*, Bihārī, Hindi *suranṅ*, Sindhi *siringh*, Mar. *suranṅ*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindi *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhi *kuḅirō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prak., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindi *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhi *ḁūḅirō*, *ḁabalō*, Guj. *dubaḷ(ā)*, Mar. *dubaḷ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *javān*, *vān*, Māz. *javān*, Afy., Bal. *javān*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *uštūr*, Wāxi *uštūr*, Šiy. *štūr*, Bal. *huštār*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḁūm(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *ḁim*, Kurd. *dūv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *ḁimag*.

u > i.

§ 45. The change of *u* to *i* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prak. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli

purisa, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiya*, Maladive *frimitha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṣumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undīr*. Skt. *valuka* 'sand,' Pāli *valukā*, Ass., U_r., Bang. *bālī*, Hindi *bālā*, Sindhi *vārī*, Guj. *bālu*, Mar. *valuya*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prak. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Sinh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxi *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *fīrth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhik* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohi*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxi *bōn*, Šiy. *bon*, Sarq. *bun*, Bal. *bunā*, Kurd. *bin*, *bun*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Dig. Oss. *stud*, Tag. *stid*.

u > ā.

§ 46. The change of *u* to *ā* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhānumati* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmāti*.

u > ī.

§ 47. The change of *u* to *ī* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suzra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuzra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *strah*, Sīv. *str*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Šiy. *strah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dim*, etc. (see § 44).

u > ū.

§ 48. The lengthening of *u* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects is due in the majority of cases to compensation (cf. also §§ 5, 28).

a. Indian. Skt. *utsava* 'feast,' Prak. *usava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prak., Pāli *kula*, U_r. *kuḷa*, Sindhi *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kuḷ*, Mar. *kuḷ*, *kuḷ*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prak. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bang. *mūṣal*, Hindi *mūsāl*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prak., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prak. *sa-*

mudda, Pāli *samudda*, *muhudda*, Sinh. *muhuda*, *mūda*. Skt. *muṣṭi* 'fist,' Prāk., Pāli *muṭṭhi*, Bang. *muṭhā*, *muṭhi*, Hindi *mūṭh*, *muṭhā*, Sindhi *muṭhi*, *mūṭh*, Guj. *muṭṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puhl*, *pūl*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *par*, *pir(d)*, *purd*. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* 'red,' Afy. *sūr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kurd. *turb* 'turnip,' Mukri *tūr*.

$u > \check{e}$.

§ 49. The change of *u* to \check{e} is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)upphusa* 'lung,' Prāk. *phupphusa*, Pāli *phapphāsa*, Uṛ. *phāmsaphāmsa*, *phāmphāni*, Bang. *phēmparā*, *phōmpasā*, Hindi *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhi *phiphiru*, Mar. *phōpīs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxi *cauam*, Šiy. *zašcam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *čan*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *čaun*.

$u > \check{o}$.

§ 50. The change of *u* to \check{o} is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhūl* and the *ma'rūf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to \check{o} is the change of *u* to \check{u} in Wāxi and to \check{u} in Sariqoli, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prāk. *mottā*, Pāli *muttā*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulūkhala* 'mortar,' Prāk. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(ḍ)ūhala*, Uṛ. *ukhali*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prāk. *ukkā*, Pāli *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Uṛ. *kōḍha*, Bang. *kōṭh*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kōḍh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindi *kōṛī*), Mar. *kōḍ*. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍāl*, Sindhi *kōrari*, Guj. *kōdarō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*. Skt. *pustaka*

'book,' Prāk. *pothaa*, Pāli *pothaka*, New Ind. dialects *poṭhā*, *poṭhi*, Sinh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* 'understanding,' Phl. (*h*)ōš, New Pers. *hōš*, *hūš*. Av. *uśah* 'dawn,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *pušra* 'son,' Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxi *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *sucra* 'red,' Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxi *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Kuhr. *yā*, Šiy. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*.

Aphaeresis of u.

§ 51. The loss of initial *u* is not uncommon in the New Indian dialects, although it occurs but rarely in the Middle Indian. In the Iranian dialects aphaeresis of *u* seems to have been preceded in the Middle Iranian by a change of *u* to *a* (Old Pers. *upariy* 'above,' Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*. Skt. *upasthāna* 'assistance,' Phl. *apastān*).

a. Indian. Skt. *udaka*, *daka* 'water,' Jāina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *upaviśati* 'sits down,' Pāli *upavisati*, Ass. *bahē*, Nāip. *basē*, Kāsm. $\sqrt{b}ih$, U_r., Bang. *basē*, E. Hindi, Hindi *batsē*, Sindhi *bihē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vasē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* 'fig-tree,' U_r. *ḍumuri*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uajjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Hindi *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxi, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* 'camel,' Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxi *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštār*, *uštir*.

Syncope of u.

§ 52. Syncope of *u* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhū(d)ā*, *dhū(d)ā*, Pāli *dhita*, U_r. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindi, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhi *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daiśhu-paiti* 'lord of the land,' New Pers.

dihxān 'village-chief' (cf. Armenian loan-word *dehpet* from Av. *daišhu-paiti*).

Apocope of u.

§ 53. The loss of final *u* occurs very frequently in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prak. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bāhā*, Pāli *bāhu*, Uṛ., Bang. *baha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāmh*, Sindhī *bāmh*, Guj. *bāmhi*, Mar. *bāmhi*, *bāhi*, *bahu*.

Prothesis of u.

§ 54. The prothesis of *u* is very frequent in the Iranian dialects before initial consonant-groups. The phenomenon is not found in the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *stūna* 'column,' Phl. *stūn*, New Pers. *sutūn*, *ustūn*, Afy. *stan*, Kurd. (*i*)*stūn*. Skt. *sthūra* 'firm,' New Pers. *situry*, *sutury*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Osa. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25).

Epenthesis of u.

§ 55. The epenthesis of *u* is very rare. The Kaśmīrī shows many cases of an inserted *u* after *i* in *u*-stems.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīla* 'blue,' Kaśm. *nyula*. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭha* 'seen,' Kaśm. *dyuṭhu*.

$$\bar{u} = \bar{u}$$

§ 56. Indo-Iranian \bar{u} is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prak. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī, Panj. *bhām*, *bhūm*, *bhūm*, Sindhī *bhū(im)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būmi* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *būm*. Av., Old Pers. *dāra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dūr*, Māz. *dūr*, Gil. *dūr*, Waxī *dūr*, Šiy., Sarq. *dar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afy. *liri*, Kurd. *dūr*.

ū > a.

§ 57. The change of ū to a is not frequent either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān, when ū often becomes a before nasals or r.

a. Indian. Skt. *dukūla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jāina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukūla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jāina Prāk. *bhamuha*, Pāli *bhamuka* (cf. also Pāli *bhamu* 'eyebrow'), Gyp. *phov*. [See now Pischel, *Gr. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 206, 261.]

b. Iranian. Skt. *sthūra* 'large,' New Pers. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Phl., New Pers. *nūn*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nūn*.

ū > i.

§ 58. The change of ū to i is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Uṛ. *mūla*, Guj., Mar. *mōl*, Sinh. *mīla*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (*h*)*īru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *mūṣ* 'mouse,' New Pers. *mūš*, Gab. *mušk*, Samn. *mūš*, Afy. *maya(k)*, Bal. *mušk*, N. Bal. *mūšk*, Kurd. *miš(i)k*, Dig. Oss. *mista*, Tag. *mīst*.

ū > u.

§ 59. The shortening of ū to u is the most frequent change to which u is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups (cf. §§ 16, 37). In Assamese ū is always written u.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mōl* (but *mūlai* 'radically'), Uṛ. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jāina Prāk. *tūḍiya*, Pāli *turiya*, Uṛ. *turt*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrt*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhī, Guj. *turt*. Skt.

sālaka 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cūrṇa*, Kāśm. *cūr*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindi *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhi *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindi *cunā*, Panj. *cunā*, *cūni*, Sindhi *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *kū(m)ām*, Sindhi *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhuām*, Kāśm. *duh*, Uṛ. *dhūmā*, Bang. *dhuymām*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *dhu(m)ām*, Sindhi *dhāmham*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Simh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būsa* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buj*, Wāxi *buc*, *būc*, Šiy., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *vusa*. Av. *gūša* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāś. *gūs*, Wāxi *gū*, *gī*, Šiy. *γaθ*, Yaγn. *γūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *giθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nānam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Paz. *ku*, New Pers. *kuja*, Minj. *ko*, Afy. *kūm*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khū(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *bahu*, Bang. *batū*, Hindi *bahū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhi *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ū)*.)]

ū > ā.

§ 60. The change of *ū* to *ā* is an excessively rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *masūraka* 'pillow,' Pāli *masāraka*.

ū > ī.

§ 61. The change of *ū* to *ī* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is not uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *bahurūpa* 'juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapi*, *b(h)ōripī*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Wāxi *dīr*, Afy. *liri*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxi *dīt*, Šiy. *dud*, Sarq. *dūt*, Afy. *lū*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tāt *birūd*. Kurd. *barik* 'pocket' beside *barūk*.

$\bar{u} > \check{e}$.

§ 62. The change of \bar{u} to \check{e} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ñēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nāpura*, U_r. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvva*, Śaur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindi *pūrab*, Sindhi *pūrbu*, Sinh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōsan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš., Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxi *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sicīn*, N. Bal. *sišin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, *šēšin*, Kurd. *sūzin*.

$\bar{u} > \check{o}$.

§ 63. This change, like the one preceding, is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrja* 'strength,' Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *tāmbūla* 'betel,' Prāk. *tambōla*, Pāli *tambūla*, U_r. *tambōla*, Guj. *tāmbūl*, Mar. *tāmbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbūli* 'betel-seller,' Hindi *tāmbōli*, Panj. *tāmbōli*, Guj. *tāmbōli*, Mar. *tāmbōli*.

$\bar{u} > yah$.

§ 64. The interchange of \bar{u} and *yah* occurs only finally. It is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zālū* 'leech,' Šiy., Sarq. *zālyah*, Afy. *žavara*, Bal. *zarāy*, Kurd. *zālū(g)*, *zulūl*, *zūrī*.

$\bar{u} > va$.

§ 65. The change of \bar{u} to *va* seems to occur only initially. It is extremely uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūnavimśati* 'nineteen,' Prāk. *ūnavisat*, Kāsm. *kunavuh*, U_r. *unātsa*, Bang. *ūniś*, Bihārī *ūnaīs*, *vanats*, Hindi *unīs*, Panj. *unnih*.

$\text{ṛ} = \text{ṛ}$.

§ 66. Indo-Iranian ṛ , which is represented by ṛ in Old Indian, by *ṛə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to \ddot{a} , \ddot{i} , $\ddot{ä}$, $\ddot{ö}$, or into r (sometimes l) preceded or followed by a , i , u . The quality of the vowel in the various developments here considered is generally determined by the character of the consonants which stand near the original r . Thus the usual change of r is to $a(r)$, ra , but labials often colour the vowel to $u(r)$, and sibilants colour it to $i(r)$.

In the Indian Gāthā dialect r is regularly retained unchanged, and in Apabhraṁśa Prākṛit r often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *tr̥ṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tr̥ṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinaka*, *tilaka*, Hindi *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhi *tīli*, Mar. *tan*, Sinh. *taṇa*.

$r > ar$.

§ 67. The change of r to ar is quite rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is quite frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kāśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindi *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*.

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*. Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Phl. *karm*, New Pers. *kirm*, Sarq. *carm*, Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, Dig. Oss. *khalmit̥ha*, Tag. *khal̥m*. Av. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiy. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *vir̥c*, *hirš*, *hirc*, Zaza *xec*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *zərōdaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gil. *zīl*, Šiy. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sar̥t̥*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxi *sūr̥t̥*, Afy. *sōr̥*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Oss. *sald*.

$r > a$.

§ 68. The change of r to a is very common in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, it is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Prak. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Pali *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāsm. *bor*, *boḍ*, U_r., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindi *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindi *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhi *vaḍḍo*, Guj. *vaḍḍo*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'old,' U_r. *bur̥hā*, *buḍḍi*, Bang. *buḍa*, Hindi *buddha*, *buḍha*, Panj. *buḍha*, Sindhi *budhō*, *buḍhō*, Guj. *burhō*. Skt. *vr̥ṣabha* 'bull,' Prak. *vasaha*, Śaur. Prak. *vasaha*, Pali *vasabha*. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house,' Pali *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛ̥ttikā* 'earth,' Prak. *maṭṭiā*, Pali *mattikā*, Nāip. *māntō*, Kāsm. *miḥ*, U_r., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *māṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Sindhi *miṭi*, Guj. *māṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *mṛ̥ta* 'dead,' Prak. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prak. *maḍḍe*, U_r. *malā*, Hindi *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhi *muō*, Guj. *muviin*, Mar. *mēlēn*, Sinh. *malā*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pr̥ḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afy. *prāng*.

r > *ra*.

§ 69. The change of *r* to *ra* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prak. *vr̥acha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukkha*, *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pali *rukkha*, U_r. *rūkha*, Hindi *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prak. *rukkha* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *vr̥kṣa*.]

r > *ir*.

§ 70. This change, like the one discussed in the preceding section, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛ̥tvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pali *iritvija*. Skt. *vr̥ṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pali *vusa*, Sindhi *vir̥khu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kar̥ema* 'worm,' New Pers. *kirm*, etc. (see § 67).

r > *i*.

§ 71. The change of *r* to *i* occurs with great frequency both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kr̥ta* 'done,' Prak. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prak. *kadē*, Māhar. Prak. *kaya*, Pāśā Prak. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śāk. Prak. *kala*, Apab. Prak. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kail*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Old Hindi *kūya*, Sindhi *kiō*. Skt. *kr̥paṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prak. *kivaṇu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdanka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prak. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prak. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Sinh. *rusi*, Gyp. *rašay*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prak. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijja*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gīdh*, *gidhvā*, Hindi *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhi *gījh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gid(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prak. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Uṛ. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindi, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhi *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prak. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Uṛ. *siṅgā*, Bang. *siṅg*, Hindi *siṅg*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhi *siṅu*, Guj., Mar. *siṅg*, Gyp. *siṅg*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prak. *hia(y)a*, Pāśā Prak. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyān*, *hiānūn*, Sindhi *hinānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēn*, Gyp. (y)ilo. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Prak. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prak., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Uṛ. *piṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *piṭh*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhī*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, Sinh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prak. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, Hindi *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhi *ṭih*, *ṭihān*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxi *tax(ī)*, Šīyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(ī)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *zərədaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *araša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirš*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriṣtah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *gīaft*, Bal. *gipta*.

ʔ > ri.

§ 72. The change of ʔ to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindi and Panjabī; Sindhi and

Gujarātī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uṛīya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛddha* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riḍḍhi*, *iddhi*, Pali *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pali *ikka*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. (rare) *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rikkh*, Hindi *rikkh*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rikkh*, Mar. *ris*. Skt. *gṛhastha* 'householder,' Hindi *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

ṛ > ur.

§ 73. The change of ṛ to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavi and New Persian. Elsewhere it is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bərəza* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*. Av. *pərəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*. Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest,' Old Pers. *patiparsāhy*, Phl. *purst-ḷanō*, New Pers. *pursidan*, Wāxi, Sarq. *pūrsam*, Afy. *pušt*, Kurd. *pirsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*.

ṛ > u.

§ 74. The change of ṛ to *u* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As has been noted in § 66, ṛ becomes *u* especially in the vicinity of labials.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛthivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavi*, *puhuvi*, *puhavi*, Pali *pathavi*, *paḥhavi*, *puṭhavi*, *puṭhavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *muṇāla*, Pali *muḷāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ū*, *riū*, Pali *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *vṛṣṭi* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhi*, *viṭṭhi*, Pali *vuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *būrhā*, *būdi*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindi *buddhā*, *būdhā*, Panj. *buḍhā*, Sindhī *būdhō*, *būḍhō*, Guj. *buṛhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *parṣti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxi *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, Wāxi *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin* (cf.

also Skt. *akṛṇavam* 'I did,' Old Pers. *akunavam*; Skt. *akṛṇōt* 'did,' Old Pers. *akunauš*, as well as Av. *kərōta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khuša*). Av. *vərədka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdah*, Wāxi *valk*, Bal. *guttiy*. Av. *fratərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarstānō*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *trusag*, *tursay*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*.

[Somewhat similar to $r > u$ is $r > \ddot{o}$ before sibilants in Wāxi, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxi *kōšt*.]

$r > ru$.

§ 75. The change of r to ru occurs but rarely, and like the change of r to ri (cf. § 72) it is found only initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *vrkṣa* 'tree,' Prak. *rukha*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukha*, Uṛ. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

$r > ā$.

§ 76. The change of r to $ā$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭhā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *krṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*.

$r > ī$.

§ 77. The change of r to $ī$ is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Uṛ. *pūṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *piṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

b. Iranian. Av. *paršti* 'back,' Kurd. *pišt*, *pišt*, etc. (see § 74).

$r > ě$.

§ 78. The change of r to $ě$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prak. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindi *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah*, Kāš. *viša*, Māz., Tāl. *višē*, Kurd. *viša*.

$r > \ddot{o}$.

§ 79. The change of r to \ddot{o} , like the other developments of

Indo-Iranian *ṛ* considered in the sections immediately preceding, occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *mōsā, mūsā*, Pali *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsāvā, mūsāvā*, Pali *musāvādin*).

ṛ > al

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākṛit. The Iranian dialects show a few examples of a development of *al* from an original *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛtvā* 'having done,' Prāk. *kariā*, Māg. Prāk. *kaliā*, Bihārī *ka(r)i*, Hindi *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhyta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dhāil, dhāil, dhayal* (in this word the Māg. *l* has been elided, while the Māg. *d* has become *l* as in all Bihārī perfect participles).

b. Iranian. Av. *vərəḍka* 'kidney,' Wāxī *valk*, etc. (see § 74). Av. *varəka* 'leaf,' Phl. *varg*, New Pers. *barg*, Gab. *varak*, Kāš. *valg*, Māz. *varak*, Gil. *valg, valk*, Judæo-Pers., Kurd. *valg*.

ṛ > r.

§ 81. The change of *ṛ* to *r* seems to occur only after *t* and before vowels, and it is apparently confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmāṭṛka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāūa*, Sindhi *jāṭrō*. Skt. *māṭṛka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māūa*, Sindhi *māṭrē*.

§ 82. Numerous examples may be cited where Indo-Iranian *ṛ* develops into different vowels in the same word in the same period and dialect.

a. Indian. Skt. *tyṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tyṇu, taṇu, tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *grha* 'house,' Pali *ghara, gaha, gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindi, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭi, māṭi, miṭṭi*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vṛnta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta, venta, vonta*, Pali *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi, risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi, piṭṭhi, puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭh, puṭh*, Guj. *piṭh, puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh, puṭha*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pāli *tiṇhā*, *tanhā*, *tasina*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prak. *mōsā*, *musā*, *mūsā*, etc. (see § 79).

b. Iranian. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' New Pers. *barnā*, *burnā*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *kərəma* 'worm,' Kurd. *karm*, *kurum*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *pṛḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, etc. (see § 68). Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Gil. *kudan*, *kardan*, etc. (see § 74).

The great variety of changes undergone by Indo-Iranian *r* in the various Indo-Iranian dialects is obvious. Thus the *r* of Skt. *mṛttika* 'earth' > *a*, *i*, *ā*; the *r* of Skt. *gṛha* 'house' > *a*, *ē*; of Skt. *vṛddha* 'large' > *a*, *u*, *ō*; of Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ā*, *ī*; of Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely' > *u*, *ū*, *ō*. In like manner the *r* of Av. *pərəsahi* 'thou askest' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ō*; and of Av. *parṣti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

ṛ.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *ṛ*, arising from Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ṛ̥*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *īr*, *ūr* (before consonants), *ir*, *ur* (before vowels), *āri*, *rā* (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, i. 22-30; Hirt, *Indogerm. Ablaut*, 48-49, 54-55, 60, 70-71, 76 sqq.). In Iranian the Indo-Iranian *ṛ* is represented by *ar* (Bartholomae, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. 25). The Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects have in general retained without change the old representations of Indo-Iranian *ṛ*.

a.-b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prak. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*; Wāxī *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varəmi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *qvarm*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prak. *dīraha*, *dīha*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhi *dīrighō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dīrāz*, Afy. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirīž*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

ṛ̥.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *ṛ̥* is lost entirely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, and it disappeared from the Iranian dialects

in the pre-Iranian period. In Old Indian *ḷ* is very rare. The developments of *ḷ* in Middle Indian were analogous to those of *ṛ*:

a. Indian. Skt. *kḷpta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

ē = *ē*.

§ 85. Indo-Iranian *ē* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. In the Middle and New Indian dialects *e* is long only before vowels and single consonants. Before consonant-groups it is to be regarded as short. In Assamese *e* is invariably short.

Skt. *dēva* 'god,' Prāk. *dēa*, Pāli *dēva*, Kāśm. *day*, U_r., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēḍ*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhi *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhūl ē* with the *maʾraf ī* has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judæo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between *ē* and *ī*.

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxi *liv*, Šiy. *ḍiv*, Sarq. *ḍēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zīr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judæo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vid*. Siv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vōn. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vid*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

ē > *a*.

§ 86. The change of *ē* to *a* is not frequent. In Western Bangālī, however, several instances of *a* are found where the Eastern Bangālī keeps the original *ē* unchanged (e.g. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' E. Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*).

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *mīlicchu*, Pāli *milakkhu*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēraha*, Pāli *ekādasā*,

ekārāsa, Kāśm. *kāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārāni*, Sindhi *ikārahāni*, *yārahāni*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *aēsmā* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *isma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hasang*.

$\bar{e} > i$.

§ 87. The change of \bar{e} to *i* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects the change occurs more frequently in the West than in the East. Among the Iranian dialects the Ossetish regularly develops *i* from \bar{e} before *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēdanā* 'pain,' Prak. *vianā*, *vēṇā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prak. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Uṛ. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhi *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhi *ikārahāni*, *yārahāni*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. *napá]deios*, Phl. *dis*, New Pers. *dis*, *diš*, *dēs*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēhma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xašin*, Šiy. *šōin*, Sarq. *xoin*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afy. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šīn*, Oss. *axsinag*. Skt. *phēna* 'foam,' Dig. Oss. *finkha*, Tag. *finkh*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{a}$.

§ 88. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kēyūra* 'bracelet,' Pāli *kayūra*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{i}$.

§ 89. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{i} is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Pāzand and New Persian, where \bar{e} becomes \bar{i} regularly before a nasal.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prak. *mēha*, Pāli. Prak.

mēkha, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindi *mīnh*, *mēnh*, Panj. *mīnh*, *mīham*, Sindhi *mīnhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vinī*, New Pers. *bīni*, Samn. *vinī*, Māz. *vēni*, Tal. *vinī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivī*, E. Kurd. *baval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, Yidg. *axšin*, Afy. *xīn*, *šin*, Kurd. (*ha*)*sin*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēna*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēš*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *sapēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sōbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid* (*ai* of secondary development, cf. New Pers. *dēr* 'long,' Sarq. loan-word *dair*), Yidg. *spī*, Kurd. *sipī*. Av. *aēca* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi, Šīy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

$\bar{e} > \bar{d}$.

§ 90. The change of \bar{e} to \bar{d} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pāli *vēḥhana*, Sinh. *voṭunu*, New Sinh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$.

§ 91. The change of \bar{e} to *ai* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^aaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^aai*, New Pers. *x^aai*, Wāxi *xīl*, Sarq. *xaid*, Afy. *x^aalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

$\bar{e} > y$.

§ 92. The change of \bar{e} to *y* is very rare and it occurs only initially. (This *y* is probably really prothetic.)

a. Sanskrit *ēka* 'one,' Prak. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāsm. *akh*, U_r., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindi *ik(k)*, Hindi *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhi *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ēk*, *aik*, Mar. *ēk*, *yēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekkh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aiva*, Phl. *ev(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxi *ī(v)*, Šīy. *yiv*,

yi, yu, yū, Sarq. *iv, ɪ*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afy. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *iki*, Dig. Osa. *yau*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *ačra* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*. New Pers., Wāxi, Šīy. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Osa. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

Aphaeresis of ē.

§ 93. The loss of initial *ē* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindi *rēṇḍī*.

Apocope of ē.

§ 94. Final *ē* is lost in the New Indian dialects in the majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' Uṛ. *tal(ē)*, Hindi *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, taḷ*. Skt. *saṅgē* 'with,' Uṛ. *saṅgē*, Hindi, Panj. *saṅn*, Sindhi *sām*, Guj. *saṅn*, Mar. *saṅgēn*.

The multiform changes to which a final *ē* is subject in the New Indian dialects may be well illustrated from the modern representatives of Old Indian **paścē* for the Sanskrit *paścāt* 'after.'

Skt. **paścē* 'after,' Apab. Prak. *pacchar*, Uṛ. *pachē, pāchu*, Bang. *pichē, pacchē*, Hindi *pāchē, pīchē, pāchū*, Panj. *pichē, pichōn*, Sindhi *pōē, puān*, Guj. *pachē, pachī, pachō*.

ai = āi.

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *ai* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *ai* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *ai* to *āy* (cf. § 108).

b. Iranian. Av. *rāi* 'radiance,' New Pers. *rāy*. [New Pers. *rāy* is, however, to be compared rather with Av. gen. sg. **rāyō*.]

ai > ai.

§ 96. The change of *ai* to *ai* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prak. *saīma, senna*, Pali *sēniya*.

āi > *i*.

§ 97. The change of *āi* to *i* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prak. *dhira*, *dhijja*, Ur., Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *dhir*.

āi > *ē*.

§ 98. The change of *āi* to *ē* is the normal one to which *āi* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prak., Pali *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prak., Pali *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindi *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prak., Pali *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Pali *gērika*, Ur. *gēru*, Hindi *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*.

ō = *o*.

§ 99. Indo-Iranian *ō* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese *ō*, although it is retained in the script, is pronounced *ū*. The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl* *ō* and the *ma:rūf* *ū* which has already been observed in the case of *ē* and *i* (see §§ 85, 85). The Judæo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between *ō* and *ū* (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prak. *bhōṇa*, Pali *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pali *yotta*, Ur., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhi *jōṭō*, Guj. *jōtar*, Mar. *jōt*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, excepting Kāš. *rū*, Tal. *rōš*, *rūš*, Wāxi *rau*, Afy. *ra*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rō(š)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nay. *gūš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šīyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γai*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tāg. *qūs*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxi *vūl*, Sarq. *ba*, Yayn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōḍ*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoša* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judæo-Pers. *rōi*.

$\delta > au$.

§ 100. The change of δ to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokēntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *saucagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\delta > a$.

§ 101. The change of δ to *a* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *godhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(n)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *ghēūm*, Panj. *ghrūm*, Sindhī *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcintanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gil. \surd *sūj*, Sarq. *saus*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay* (intrans.), Bal. *sōcag*, N. Bal. *sōšay* (trans.), Kurd. *sōtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *sarōn*, *surīn*, Wāxi *šunj*, Šiy. *šau*n, Sarq. *xaun*, Bal. *sarēn*. New Pers. *pōz* 'parts about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(n)z*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finje*, Tag. *fing*.

$\delta > i$.

§ 102. The change of δ to *i* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxi *γiš*, *γūš*, etc. (see § 99).

$\delta > u$.

§ 103. The change of δ to *u* is common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. As in all cases of shortening, the phenomenon here discussed occurs especially before double consonants or consonant-groups.

a. Indian. The change of δ to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

the Bangali often has *u* where the other New Indian dialects show *ō*.

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prak. *ruccat*, Māg. Prak. *lōadi*, Pali *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prak. *jōmha*, Pali *jumha*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jaina Prak. *uya*, Pali *ōja*. Skt. *lōṣyam* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṣiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṣiyā*. Skt., Pali *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhī *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kāśmīrī *ō*, *ū* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *i*, e. g. Kāśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Kāśm. *bodd* (written *baḍu*), fem. *būḍ* (written *baḍū*), etc. (see § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf*, New Pers. *kōh*, *kuh*, Kuhr. *kūfān*, mountain Jewish *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfay*, Kurd. *kūwī*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Kāś., Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaōsa* 'ear,' Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūš*, *gūša*, Bohtani *kuši*.

ō > i.

§ 104. The change of *ō* to *i* is rather infrequent.

b. Iranian. Some of the New Iranian dialects preserve the transition-grade *ū*.

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōi* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōi*, Gab. *mīd*, Šīv., Bahb., Nay., Māz. *mī*, Gil., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Šīv. *tīlū*.

ō > ū.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *i* before nasals, § 89). In Afyān *ō* becomes *ū* before *n*, but it remains unchanged before *m*. Elsewhere the change is sporadic only.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaona* 'colour,' Phl. *gūn(ak)*, New Pers.

gūn(ah), Afy. *γūna*. Av. *haoma* 'Homa-plant,' Phl. *hōm*, Paz., New Pers. *hām*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gil. $\sqrt{sūj}$, Tag. Oss. *sūjin*, etc. (see § 101). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Gab. *rūj*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, *darōy*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kurd. *rūn*.

$\bar{o} > \bar{e}$.

§ 106. The change of \bar{o} to \bar{e} is found with some frequency.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *rōhita* 'kind of fish,' Ass. *rō*, E. Hindī *rēhū*, Hindī *rōhū*, Panj. *rēhū*, Sinh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēnhu*, Hindī *gēhuh*, *ghēum*, *gō(m)huh*, Panj. *ghēum*, Sindhī *gēhuh*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prak., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kaśm. *čūr*, Sinh. *hera*, *hora*, Gyp. *cor*.

$\bar{o} > va$.

§ 107. The change of \bar{o} to *va* occurs regularly in Afyān, excepting before *m*, where \bar{o} is retained, and before *n*, where \bar{o} becomes \bar{a} (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'car,' Afy. *γvaiy*, etc. (see § 99). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Afy. *rvaj*, etc. (see § 99).

$\bar{a}u = \bar{a}u$.

§ 108. The Indo-Iranian $\bar{a}u$ has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in which $\bar{a}u$ has apparently been retained in the Iranian dialects show in reality a change of $\bar{a}u$ to $\bar{a}v$ (cf. § 95).

b. Iranian. Skt. *nāu* 'ship,' Av. *nāvaya* 'navigable,' Old Pers. *nāviya* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvtak*, *nāvlāk*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. **nāvō*.]

āu > *āū*.

§ 109. The change of *āu* to *āū* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pāura* 'citizen,' Prāk. *paūra*, Pāli *pōra*.
Skt. *gāurava* 'respect,' Prāk. *gaurava*, Śaur. Prāk. *gōrava*.
Skt. *māuli* 'garland,' Prāk. *maūli*, Pāli *mōli*.

āu > *u*.

§ 110. The change of *āu* to *u* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣeyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Uṛ. *cōri*, Bang. *curi*, Hindī, Mar. *cōrī*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Prāk. *ōsukka*, Pāli *ussukka*.

āu > *ū*.

§ 111. The change of *āu* to *ū* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāurya* 'heroism,' Prāk. *sōria*, Sindhī *sūrihāi*.

āu > *ō*.

§ 112. The change of *āu* to *ō* is the normal one to which Indo-Iranian *āu* is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects. It may also be noted that *āu* in Assamese script is always pronounced *ō*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāumudī* 'moonlight,' Prāk. *kōmui*, Pāli *kōmudī*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamyā* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Uṛ., Bang. *jhūli*, *jhuli*, *jhōli*, Hindī *jhōli*, Guj., Mar. *jhōli*.

SINGLE CONSONANTS

§ 113. The Indo-Iranian consonants remain for the most part unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The law of spirantization which sharply distinguishes the Iranian from the Indian dialects is still operative, and all phenomena to be discussed in the following chapter must be considered with this fact in mind. The principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian single consonants are in general easily explicable. Common both to the Indian and to the Iranian dialects, although more frequent in the latter, is the change of an original voiced consonant to a voiceless, or the reverse. Aspiration and deaspiration, the loss of a consonant and the subsequent insertion of *y* or *v* in its place to avoid a resultant hiatus, are the most striking changes noted in the Indian dialects. The changes presented by the Iranian dialects in the single consonants are far more sporadic and less regular than those which are found in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects a voiceless intervocalic consonant regularly becomes voiced. In general it may be said that the Indian dialects have preserved the original Indo-Iranian vowels more faithfully than the Iranian dialects have, but that, on the other hand, the Iranian consonants have suffered less change than the Indian.

In the following paragraphs will be found in some detail the principal changes undergone by the Indo-Iranian consonants in the various Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

$$k = k.$$

§ 114. Indo-Iranian *k* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Prāk. *kahaṣ*, *kaheṣi*, Pāli *kathēti*, U_r., Bang., Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kah*, Guj. *keh*, Sihh. *kiyanavā*. Skt. *eka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kāśm. *akh*, U_r., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihāri *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindi *ik(k)*, Hindi *ek*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhi *hiku*, (*h)ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hekiḍō*, Guj. *ek*, *aik*, Mar. (*y)ēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfān*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khofay*, Kurd. *ktāh*. Av. *kərmaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *karṭanō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxi *čaram*, Šiyn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanay*, Kurd. *kirin*, Dig. Oss. *khanun*, Tag. *khanin*.

k > *kh*, *x*.

§ 115. In the Indian dialects the aspirization of an original *k* is only sporadic, but the Middle and New Iranian dialects regularly change *k* into the spirant *x* internally between vowels. In North Balūči *k* becomes *kh* regularly initially, and the change occurs uniformly both initially and finally in Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, U_r. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindi *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhi *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *kubadā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhar. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *khāmsī*, *khāmsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(va)*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kāśm. *khuh*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Hindi *kuāmī*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhi *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindi *kōr*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxi *xuf*, Sarq. *zaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *zaf(a)*, Tag. *zaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargas*, N. Bal. *khargas*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākem* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. (*h)ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GA_v. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YA_v. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxū*, fem. *nakh*.

k > g.

§ 116. The change of *k* to *g* is not frequent, excepting in the Iranian dialects internally between vowels.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kīra* 'parrot,' Siṃh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kīra*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindi *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhi *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Siṃh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhi *kāngu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kīh*, Wāxi *kui*, *koi*, Šīyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *cī*, Kamuntī *khi*. Av. *yakarə* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *jayar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'porcupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afy. *škōn*, *škun*, Bal. *sīkun*, N. Bal. *sīxun*.

k > k̄i.

§ 117. The palatalization of *k* to *k̄i* is found in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Kurd. *kīūh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kāś., Kuhr. *kīyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Yidg. *kyē*, etc. (see following §).

k > c, ċ.

§ 118. The change of *k* to *c* is very rare in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *c* or *ċ* is not infrequently developed from an original *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kirāta* 'name of a degraded tribe,' Prāk. *cila(d)a* (but *kirāya* 'monkey'). Skt. *kunda* 'turner,' Pāli *cunda*. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Pāli *kasi*, Uṛ. *cāsa*, *tāsa*, Bang. *cās*. Skt. *gōṣṭhika* 'belonging to a village,' Sindhi *gōṣṭhēcō*.

[Here may be noted the Kāśmīrī change of *k* to *c* in the formation of the feminine, e. g. Kāśm. *bātuk* 'drake,' *bātuc* 'duck.']

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vön. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxi *kat*, Šiyn. *čīd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kərṭ*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afy. *cārah*, Bal. *kārc(a)*, N. Bal. *khārca*, Kurd. *kīr(a)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūsan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Wāxi *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sicīn*, N. Bal. *sišin*, *šisan*, *šišin*, *sēšin*, Kurd. *šūšin*.

$k > t$.

§ 119. The change of *k* to *t* is very rare. In many of its occurrences it is due to dissimilation.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛṣi* 'agriculture,' Ur. *tāsa*, *cāsa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*.

$k > p$.

§ 120. The change of *k* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jalūkika* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupika*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

$k > bh$.

§ 121. The change of *k* to *bh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *śikara* 'spray,' Prak. *si(h)ara*, *sibhara*, Pāli *stikara*. [See now Pischel, § 206.]

$k > y$.

§ 122. The change of *k* to *y* is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*. The phenomenon is far less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Nāip. *narival*, Bang. *nārēl*, Bihārī *nāriyar*, Hindi *nāriyal*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhi *nārēlu*, *nātru*, Guj. *nāriyal*, Mar. *nāraḷ*. Skt. *ākāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgara*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Sinh. *kovulla*, Anglo-Ind. *kotl*. Skt. (*u*)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Sinh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Eḷu *siyuru*, Sinh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māyikan* 'mare,' New Pers. *mādigān*, Bal. *mādyān*, N. Bal. *mādin*, *māzin*.

k > v.

§ 123. The change of *k* to *v*, like that of *k* to *y*, is only apparent. The *k* is actually lost through the transition-grade *g*, and *v* is then inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of the *k*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuka* 'parrot,' Pāli *suka*, *suva*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Pāli *nakula*, Ur., Bang. *nēul*, Hindi *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Sinh. *kovulla*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāsatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarīṭanō*, Pāz. *guhārād*, New Pers. *guvārād*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

k > ś.

§ 124. The change of *k* to *ś* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sišin*, *śišan*, *śišin*, *sēšin*, etc. (see § 118).

k > h.

§ 125. The change of *k* to *h* is rare in the Indian and especially rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phaliha*, *phaliya*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *śrikā* 'beauty,' Māhār. Prāk. *siriha*. Skt. *nikāsa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,

Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *srjanakāra* 'creator,' Sindhī *sirjanahāru*. Skt. *ākāśa* 'sky,' Prak. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Sinh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Kurd. *sah*, etc. (see § 123).

k > *s*, *ś*.

§ 126. The change of *k* to *s*, *ś* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūkā* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūsan*, *sōsan*, New Pers. *sōsan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōsō*, Kurd. *šūkin*, etc. (see § 118).

Aphaeresis of k.

§ 127. The loss of an initial *k* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Ur. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōṛari*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*.

Syncope of k.

§ 128. The loss of an internal *k* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, although it is noteworthy that the phenomenon occurs more often in the Middle than in the New period.

a. Indian. Skt. *avakāśa* 'opportunity,' Prak. *vāsa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Ur., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *nārēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nātru*, Mar. *nāraḷ*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prak. *kōila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Ur. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindi, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhār*.

Apocope of k.

§ 129. The loss of a final *k* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bḡdaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*,

Kāś. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).
Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xāni*, Mukri *xānā*.

Epenthesis of k.

§ 130. The insertion of *k* is very rare (merely graphic?).

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *miθōkxt*, Pāz. *mīduxt*.

lh = kh.

§ 131. Indo-Iranian *kh* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nakha* 'nail,' Prāk., Pāli *nakha*, Gyp. *nay*. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Prāk. *lihat*, Pāli *likhati*, Kāśm. *lekh*, Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavun*, Mar. *lihinēn*, Simh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Uṛ. *khāibā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khānā*, Sindhī *khānu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khānēn*, Simh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxi *xur*, Šiyn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afy. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nāk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxi *yix*, Šiyn. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yayn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afy. *max*.

kh > k.

§ 132. In the Indian dialects the deaspirization of an original *kh* is very rare, but in the later Iranian dialects the phenomenon is somewhat more frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *khālu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khālu*. Skt. *khā* 'spring,' Pāli *kā*, *khā*, Gyp. *chev*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Kurd. *k(i)ar*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see preceding §).

kh > gh, γ.

§ 133. The change of *kh* to *gh, γ*, is found occasionally in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkha* 'line,' Prak. *rēha*, Pali *rēkha*, Hindi, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhi *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'chain,' Prak. *samkala*, *samkhala*, *simkhala*, Pali *samkhalā*, Kasm. *hāmhalā*, Ur. *sāmkala*, *sāmkara*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhi *saṅghar*, Guj. *sāmkal*, Mar. *sā(m)kal*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākha* 'twig,' Phl. *śak*, New Pers. *šax*, *šay*.

kh > c.

§ 134. The change of *kh* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *car*, *sar*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > s.

§ 135. This change, like the preceding one, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Sarq. *sar*, *car*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > h.

§ 136. The change of *kh* to *h* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although it occurs less frequently in the latter group of languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sakhi* 'friend,' Prak. *sahi*, Pali *sakhi*, Sindhi *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prak. *muha*, Pali *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(m)h*, Hindi *muṅh*, Panj. *mūṅhu*, *muhum*, Sindhi *mumhum*, *mukhu*, Simh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiyn. *har*, etc. (see § 131). Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > y.

§ 137. The change of *kh* to *y*, like that of *k* to *y* (see § 122), is only apparent.

a. Indian. Skt. *likhati* 'writes,' Sinh. *liyanavā*, etc. (see § 131).

kh > v.

§ 138. The change of *kh* to *v*, which is, like that of *k* to *v* (see § 123), only apparent, occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Sinh. *muva*, etc. (see § 136).

Prothesis of *kh*

§ 139. Prothetic *kh* is found quite frequently in the Iranian dialects prefixed to words which originally began with vowels.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēšma* 'wrath,' Phl. *xēšm*, New Pers. *xīšm*. Av. *arāša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xīra*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yūrx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *vir*, *hirc*, *hirš*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha;ik*, *hi*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *ama* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxi *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmag*, Kurd. *xāv*.

g = g.

§ 140. Indo-Iranian *g* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, except for the Iranian law of spirantization which develops *γ* from *g*, unless the *g* is either initial or is preceded by a nasal or a sibilant.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *garahu*, Guj. *gadheḍō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *juvalu*, Pāli *yugala*, Uṛ. *jugala*, Bang., Hindī, Panj., Guj. *jugal*, Mar. *juḷā*, *jūḷ*, *juval*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gūrm*, *ḫūrm*, Afy. *γarma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gau* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxi *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *ḫāv*, Sarq. *ḫao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yayn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qag*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōy*.

g > k.

§ 141. The change of the voiced *g* to the voiceless *k* is not frequent in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects it is still more rare, excepting in the Tagaurish Ossetish, which has *q* initially for Indo-Iranian *g* (Digaurish *γ*).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Mahār. Prāk. *nayara*, Pāiś. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*. Skt. *maga* 'Magian,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *maka*. Skt. *chagala* 'goat,' Pāli *chakala*. Skt. *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Pāli *ajakara*, *ajagara*. Skt. *garuḍa* 'mythical bird,' Prāk. *garuḍa*, *garuḷa*, *galuḍa*, Pāli *garuḷa*, Eḷu *gurulu*, Sinh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Uṛ. *gahira*, Hindi *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhi *gahirō*, Sinh. *gāmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Štr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *guš*, Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *guh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

g > gh, γ.

§ 142. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *g* is rare and only sporadic in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects *g* becomes *γ* regularly, excepting initially or after a nasal or a sibilant. In the Pāmīr dialects, in Afyān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian *g* becomes *γ* also initially.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha*, *gēha* 'house,' Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kaśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindi *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Sinh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gahūm*, Uṛ. *ga(ha)ma*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(m)hūm*, *gēhūm*, *ghēhūm*, Panj. *ghēhūm*, Sindhi *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *γūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Wāxi *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiyn.

γῦś, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaiy*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaba* 'thief,' Afy. *γal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afy. *marya*, Kurd. *mrišk*, Oss. *mary*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Saf. *nū*, Nāy. *nāu*, Minj. *nayan*, Cent. Dial. *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*.

g > y.

§ 143. The change of *g* to *y* is only apparent. The *g* is in reality lost, and *y* is then inserted to prevent the resulting hiatus (cf. §§ 122, 137).

a. Indian. Skt. *jagat* 'world,' Māhār. Prak. *jaya*, Sindhi *jaḡu*, *jaḡaṡu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prak. *nayara*, Sinh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prak., Pāli *nāga*, Sinh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *zaringūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afy. *zaryūn*.

g > v.

§ 144. The change of *g* to *v* in the Indian dialects is only an apparent one, the *v* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of the original *g* (cf. §§ 123, 138). In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the change of *g* to *v* is a real one. The phenomenon does not occur frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Sinh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *magu* 'Magian,' Phl. *magū*, *magūpaṡ*, *maṡpaṡ*, New Pers. *muy*, *mōy*, *mōbad*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, etc. (see § 142). New Pers. *xargūś* 'hare' (lit. 'donkey-eared,' Av. **xara-gaoša*), Kurd. *karvaś*.

g > ś.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *ś* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in ŠiynI and Sariqoli.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šīyn. *əw*, Sarq. *kaō*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *kūrm*, *gūrm*, etc. (see § 140).

$g > h$.

§ 146. The change of *g* to *h* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pāli *bhāgiṇeja*, Sinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*.

Syncope of g.

§ 147. The loss of an internal *g* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although the New Indian does not suffer syncope of *g* as frequently as do the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāgadheya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadeha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pāli *bhāga*. Skt. *ṣṛgāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pāli *siḡāla*, Uṛ. *śiāla*, *śeāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivalā*. Skt. *agata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duṇa*, Pāli *diḡuṇa*, Hindi, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhi *ḡūnā*, Mar. *dūn*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhatnī*, Pāli *bhagini*, Uṛ. *bhāunī*, *bhaūnī*, Bang. *batn*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṅ*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bhēṅu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahin*, *bhāiṅ*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *juḷā*, *jūḷ*, *juvaḷ*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *durōy*, Māz. *darū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*, Kurd. *darāv*, *darau*. Av. *ci* 'what?' + *gaona* 'kind,' Phl. *cigūn(īh)*, New Pers. *cigūnah*, *cūn*.

$gh = gh$.

§ 148. Indo-Iranian *gh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Hindi *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēya* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēy*, Dig. Oss. *mēya*, Tag. *mīy*.

gh > k.

§ 149. The change of *gh* to *k* occurs very rarely as a final in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašmaoya* 'destroying righteousness,' Phl. *ahramōk*. Av. *daya* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāy*, New Pers. *dāy*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāy*, Kurd. *dak*.

gh > kh.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāisāci Prakrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prak. *mēha*, Pāis. Prak. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindi *mēm̄h*, *mīm̄h*, Panj. *mīm̄h*, *mīhanī*, Sindhi *mīm̄hu*.

gh > g.

§ 151. The deaspirization of *gh* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīri.

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prak. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kāśm. *gur**, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighatātē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighatēti*, Ur., Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindi, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhi *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagāḍ*, Mar. *vighaḍ*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *γulyul* 'chatter,' Kurd. *gālagāl*, *galgāl*.

gh > h.

§ 152. The change of *gh* to *h* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, but in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *laghu* 'light,' Prak., Pāli *lahu*, Simh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindi, Panj. (*a*)*rahaṭ*, Sindhi *ar(a)ḥu*, Guj. *rēm̄ṭ*, Mar. *rahāṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prak. *mēha*, Hindi *mēm̄h*, *mīm̄h*, Panj. *mīm̄h*, *mīhanī*, Sindhi *mīm̄hu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. **baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. *rō Bayiṣṭavon ḍpos*, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistān*, *bahistān*, *bistān*.

Syncope of gh.

§ 153. The loss of Indo-Iranian *gh* internally is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raya* nom. prop., Old Pers. *raga*, Phl. *rak*, *rāi*, New Pers. *rai*.

ɾ, ʁ

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhi, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ɾ, ʁ*, pronounced *ɾə* and *ɾi*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ɾ* and *ʁ* have been lost. The Sindhi *ɾ* and *ʁ* are of secondary development in the majority of their occurrences.

c = c.

§ 155. Indo-Iranian *c* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although in the latter group internal Indo-Iranian *c* is rare, excepting in Pahlavī and Balūčī.

a. Indian. Skt. *catoṃbāri* 'four,' Prak. *cattari*, *cauro*, Pālī *catu*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nicē* 'beneath,' Uṛ., Bang. *nica*, Hindī *nīcā*, Panj. *nīcōm*, Sindhī, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Siv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš. *Vōn. cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gil. *ciš*, Wāxī *cōšm*, Šīyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' Phl. *caxr*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθ'a*, Phl. *ciθrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afy. *čira*, *šira*, Kurd. *cāra*.

c > č.

§ 156. The change of the palatal *c* to the affricative *č* is very rare in the Indian dialects, excepting in Kāśmīrī, Kafirī, and East Bangālī. In early *tadbhavas*, *dēśajas*, and before non-palatal

vowels the Marāṭhī pronounces *c* as *č*, and *j* as *ǰ*, but before the palatal vowels *ī*, *ē*, in tatsamas and late tadbhavas the old sounds of *c* and *j* are retained. The Iranian dialects show few instances of a change of *c* to *č*, excepting in the Persian dialects and in Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Kāśm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *čir*, Afy. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pačēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *para*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *parta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bazazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičin*.

c > *ch*.

§ 157. The change of *c* to *ch* is found initially in North Balūčī.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' N. Bal. *cham*, etc. (see § 155).

c > *j*.

§ 158. The change of the tenuis *c* to the media *j* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. It is, on the other hand, common between vowels in the Persian dialects, where the New Persian shows *s* (see § 167).

a. Indian. Skt. *acalā* 'earth,' Prak. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *ajalā*, Māhār. Prak. *ayalā*. Skt. *sruc* 'ladle,' Pāli *suja*. Skt. *māca* 'glass,' Mar. (vulg.) *māj*.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōčēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gil. *√sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afy. *sējal*, *svajavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *haca + abairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *ačēr*, Pāz. *ačēr*, New Pers. *sēr*, Šīr. *šī*, Zaf. *čēr*, other Central

dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judæo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zēr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vaocaš* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāš*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaji*, Zaf. *vāš*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vön. *bōjū*, Kuhr. *bavōjī*, Nāy. *uvāj*.

c > j.

§ 159. The change of *c* to *j* is excessively rare. Cases of it are found in Afyān and Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sējāl*, *svaj-avul*, *sēzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sūjin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(th)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rāj*, Siv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rā*, but Tāl. *rōš*, *rāš*, Afy. *raš*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruš*, *rōš*.

c > th.

§ 160. The change of *c* to *th*, like all other changes in which the cerebrals are concerned, is confined to the Indian dialects. It is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' U₁. *thanṭ*, *thomṭ*, Bang. *thōmṭ*, *cōmṭ*, Hindi *thōmṭh*, *cōmc*, Guj. *cāmc*, Mar. *cōmc*.

c > t.

§ 161. The change of *c* to *t* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jaina Prak. *tēgicchā*, Pāli *tikicchā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Kāš. *patan*, Kurd. *pātin*, etc. (see § 156). Old Pers. *cišciy* 'anything,' New Pers. *ciš*, Kurd. *tišt*.

c > th, θ.

§ 162. The change of *c* to *th, θ*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' U₁. *thanṭ*, *thōmṭ*, etc. (see § 160).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Bayazid Kurd. *pāthin*, etc. (see § 156).

c > d.

§ 163. The change of *c* to *d* occurs with extreme rarity excepting in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prak. *ayariya*, Pali *ācāriya*, Sinh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prak. *mucāṭ*, Māhār. Prak. *muyāṭ*, Pali *muñcati*, Sinh. *mudanavā*.

c > y.

§ 164. The change of *c* to *y* is only an apparent one, *y* being inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the syncope of *c* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143).

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prak. *ayariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prak. *muyāṭ*, etc. (see preceding §).

c > s.

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindi *c* is always pronounced *s*. The Sinhalese often changes *c* to *s*, which may further develop into *h*. Of the Iranian dialects the Afyān shows the development of *s* from *c* most frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prak., Pali *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Uṛ. *caḥ*, E. Hindi *cāk*, W. Hindi *cakki* (pron. *sakki*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pali *pacati*, New Ind. dialects \sqrt{pac} , Sinh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *sira*, *čira* (see § 155).

c > š.

§ 166. The change of *c* to *š* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *s(i)*, Wāxi, Sarq. *s*, Afy. *š*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *š(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nācuk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēš*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

'day,' Siv. *rōša*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* 'wood,' New Pers. *cōb*, Šir. *cūy*, Wāxi *šōkk*, Sarq. *xaiḅ*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlū *šiv*.

c > s.

§ 167. The change of *c* to *s* is made regularly in New Persian between vowels, after *r*, and finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* 'runs,' Phl. *tācēt*, *tāšēt*, New Pers. *tāsād*, Wāxi *tōcam*, Sarq. *tajam*, Afy. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' New Pers. *rōs*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* 'follows,' Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāsād*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judæo-Pers. *sāsād*.

c > š.

§ 168. The change of *c* to *š*, which is closely akin to that discussed in the preceding paragraph, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hucitra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *hujir*, *xujir*, *hušir*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' Tāl. *rōš*, *rūš*, Kurd. *rūš*, *rōš*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καίθη* 'measure for wheat,' Phl. *kapic*, New Pers. *hasiš*, *kavīs*.

c > h.

§ 169. The change of *c* to *h* is made, as already noted in § 165, through the transition-grade *s*. It is not of common occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Sinh. *hak*, *sak*, etc. (see § 165). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prak., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Sinh. *hora*, *hera*.

c > č.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *č* is found occasionally in the North Balūčī.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' N. Bal. *cyār*, etc. (see § 156).

Syncope of c.

§ 171. The loss of Indo-Iranian *c* occurs not infrequently in the

Indo-Iranian dialects. It is more common in the Middle than in the New Indian period. In the Iranian dialects, where the syncope is found least often, *c* is lost only in the vicinity of long vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *vacana* 'voice,' Prāk. *vaana*, *vacana*, Pali *vacana*, Sindhi *vacanu*. Skt. *sūci* 'needle,' Prāk. *sū*, Pali *sūci*, Uṛ., Bang. *sūci*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *sū*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *su*, Gyp. *su*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Caspian dialects *rū*, Kurd. *rō*, *rōž*, *ruž*, etc. (see § 159).

ch = *ch*.

§ 172. It is only in the Indian dialects that *ch* occurs. Here, however, it is in general preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindi *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhi *chāpanu*, *cāpanu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapuḍānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭānēm*, *ṭap*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*)*chop*, *shampoo*.

ch > *c*.

§ 173. The deaspirization of *ch* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindi *cāmpānā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhi *cāpanu*, *chāpanu*, Mar. *cāpaṭānēm*, *chāpanēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

ch > *ṭ*.

§ 174. The change of *ch* to *ṭ* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Uṛ. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindi *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhi *ṭapuḍānu*, *ṭhapanu*, Mar. *ṭap*, *ṭhapanu*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *ṭh*.

§ 175. The change of *ch* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \sqrt{ch} ap 'go' (?), Hindi *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭō-*

panā, tōpanā, Sindhi *ṭhapanu, ṭapuḍanu*, Mar. *ṭhapakā, ṭāp*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > t.

§ 176. The change of *ch* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. \checkmark *chay* 'go,' Hindi *tōpanā, ṭōpanā, ṭīpanā, ṭhapanā*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > s.

§ 177. Many New Indian dialects, especially Assamese, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī, as well as the others in sporadic instances, pronounce or write *s* instead of *ch*.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛchati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchat*, Pāli *pucchati*, Uṛ. *pūchanā, pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindi *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhi *puchanu*, Guj. *puchavuni*, Mar. *pusanēm*.

With this change of *ch* to *s* may perhaps be compared the cases where Iranian *s* = Indian *ch*, e.g.

Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāyā, chāā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindi *chām(v), chāmḥ, chāōm*, Panj. *cā(ū)ṃ*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*: Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *st*.

j = j.

§ 178. Indo-Iranian *j* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṅgha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jaṅgha*, Nāip. *jāṅ*, Bang. *jāṅgī*, E. Hindi, Hindi *jāṅgh*, Panj. *jāṅgh*, Sindhi *jaṅgh*, *jāṅgh*, Guj., Mar. *jaṅghā, jāṅgh*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātṛjāyā* 'brother's wife,' Uṛ., Bang. *bhāṭja*, Hindi *bhāṭj, bhāvaj, bhāṭjī, bhōjāi*, Sindhi *bhōjāi*, Mar. *bhāvajāi*. Skt. *bhrātṛja* 'nephew,' Hindi, Panj., Guj. *bhātjā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan, yan(ūk)*, Siv. *kin*, Zaf. *kan, Kāš*, Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, kan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *kanikō*, Šīyn. *jin*, Sarq. *jin, kin*, Minj. *kinga*, Afy. *jinaī, jūnaī, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *kin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers.

sanad, Zaf. *batint*, Kaś. *jidān*, Kuhr. *jindamān*, Šīyn. *stnam*, Sarq. *sanam*, Afy. *lanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *sanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bās*, *bāk*. Phl. *barējan* 'oven,' New Pers. *barējan*, Bal. *brijag*, *brējag*.

$j > gh, \gamma$.

§ 179. The change of *j* to *gh*, γ , is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Šīyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *šin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$.

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāśāci Prakrit according to the well-known rule of this dialect that all mediae or mediae aspiratae become tenues or tenues aspiratae. Elsewhere the change is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prak. *rāā*, Māhar. Prak. *rāyā*, Pāś. Prak. *rācā*, Pali *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, except Sinh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prak. *vaccat*, Pali *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prak. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$.

§ 181. The aspirization of an original *j* is a phenomenon of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *jaṅgala* 'wild,' Old Hindi *jaṅgar*, New Ind. dialects *janigali*, except Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhi *jhanigali*. Skt., Prak., Pali *jana* 'person,' Bang. (Malda) *jhan*, Gyp. *jenō*.

$j > d$.

§ 182. The change of *j* to *d* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian dialects, and it is the regular change to which an original *j* is subject in Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prak. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, Pali *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *śōō*, New Ind. dialects *jibh* (Sindhi *jibh*), Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchat*, *du(g)umchat*, *jhunat*, *juucchat*, Pāli *jigucchati*. Skt. *tējas* 'glory,' Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Sinh. *tēda*.

j > y.

§ 183. The change of *j* to *y* is in the Indian dialects only an apparent one, *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164). In the Iranian dialects an actual change of *j* to *y* is found, but it is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *samaja* 'herd,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *samaya*. Skt. *gaja* 'elephant,' Prāk. *gaya*, *gaa*, Pāli *gaja*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Gab. *yan(ak)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *kan*, Nāy. *yanah*, etc. (see § 178).

j > v.

§ 184. The change of *j* to *v*, like that of *j* to *y* in the Indian dialects, is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *j* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājānah* 'of a king,' Prāk. *rāṅṅō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāṅō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399-400.]

j > s.

§ 185. In the Iranian dialects the change of *j* to *s* is very frequent. In the Indian dialects, however, it is only in the North East, particularly in Assamese, Kāśmīrī, vulgar Bangālī (Rājbarhāt and Eastern), and Bihārī, that *j* is pronounced *s*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāśm. *sēō*, etc. (see § 182). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *jala* 'water,' Ass., Kāśm., vulgar Bang., Bihārī *jal* (pron. *sal*), Sindhī *jaru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *javaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jivahy*, Phl. *stvas-tanō*, New Pers. *sistan*, Kāš. *vasandō*, *jiga*, Afy. *svand(ūn)*,

Kurd. *šin*, *šiin*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtani *vēsār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *sufar*, *safr*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judæo-Pers. *sōrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *šör*, Zaza *jör*.

$j > š$.

§ 186. The change of *j* to *š*, which is closely akin to the one discussed in the preceding paragraph, is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Stv. *šin*, Zaf. *šan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *šan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *kanikō*, Sarq. *šin*, *šin*, Minj. *šinga*, Kurd. *šin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *javiti* 'lives,' Afy. *švand(ān)*, Kurd. *šiin*, *šin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *šarf*, Afy. *šavar*, Kurd. *šör*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāš*, Kurd. *dirš*.

Syncopé of j.

§ 187. The loss of an original intervocalic *j* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vijana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindi *bēnā*. Skt., Pāli *ajagara* 'boa-constrictor,' Mar. *ār*.

$jh = jh$.

§ 188. Original *jh* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects, and it is lacking altogether in the Iranian languages. In the majority of instances in the Indian dialects original *jh* is preserved unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhampa* 'leap,' Mar. *jhēmp*.

$jh > j$.

§ 189. The deaspirization of *jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jhalla* 'name of a degraded caste,' Jāina Prāk. *jalla*.

jh > *s*.

§ 190. In Assamese an original *jh* is written *j*, which is pronounced *s* (cf. § 185). Similarly the resultant *jh* of the Kāśmīrī is pronounced *s*.

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *sal*), Bang. *jhaluyā*, Hindī *jhāl*.

ṭ = *ṭ*.

§ 191. All cases in which cerebral letters are concerned are confined to the Indian dialects. Indian *ṭ* is preserved unchanged in the great majority of instances.

a. Indian. Skt. *truṭati* 'comes apart,' Prak. *tuṭṭat*, *tōḍat*, U_r. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍattē*, Sindhī *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭavum*, *tōḍavum*, Mar. *tuṭanēm*, *tōḍanēm*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prak. *kapāṭa*, U_r., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√(h)uṭ* 'to cut off,' New Ind. dialects *√chuṭ*, but also Hindī *chōṛ*, Mar. *suṭ*, *sōḍ*.

ṭ > *ḍ*.

§ 192. The change of the tenuis *ṭ* to the media *ḍ* is the most frequent one to which Indian *ṭ* is subject. In the East New Indian dialects *ḍ* often interchanges with *ṛ* and this *ṛ* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavi* 'forest,' Apab. Prak. *aḍaṭ*, Pāli *aṭavi*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prak. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pāli *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prak. *ghaḍa*, Pāli *ghaṭa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' Prak. *kīḍa*, Pāli *kīṭa*, U_r., Bang., Hindī *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kīḍō*, Guj. *kīḍō*, Mar. *kīḍ*, *kīḍā*, Gyp. *kiri*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭāha* 'pan,' U_r. *karat*, *kahrāt*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āi)*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kaḍāhī*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhaṭ*, Sinh. *kulāva*.

ṭ > *ḍh*.

§ 193. The rare change of *ṭ* to *ḍh* seems to occur more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saṭā* 'mane,' Prak. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭikā*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayadhā*, Śaur. Prāk. *saadhā*, Pāli *sakaṭa*. Skt. *kāṭabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēdhava*. Skt. *akṣapāṭa* 'arena,' E. Hindi *akhārḥ*, Hindi *akhārā*, Mar. *akhāḍā*.

‡ > t.

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian ‡ to t occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāli. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṣumbaka*, Pāli *kuṣumbaka*, *kuṣimbaka*.

‡ > p.

§ 195. The change of ‡ to p is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karōṭi* 'pot,' Pāli *kalōpi*.

‡ > r.

§ 196. The change of ‡ to r (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Uṛ. *karat*, *kahvāt*, *kaḍhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

‡ > l.

§ 197. The change of ‡ to l is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiḥa*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* 'crab,' Jaina Prāk. *kakāḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Sinh. *kakuluwā*, *kakuluwā*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Sinh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēṭa* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Uṛ., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindi *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

‡ > ḷ.

§ 198. The change of ‡ to ḷ occurs especially in Sinhalese, where l and ḷ are used indiscriminately, although the Maldivian distinguishes sharply between l and ḷ.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kāḍa*, Pāli *kaṭa*, Sinh. *kuḷu*. Skt. *sphaṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuṭṭat*, *phuḍat*, Pāli

phutati, Hindi *phūt*, Panj. *phutt*, other New Ind. dialects *phut*, except Sinh. *poḷanavā*.

$\text{ṭh} = \text{ṭh}$.

§ 199. The retention of *ṭh* without change is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *maṭha* 'college,' Prak. *maḍha*, Mar. (dimin.) *maḍhī*, other New Ind. dialects *maṭh*.

$\text{ṭh} > \text{ṭ}$.

§ 200. The deaspirization of *ṭh* is very rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Prak. *kuḍhāra*, Pāli *kuṭhāri*, Ur. *kuṭāri*, *kuḥari*, *kuṭāḍi*, Bang. *kurhīd*, *kurhāḍi*, Bihārī, Hindi *kulhāri*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kumlhārā*, *kulhāḍō*, Sindhi, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhāt*, *kurhār*.

$\text{ṭh} > \text{ḍ}$.

§ 201. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍ* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prak. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *pimḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Sindhi *pēḍahi*, Guj. *pēḍhi*, Mar. *pāṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Ur. *paḍhibā*, Bang. *paḍhite*, Hindi, Panj. *paḍhanā*, Sindhi *paḍahanu*, Guj. *paḍhavun*, Mar. *paḍhanēn*.

$\text{ṭh} > \text{ḍh}$.

§ 202. The change of *ṭh* to *ḍh* is the most common one of all those to which Indian *ṭh* is subject. It is especially characteristic of the Western dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prak. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindi, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Prak. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kurhīd*, *kurhāḍi*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prak. *paḍhāt*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. $\sqrt{\text{parh}}$, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

$\ddot{t}h > \underline{r}h, rh.$

§ 203. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to $\underline{r}h, rh$, is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of $\ddot{t}h$ to $\underline{d}h$.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kuṣhāḍi*, *kuṣhāḍi*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṣhāti* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *paṣh*, *paḍh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *paṣh*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\ddot{t}h > ll.$

§ 204. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to ll is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *anākōṭha*, *anākōḷ(ḷ)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *amkolla*, Pāli *amkōla*, Guj., Mar. *amkōl*.

$\ddot{t}h > lh.$

§ 205. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to lh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuḥāri*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kuḥāḍā*, *kuṁlhārā*, *kuhāḍā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kuṣhara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kuṣhale*, Bihārī *kōlhū*.

$\ddot{t}h > h.$

§ 206. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to h is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuhāḍā*, *kuḥāri*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kuḥāḍā*, *kuṁlhārā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

$\ddot{t}h > hr.$

§ 207. The change of $\ddot{t}h$ to hr is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣhāri* 'axe,' Uṛ. *kuhrāri*, *kuṣāḍi*, *kuṣāri*, etc. (see § 200).

$\underline{d} = \underline{d}.$

§ 208. Indian \underline{d} is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Prāk. *pīḷana*, *pellana*, Pāli *pīḷana*, Hindī *pēḍanā*, *pēlanā*, Panj. *pīḍhanā*, *pēlanā*, *vēlanā*, Sindhī *pīḍaṇu*, *pīraṇu*, Mar. *pīḷaṇēm*.

$\check{d} > \ddot{t}$.

§ 209. The change of \check{d} to \ddot{t} occurs regularly in the Pāṣāci Prakrit.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaḍiṣa*, *baḍiṣa* 'fish-hook,' Prāk. *baḍiṣa*, *balisa*, Pāś. Prāk. *vaṭiṣa*, Pāli *balisa*, Hindī *balia*.

$\check{d} > \check{d}$.

§ 210. The decerebralization of Indian \check{d} occurs very rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. \check{d} ap 'to collect,' Uṛ. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindī *dābanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbaṇā*, Sindhī *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābavum*, Mar. *dabaṇēm*.

$\check{d} > \check{r}$, r .

§ 211. The change of \check{d} to \check{r} , r , is particularly characteristic of the East New Indian dialects. Such an \check{r} developed from an original \check{d} may often become r , and indeed in Hindī \check{r} and r are interchangeable. In the West New Indian dialects, however, \check{d} is generally retained unchanged, and it seldom becomes \check{r} , r (cf. §§ 202, 203).

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Sindhī *pīraṇu*, *pīḍaṇu*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, Sinh. *oru(va)*, Maladive *oḍi*.

$\check{d} > l$.

§ 212. The change of \check{d} to l is one of the most frequent of all those to which Indian \check{d} is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *dāḍima*, *dālīma*, Prāk. *ḍālīma*, Pāli *dālīma*, Hindī *dārim*, Sindhī *ḍārhum*. Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlat*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīlati*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Jaina Prāk. *sōḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōraha*, Kāśm. *surāh*, Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōraham*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*.

$\check{d} > \check{l}$.

§ 213. The change of \check{d} to \check{l} which is closely akin to the change discussed in the preceding paragraph, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *piḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *pīlanēh*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḍupa* 'boat,' Pali *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlau*, Guj. *kōḷō*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *soḷaha*, Jāina Prāk. *soḷasa*, Pali *sōḷasa*, Panj. *sōlām*, Guj. *sōḷ*, Mar. *sōḷā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ḍh > ṛh

§ 214. The change of *ḍh* to *ṛh* is quite common in the New Indian dialects, especially in the Eastern languages (cf. §§ 202, 203, 211).

a. Indian. Skt. *māḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *mārhu*.

ḍh > r

§ 215. The change of *ḍh* to *r* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *māḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *māḍhattaṇa*, Hindi *mārakhapan*, Panj. *mārakhapūṇa*.

ḍh > l, lh

§ 216. The change of *ḍh* to *l, lh*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *duln*, *dulāi*, Hindi *dulhā*. Skt. *udvōḍhā* 'bride,' Hindi *dulhin*, Guj. *dulāhi*.

ḍh > ḷ, ḷh

§ 217. The change of *ḍh* to *ḷ, ḷh*, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *drḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pali *dalha*, Sirhh. *dala*.

ṛ > n

§ 218. The change of *ṛ* to *n* is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāisāci Prakrit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *gunagaṇayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāis. Prāk. *gunaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *b(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bān-haṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pali *brāhmaṇa*.

ṛ > ḷ, ḷ

§ 219. The change of *ṛ* to *ḷ, ḷ*, is excessively rare in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prak. *vāṇi(j)a*, Sinh. *veḷamādā*, *veṇamāda*.

t = t.

§ 220. Indo-Iranian *t* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, excepting for the Iranian spirantization of *t* to *θ* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt., Prak., Pali *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmth*, *ṭhōr*, Hīndī, Panj. *tōmḍ*, Guj. *duṇḍ*, Mar. *tōṇḍā*, *tuṇḍ*, *tund*, *dōmḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pali *jōti*, Hīndī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prak. *udu* (Śaur. and Māg.), *uu*, *riu*, Pali *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*, Mar. *rutā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *rautah* 'river,' Phl. *rōt*, New Pers. *rōd*, Bal. *rōt*, Kurd. *rō*. Av. *tanu* 'body,' Phl., New Pers. *tan*, Wāxī *tan*, Šīyn. *tana*, Afy. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šīyn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tunag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Av. *paitidita* 'seen,' Phl. *diṭō*, New Pers. *dīdah*, Bal. *dīta*, Kurd. *dīt*.

t > i.

§ 221. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *t* is very rare. The stages in this development were probably *t* to *d*, to *ḍ*, to *i*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *kaṭak*, New Pers. *kadah*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kiyah*, Vōn. *kē*, Kuhr. *kiyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šīyn. *čīd*, Sarq. *čīd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yayn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gil. *brār*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yayn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *višt*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxī *višt*, Sarq. *višt*, Bal. *gišt*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

t > g.

§ 222. The change of *t* to *g* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātars* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. *(ā)taš*, *ātiš*,

Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, N. Bal. *āc*, Kurd. *agir*, *ār*, *ēr*, Zaza *ādir*.

t > c.

§ 223. The change of *t* to *c* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiṣṭhati* 'stands,' Prāk. *ciṭṭhadi*, *ciṭṭhai*, *ṭhāi* (cf. also *ciṭṭhitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhauli), Pali *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, U_r. *cidā*, *thāe*, Hindi, Panj. *thē*, Sindhi *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēm*.

[Here we may perhaps note the change of *t* to *č* in Kāśmīri under the influence of a following *i* in the formation of the feminine, e.g., Kāśm. *mot* 'foolish,' fem. *mūč* < **moti*.]

t > ṭ.

§ 224. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *t* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. It is especially common in Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' U_r., Bang. *ṭika*, Hindi *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhi *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭili*, *ṭilō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pali *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kāśm. *trām*, U_r., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhi *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbuni*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Sinh. *tambara*.

t > ṭh.

§ 225. The change of *t* to *ṭh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuṅḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōmṭh*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vṛṭti* 'business,' Prāk. *vaṭṭi*, Sindhi *vaṭṭhi*.

t > ḍ.

§ 226. The change of *t* to *ḍ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects, being much more common than the change of *t* to *ṭ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *patati* 'falls,' Prāk. *paḍat*, Pali *patati*, U_r. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍanā*, Hindi *paṛanā*, Sindhi *pavanu*, Guj. *paḍavum*, Mar. *paḍanēm*, *paṛanēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jaina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pali *patākā*. Skt. *taḥṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhi *ḍakhanu*.

$t > th, \theta$.

§ 227. The change of t to th, θ , is rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, apart from the change of t to θ according to the Iranian law of spirantization and excepting th developed from t in North Balūci and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *trpyati* 'rejoices,' Prak. *thippat*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvūn*, Waxī *θavam*, Šiyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap, thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarstānō*, New Pers. *taršidan*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay, trusag*, N. Bal. *thursay*, Kurd. *tirsin*, Dig. Oss. *tharsun*, Tag. *tharsin*. Av., Old Pers. *dāta* 'law,' Phl. *dāt*, New Pers. *dād*, Bal. *dāta*, N. Bal. *dātha, dāsā*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brāθ, brās*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > d$.

§ 228. The change of the tenuis t to the media d is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tataḥ* 'thence,' Māhār. Prak. *tattō*, Śāur. Prak. *tadō*, Apab. Prak. *daṅ*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvāt* 'so long,' Śāur. Prak. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śāur., Māg. Prak. *gaḍē*, Pāis. Prak. *gata*, Apab. Prak. *gadu*, Pāli *gata*, Siṃh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *kr̥ta* 'done,' Māg. Prak. *kade, kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śakāri Prak. *kala*, Pāis. Prak. *kata*, Apab. Prak. *kidu*, Pāli *kata, kaṭa*, Old Hindi *kīya*, Bihārī *kaṭ, kail, kayal*, Sindhi *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prak. *ua*, Pāli *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prak. *dē, tē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vaḍ*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vön., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vaḍ*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ, gvās*, Kurd. *bā, vāi*, Oss. *vād*. Av. *brātar* 'brother,' New Pers. *birādar*, Šiyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vōd*, Sangl. *vurā*, Kurd. *virād, barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*, etc. (see § 221). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl.

vēt, New Pers. *bed*, Gab. *vid*, Siv. *vi*, Zaf. *ve*, Vön. *vid*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, Bal. *gəθ*, Kurd. *vi*, *bi*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *di*.

t > y.

§ 229. The change of *t* to *y* in the Indo-Iranian dialects is only an apparent one, *y* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an intervocalic *t* (see §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183).

a. Indian. Skt. *itara* 'other,' Prāk. *iara*, Māhār. Prāk. *iyara*. Skt. *kātara* 'coward,' Apab. Prāk. *kāyaru*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *mā(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Siv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vön. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mār*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt. *mōi*, Šiyn. *mad*, Minj. *māya*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *pi(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pi*, *payi*, Šiyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *vida*, Tag. *fid*.

t > r.

§ 230. The change of *t* to *r* (in the Indian dialects through the transition-grades *d*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pāli *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāśm. *satat*, Uṛ. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satari*, Guj. *sitēr*, Mar. *sattar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Tāt. *vār*, etc. (see § 228).

t > l.

§ 231. The change of *t* to *l* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Afyān, where *t* regularly becomes *l*, unless the *t* is protected by a voiceless consonant.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Bihārī *kail*, *kāil*, *kayal* (similarly in all perf. part. in Bihārī), etc. (see § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *pitar* 'father,' Afy. *plār*, etc. (see § 229). Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Afy. *vala*, etc. (see § 228).

$t > v$.

§ 232. The change of t to v is only apparent, v being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic t (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātapa* 'sunshine,' Pāli *ātāpa*, Sinh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prak. *māā*, Pāli *mātar*, Hindi *mā(t)*, *māu*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māmu*, *mā(t)*, Sindhi *māā*, Eḷu *mava*, Sinh. *ma(v)*, *mā*.

$t > s$.

§ 233. The change of t to s is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese and North Balūci.

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prak. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāta* 'law,' N. Bal. *dāsā*, *dāṭa*, etc. (see § 227). Av. *brātar* 'brother,' N. Bal. *brās*, *brāṭ*, etc. (see § 221).

$t > h$.

§ 234. The change of t to h is very rare, excepting in Sinhalese, where the h is a further development of the s arising from an original t (see preceding §).

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prak. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Sinh. *his*, *sis*.

Syncope of t.

§ 235. The loss of Indo-Iranian t is quite frequent both in the Middle and in the New periods of the Indo-Iranian languages. The syncope occurs more often in the Middle than in the New Indian dialects, and more commonly in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prak. *caūttha*, *caūṭṭha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāwīthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prak. *saa*, *saya*, Pāli. Prak. *sata*, Pāli *sata*, Kāśm. *hath*, Uṛ. *śaē*, Bang.

śaya, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prak. *piā*, Pāli *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piā*, Sindhī *piu*, Siñh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prak. *māā*, Hindī *mā(t)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūu*, *mā(t)*, Sindhī *māū*, Siñh. *mā*, *ma(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mā*, Tāt. *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *zūt*, New Pers. *zūd*, Māz. *st*, Tāl. Tāt. *sū*, Bal. *sūt*, *sit*, N. Bal. *sit*, Kurd. *sū*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Māz. *vā*, Afy. *vō*, Kurd. *bā*, *vāi*, etc. (see § 228).

Epenthesis of t.

§ 236. Epenthetic *t* is an extremely rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōsa*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*istir*, *asr*.

th = th.

§ 237. Indo-Iranian *th* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *mathana* 'churning,' Bang. *mathana*, *māṭhā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhī *mathanū*, Guj. *matharūm*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(m)thanēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prak. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pēn*, *pahan*, *pan*, Afy. *plan*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, Kāš. *gās*, Wāxi *gū*, *gi*, Šīyn. *yaθ*, Yayn. *yūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjūn*, Tag. *thinjin*.

th > ṭh.

§ 238. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *th* occurs rarely in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pali *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Sinh. *paḷamu*.

th > ḍh.

§ 239. The change of *th* to *ḍh* is more frequent in the Indian dialects than the simple cerebralization of an original *th*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śithila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, Pali *sithila*, *saḥhila*, Uṛ. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindī *dhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhilla*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhilum*, Mar. *ḍhīlā*. Skt. *mēḥhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhi*, *mēḍhā*.

th > t.

§ 240. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *th* is excessively rare, except in Balūčī.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pali *kathā* 'tale,' Bang. (Burdwan) *katā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *fraṣanjayēiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *maṣṭhana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, Bal. *mētag*.

th > dh.

§ 241. The change of *th* to *dh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śaur., Pāśā. Prāk. *adha*, Pali *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śaur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pali *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pali *vedhati*.

th > y.

§ 242. The insertion of *y* to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *th* is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229).

a. Indian. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, Pali *ratha*, Sinh. *riya*.

th > *l*.

§ 243. The change of *th* to *l* is excessively rare, excepting in Afyān.

b. Iranian. Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Afy. *plan*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūða* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

th > *l̥*

§ 244. The change of *th* to *l̥* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Sinh. *paḷamu*, etc. (see § 238).

th > *h*.

§ 245. The change of *th* to *h* is by far the most frequent one of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *th* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *athavā* 'or,' Prak. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavat*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauri, and Khāsi *ahō*, Pali *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prak. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prak. *kahaṇa*, Pali *kathana*, Uṛ. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindi *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhi *kahanu*, Guj. *kēhavum*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindi, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhi *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prak. *gāhā*, Pali *gāthā*, Old Hindi *gāhā*, Sindhi *gāi*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vi* 'earth,' Prak. *puhavi*, *puhuvi*, *puḍhavi*, Pali *pathavi*, *puthavi*, *puthuvi*, *paṭhavi*, Old Hindi *puhumi*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maēθana* 'abode,' Phl., New Pers. *mēhan*, etc. (see § 240). Av. *paθana* 'broad,' Phl. *pahan*, New Pers. *pahn*, Kāš. *pahan*, *pan*, *pēn*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gūða* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanqm* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

d = *d̥*.

§ 246. Indo-Iranian *d̥* is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prak. *daśa*, Śaur. Prak. *daha*,

Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *daha*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhī *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pāli *dasati*, Uṛ. *daṅkibā*, *daṁs*, Bang. *daṁs*, *ḍaṁs(a)*, Hindī *daṁs(ak)*, *ḍāṁik*, Sindhī *ḍaṅgaṇu*, Mar. *daṁs*, *ḍaṁcaṇem*, *daṁkhaṇem*, *ḍasaṇem*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prak. *jaṭ*, Jaina Prak. *jati*, Pāli *yadi*, Hindī *jaḍ*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhī *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andī-mānt*, New Pers. *dim*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxi *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *dandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāt*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxi *pūd*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pād*, Sangl. *pud*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yaṣyn. *pūda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*, Zaza *pai*.

d > i.

§ 247. The vocalization of Indo-Iranian *d* through the transition-grade *ḍ* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāt*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Zaza *pai*, etc. (see preceding §).

d > kh, x.

§ 248. The change of *d* to *kh, x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Iran. **ni* + √*dub* 'to hide,' New Pers. *nihufīan*, Kurd. *nixiftin* (very doubtful).

d > g.

§ 249. The change of *d* to *g* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'good for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana* (the change of *d* to *g* in this word is due to dissimilation from the second *d* and assimilation to the following *gh*).

d > jh.

§ 250. The change of *d* to *jh* occurs with extreme rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prak. *dhī(y)ā*, Śāur. Prak.

dhada, *dhida*, Pali *dhita*, *dhītara*, Ass. *ji*, Uṛ. *jhia*, Bang. *jhi*, Hindi, Panj. *dhī(ya)*, Sindhi *dhīu*, *dhīy*, Guj. *dhī(ya)*.

d > ḍ.

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *d* is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prak. *ḍahat*, Pali *ḍahati*, Hindi *ḍāh*, *dāh*, Sindhi *ḍah*. Skt. **hṛdaka* 'hearty,' Mg. Prak. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jaina Prak. *ḍūya*, Pali *dūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍamś(ā)*, *damś*, Hindi *ḍāṣṇik*, *damś(ak)*, Sindhi *ḍamganu*, Mar. *ḍamcaṇem*, *ḍasaṇem*, *damkhanem*, *damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pali *pavāda*, Hindi, Sindhi *pavār*, Guj. *pavāḍ*, Mar. *pavāḍā*. Skt. *dōla* 'swing,' Prak. *ḍōla*, Pali *dōla*, Bihari *ḍōr*, *dōr*, Hindi *ḍōl(ā)*, *ḍōlt*, *dōl(ā)*, *dōlik*, Panj., Sindhi *ḍōlt*, Guj. *ḍōit*, *ḍōlavum*, Mar. *dōla*, *ḍōlt*, *ḍōlā*, *dōlt*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

d > t.

§ 252. The change of the voiced *d* to the voiceless *t* is regular in the Pāisāci Prakrit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāisā. Prak. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāisā. Prak. *patēsa*, Pali *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jaina Prak. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

d > th.

§ 253. The change of *d* to *th* occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dāḡanō*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādia*, Gil. *fandī*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxi *radān*, Šīyn. *diam*, Sarq. *dām*, Afy. *lah*, Bal. *dēag*, N. Bal. *dēay*, Kurd. *dān*, Dig. Oss. *dadthun*, Tag. *daththin*. Av. *darəya* 'long,' Old Pers. *darga*, Afy. *lārya*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*, but Oss. *tharqus* 'hare' (lit. 'long-ear,' cf. New Pers. *darāzgoš* 'hare, donkey').

d > dh, ḍ.

§ 254. The aspirization of an original *d* is found both in the

Indian and in the Iranian dialects apart from the regular change in Iranian of *d* to *ð* before consonants.

a. Indian. Skt. *dūhitar* 'daughter,' Prak. *dhū(y)ā*, Śaur. Prak. *dhūda*, *dhīda*, Pāli *dhita*, *dhītara*, Hindi, Panj. *dhū(yā)*, Sindhi *dhīu*, *dhīy*, Guj. *dhū(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *dr̥mhita* 'firm,' Jaina Prak. *dhaniya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxi *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *ðs*, *lis*, Sarq. *ðes*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Wāxi *radān*, Šiyn. *ðiam*, Sarq. *ðam*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Wāxi *pūð*, Šiyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pad*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phās*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *x^oaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^oede*, *x^oai*, New Pers. *x^oai*, Wāxi *xil*, Sarq. *xaid*, Afy. *x^oalē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēð*, Kurd. *xū*, *xōh*, *xoi*, Oss. *xad*.

d > n.

§ 255. The change of *d* to *n* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvācdahum*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*.

d > y.

§ 256. The change of *d* to *y* is only apparent, the *y* being really inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 164, 183, 229, 242). The phenomenon is much more infrequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khādita* 'eaten,' Prak. *khāta*, Māhar. Prak. *khāya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prak. *hiaya*, *hīaa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., U₁, Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiām*, Sindhi *himumu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (y)ilō. Skt. *ādēsa* 'order,' Pāli *ādēsa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āēsu*, *āyasu*, *ātsu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prak. *pāa*, Māhar. Prak. *pāda*, Hindi *pā(m)v*, Panj. *pā(m)v*, *pām*, Sirhh. *paya*, *piya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' New Pers. *xāyad*, Kurd.

xatn. Phl. *xadū(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayā, xadū.* New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šiyn., Sarq. *vāyām,* Kurd. *bāhtv, batv.*

$d > r.$

§ 257. The change of *d* to *r* is not a frequent one.

a. Indian. Skt. *tādrśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa,* Pāś. Prāk. *tātisa,* Pāli *tādīsa.* Skt. *ētādrśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa,* *ēūrisa,* Pāli *ērīsa, ēdīsa.* Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara.* Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha,* Pāli *ēkarasa,* *ēkadasa,* Kāśm. *kāh,* Uṛ., Bang. *egāra,* Bihārī *egyārah,* Hindi *igārah, gyārah,* Panj. *giārām,* Sindhi *ikārahām, yārahām,* Guj. *agiār,* Mar. *akarā.*

$d > l.$

§ 258. The change of *d* to *l* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare indeed in the Iranian dialects, excepting in the Afyān.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadamba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *kalamba.* Skt. *praḍīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva, palitta,* Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya,* Jāina Prāk. *palitta,* Bihārī *palit.* Skt. *dōhada, dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala, dōhala, dōhāḍa,* Pāli *dōhala.*

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxi *las, ḍas,* Šiyn. *lis, ḍis,* Yidg. *lus,* Afy. *las,* etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah,* Yidg. *pulluh,* Afy. *pal,* etc. (see § 246). Phl. *xʾatūi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi,* Šiyn., Sarq. *qudā,* Kurd. *xadē, xudē,* Mukri *xola.* Av. *fraşgādaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *şyalt.*

$d > l.$

§ 259. The change of *d* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada, dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala, dōhāḍa, dōhala,* Pāli *dōhala.*

$d > v.$

§ 260. The change of *d* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus caused by the loss of an original

intervocalic *d* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232). The phenomenon is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadali* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karali*, *kayali*, *kēli*, Pāli *kadali*, U_r., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhi *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍō*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel*.

d > *h*.

§ 261. The change of *d* to *h* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kadali* 'plantain,' Sinh. *kehel*, *kesel* (*s* by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' U_r. *pāli*, Bang. *pāi*, Hindi *pāi*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Kurd. *bāhtv*, *batv*, etc. (see § 256).

Syncopé of d.

§ 262. The syncopé of Indo-Iranian *d* is less frequent in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects. In Iranian the loss of *d* occurs especially in the Persian dialects and in Kurdish.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *ṇai*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadali* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēli*, *kayali*, *karali*, U_r., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhi *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pāli *khādana*, U_r. *khāṭṭā*, Bang. *khāṭṭe*, Hindi *khāṇā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhi *khāṭṭu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khāṇēh*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *sarāa*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhi *sarāt*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nadāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nāramāh*, Gil. *nāramāh*, but *badām* 'I give.' Skt. *padika* 'traveller,' Phl. *paik*, New Pers. *paig* (cf. Māhār. Prāk. loan-word from New Pers. *pāikka*).

Epenthesis of d.

§ 263. The epenthesis of *d* is very rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen,' Prāk. *paññaraha*, Pali *pañcadasa*, Kaśm. *pandāh*, Uṛ. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōñera*, Bihārī *pandarah*, Hindī *pandrah*, Panj. *pañdarām*, Sindhī *pañdraham*, *pañdhrām*, Guj. *pañdar*, Mar. *pañdharā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dāna* 'grain,' Phl. *dānak*, New Pers. *dānah*, Sarq. *dāna*, Kurd. *dandak*, *dānaki*.

dh = dh.

§ 264. Indo-Iranian *dh* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Prāk., Pali *dhavala*, Uṛ., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlun*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhavāl*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Uṛ., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindī *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pali *khudā*, Hindī *khudhā*, Panj. *khuddhiā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōt*, New Pers. *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Wāxī *vul*, Sarq. *bāo*, Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōd*, *bōs*, Oss. *bud*.

dh > ḍ.

§ 265. The change of *dh* to *ḍ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Nāip. *dhūntō*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, Sindhī *ḍiṭhu*.

dh > ḍh.

§ 266. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is not found very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhiṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhiṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *√dhakk* 'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkat*, Uṛ. *ḍhakanā*, *ḍhānikanā*, Bang. *ḍhakitē*, Hindī *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *ḍhakkā*, Sindhī *ḍhakanu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhānkavun*, Mar. *ḍhānkanēm*.

dh > t.

§ 267. The change of *dh* to *t* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *ḍharat*, Pali *dhāreṭi*, Sinh. *terenavā*, *daranaṇava*, Gyp. *√ther*.

dh > *d*.

§ 268. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *dh* is the most frequent change to which it is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dharma* 'virtue,' Prak., Pāli *dhamma*, Kāśm. *daram*, Eļu *daham*, Sinh. *dam*. Skt. *dhattāra* 'thorn-apple,' Kāśm. *dattur*, Uṛ. *dhuturā*, *dhudurā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dhatūrā*, Sindhī *dhāturō*, Guj. *dhatūrō*, Mar. *dhatūrā*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Pāli *khudā*, etc. (see § 264). Skt. *madhu* 'mead,' Māhār. Prak. *mahu*, Pāli *madhu*, Hindī *mad*, *madhu*, Sindhī *maḍu*, Mar. *maḍhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhamati* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, Gab. *būd*, Bal. *bōd*, Oss. *bud*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *bh*.

§ 269. The change of *dh* to *bh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sannirundhati* 'impedes,' Pāli *sanniruhbhati*, *sanniruhhati*.

dh > *y*.

§ 270. The change of *dh* to *y* is only apparent, *y* being really introduced to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of an intervocalic *dh* (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256). The phenomenon is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhura* 'sweet,' Māhār. Prak. *mahura*, Pāli *madhura*, Sinh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *maḍu* 'wine,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Oss. *mud*.

dh > *l*.

§ 271. The change of *dh* to *l* is quite rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥hagōdhikā* 'lizard,' Pāli *gharagōlikā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Wāxī *vul*, etc. (see § 264).

dh > *v*.

§ 272. The change of *dh* to *v* is only apparent, *v* being actually inserted to prevent the hiatus arising from the loss of *dh* (cf. §§ 123, 138, 144, 184, 232, 260).

a. Indian. Skt. *tulādhāra* 'balance-holding,' Siṃh. *tulavaru*.

dh > *h*.

§ 273. The change of *dh* to *h* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āuśadhi* 'drug,' Prak. *śsaha*, *śsadhā*, Pali *śśadhi*. Skt. *sādhu* 'good,' Prak. *sāhu*, Pali *sādhu*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhī *sāu*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prak. *bahira*, Pali *badhira*, Ur. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindī *bahirā*, Sindhī *bōrō*, *bōḍō*, Guj. *bēhērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Siṃh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prak. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēmhu*, Nāip. *gāhum*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(n)hum*, *gēhum*, *ghēm*, Panj. *ghēm*, Sindhī *gēhum*, Guj. *ghaum*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prak. *vahū*, Pali *vadhū*, Ur. *bahu*, Bang. *baū*, Hindī *ba(h)ū*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, *bōhu*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū*.

Syncope of dh.

§ 274. The loss of *dh* occurs only rarely in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ur. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindī *ghēm*, *gēhum*, *gō(n)hum*, Panj. *ghēm*, Guj. *ghaum*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vōvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *via*, *viga*, *bivā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaḷ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *žīr*, Samn. *žēr*, Tāl. *žiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*.

n = *n*.

§ 275. Indo-Iranian *n* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, although in Middle Indian an original *n* is usually cerebralized to *ṇ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Prāk., Pali *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav, nav*. Skt. *nāmayaṭi* 'bows,' Prāk. *ṇāmēṭi*, Pali *nāmēṭi*, Ur. *nuhāt*, Bang. *nām, nuya*, Hindi *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhi *namvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pali *sināna, nāhāna*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūnā*, Guj. *nahāṇ*, Mar. *nahāṇ, nāhaṇēṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxi *nung*, Afy. *nām*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairyā* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šiyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *niar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak, nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō, nav*, Šiyn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *nau, navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan, yan(ak)*, Siv. *kin*, Zaf. *kan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, kan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *kanikō*, Šiyn. *yin*, Sarq. *ytṇ, kin*, Minj. *kinga*, Afy. *jinai, jūnai, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *kin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$.

§ 276. The change of *n* to \hat{n} is confined to the Sindhi, which alone preserves *ṇ, ṇ̄*, pronounced *ṇg* and *n̄* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pali *thana*, Ur., Bang. *thana*, Hindi *thān*, Panj. *thaṇ*, Sindhi *thaṇu, thaṇu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindi *mannā*, Sindhi *maṇaṇu*.

$n > \eta$.

§ 277. The cerebralization of *n* is very frequent in the Middle Indian dialects. Vararuci, ii. 42, goes so far as to postulate a change of *n* to η throughout the Prākrits (*nō ṇaḥ sarvatra*, cf. Pischel on Hēmacandra, i. 229, *Gramm. der Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 224). In the New Indian dialects the change is less common.

a. Indian. Skt. *nadī* 'river,' Prāk. *nai*, Pali *naḍī*, New Ind. dialects *naḍī*, W. Bang. also *laḍī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacāṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *vayaṇa*, Pali *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gathā *khaṇēt*. Skt. *dhēnu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēnu*, Pāli *dhēnu*, Sindhi *dhēnu*.

$n > b$.

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Av. *mayna*, Oss. *baynag*.

$n > m$.

§ 279. The change of *n* to *m* occurs occasionally finally in Iranian.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'penom,' Phl. *padām*, Pāz. *panām*, *panōm*, New Pers. *panām*. Phl. *bān* 'roof,' New Pers. *bān*, *bām*, Sr̥v. *bān*, Kāś. *bū(n)*, *bōn*, Tāt *sarbu*, Afy. *bām*, Kurd. *bān*. Av. *āfrīna* 'blessing,' Phl. *āfrīn* 'praise,' *nafrīn* 'curse,' New Pers. *nafrīn*, Kurd. *nafrīm*.

$n > r$.

§ 280. The change of *n* to *r* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāū*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *tharī*, Ur̥. *thānā*, *ṭhānā*, Bang. *thān*, *thāṇā*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *thā(n)v*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhāūnā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhi *thānu*, *ṭhānu*, Guj. *thān*, *ṭhān*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Sinh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$.

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Sinhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *enas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhi *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōnī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kāśm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Sinh. *val*, Maladive *valī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Sinh. *lā*, Gyp. *nevō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jainī* 'woman,' Afy. *jal*, *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, etc.

(see § 275). Skt. *navaka* 'youth,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lau(k)*, *lāv*, *lō*.

$n > l$.

§ 282. The change of *n* to *l* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pali *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Maladive *vali*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n > v$.

§ 283. The change of *n* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnik*, *bēnik*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *binī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tal. *vīnī*, E. Kurd. *baval*, Kurd. *bivil*, *bēn*.

Syncope of n.

§ 284. The loss of Indo-Iranian *n* is rather uncommon. In the Iranian dialects the apocope of *n* is found occasionally after ong vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Apab. Prak. *ṭhāū*, *ṭhānu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(ṣh)*, *ṭhā(ṣh)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrān*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārin*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nūn*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *nayan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Siv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pašin* 'hinder,' Kurd. *pašt*.

Prothesis of n.

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *āīnīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *āīnah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Epenthesis of n.

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hazaxra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hasār*, Afy. *zar*, Zaza *hansār*.

$p = p$.

§ 287. Indo-Iranian p is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē*, Kāśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindi *pachē*, *pichē*, *pāchā*, *pichā*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachi*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pali *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , *pik*, Mar. *pik*, *pikā*. Skt. \sqrt{chap} 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipidā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē*, *ṭepitē*, Hindi *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *thapanā*, Sindhi *chāpanu*, *cāpanu*, *ṭapanu*, *thapanu*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭa-nēm*, *ṭāp*, *thapakā*, Anglo-Ind. (first) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pali *japana* 'muttering,' Hindi *ja(m)panā*, Mar. *jāpanēm*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pasca* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā(va)*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kāš. *pac*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, *pāšva*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāša* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxi *puš*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *paš*, Sangl. *puš*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yayn. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *ōv*, Nāy. *ōō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxi *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovy*, Yayn. *āp*, Afy. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$p > k$.

§ 288. The change of p to k is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pipilika* 'ant,' Pali *kipillika*, *pipilika* (by dissimilation).

$p > ph, f$.

§ 289. In the Middle and New Indian dialects the aspirization of an original p is usually caused by a following aspirate or sibilant. In the Iranian dialects p becomes f (apart from the regular laws of aspiration in Iranian) in Ossetish, and between vowels, or

finally after vowels in North Balūči, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paraṣa* 'rough,' Pāli *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phalihadda*, Pāli *phalibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppaha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindi *puhupa*, Hindi *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phul*. Skt. *pāsa* 'noose,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Uṛ. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhi *phāst*, *phāhī*, Guj., Mar. *phāms*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *paṣēt*, New Pers. *pasad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phaṣay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fīcun*, Tag. *fīcin*. Av. *parəna* 'feather,' Phl., New Pers. *parr*, Afy. *par*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *far*, *pal*, *par*, Zaza *firin* 'to fly.' Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' New Pers. *tāb*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tav*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thaph*, *thaf*, *thap*, Kurd. *tā(v)*, Tag. Oss. *thāf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *ṣap*, *ṣavāk*, New Pers. *ṣab*, Samn. *ṣō*, Māz. *ṣū*, Tal. *ṣav*, Tat *ṣū*, Šīyn. *ṣab*, Sarq. *zab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afy. *ṣpa*, Bal. *ṣap*, N. Bal. *ṣaf*, Kurd. *ṣav*, Oss. *axšav*.

p > b.

§ 290. The change of the tenuis *p* to the media *b* is more common in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects, where *p* normally becomes *v*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lipi* 'tablet,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *libi*, Pāli *lipi*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śākara Prāk. *nābida*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Prāk. *apāṭa*, Uṛ., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindi, Panj., Mar. *kavāṭ*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pi*, *avi*, Pāli (*a*)*pi*, Sindhi *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *ṭhāvēi*, Pāli *ṭhāpēti*, Uṛ. *thuibā*, Bang. *thāitē*, Hindi, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāpavum*, Mar. *thāpanēm*, Sinh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvānt* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapō(ar)*, New Pers. *kabātar*, Wāxi *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuwā*, Afy. *kautar*,

kavntar, Bal. *kapôt*, *qatar*, Kurd. *kavök*. Av. *xšapan* 'night,' New Pers., Šīyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Afy. *ōba*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpās*, *rōbās*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *rūvās*, Sarq. *rapē*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robās*, Tag. *rūbas*.

p > m.

§ 291. The change of *p* to *m* is very rare outside the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nīpa* 'Kadamba tree,' Prāk. *nīma*, *nīva*, Pāli *nīpa*. Skt. *āpīḍa* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēḍa*. Skt. *punaḥ* 'again,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi), *mina*, (inscriptions of Shāhbazgarhi) *pana*, lit. Prāk. *puna*, Pāli *pana*, Bihārī *phin*, *p(h)un*. Skt. *svapant* 'sleeping,' Pāli *sumanta*, but *supati* 'sleeps.' Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Bang. *kachim*, Hindi, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kaṁchū*. Skt. *sapādika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāta*, Uṛ. *satyūt*, Bang. *satyā*, Hindi *savā*, W. Hindi *samā*, Panj. *savā(tā)*, Sindhī *savūt*, Guj *savā*, Mar. *savā*.

p > y.

§ 292. The change of *p* to *y*, which is, as in all similar phenomena, only apparent (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pipāsā* 'thirst,' Hindi *piyās*, *piās*, *pyās*.

p > v.

§ 293. The change of *p* to *v* is the most frequent one of all those to which Indo-Iranian *p* is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is closely akin to the changes of *p* to *b* and of *b* to *v* noted in §§ 290, 308.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Prāk., Pāli *kavāla*. Skt. *pāpa* 'evil,' Prāk. *pāva*, Pāli *pāpa*, Kāśm. *pāph*, Sinh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhāa*,

ujjhā, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*, etc. (see § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* 'above,' Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afy. *prē*, Bal. *par*, N. Bal. *phar*, *gvar*, Kurd. *bar*, Osa. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zaf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liyā*, Wāxī, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt. *ōv*, Yidg. *yovv*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj. *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Osa. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapiñjar*, N. Bal. *khawinjar*.

Syncope of p.

§ 294. The loss of Indo-Iranian *p* through the transition-grades *b* and *v* (cf. §§ 290, 293, 309, 376) is not uncommon in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *āryaputra* 'father-in-law's son,' Prak. *ajjattta*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāsm. *khuh*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *ku(m)ām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' U_r. *kaṭṭa*, Hindī *kaṭhabel* (with metathesis).

b. Iranian. Av. *āp* 'water,' Gab. *ō*, Nay. *āō*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō*, *ōv*, etc. (see § 287). Skt. *tapas* 'heat,' Gab. *tō*, Kurd. *tā*, *tāv*, etc. (see § 289).

ph = ph.

§ 295. Indo-Iranian *ph* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *phaṇa* 'snake's hood,' U_r., Bang., Hindī *phaṇā*, Sindhī *phaṇi*, Guj. *phaṇō*, Mar. *phaṇā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kap*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Osa. *xafa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, Osa. *safthag*.

ph > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūči, where intervocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūči has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phadīṣga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṣga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli **phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfān*, Tāt *kuf*, Afy. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfaγ*, Kurd. *kāh*. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Bal. *kap*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *b*.

§ 297. The change of *ph* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Afy. *kvab*, etc. (see preceding §).

ph > *bh*.

§ 298. The change of *ph* to *bh* is found not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēpha* 'burring sound,' Prāk. *rēbha*. Skt. *saphala* 'fruitful,' Prāk. *sabhala*, Apab. Prāk. *sahalu*, Pāli *saphala*. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sabhari*, *sahari*, Pāli *saphari*, Hindi *saharī*, Panj. *saūl*.

ph > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kāh*, but *kōv* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

ph > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindi *saharī*, etc. (see § 298).

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' New Pers. *kōh*, etc. (see § 296).

Syncope of ph.

§ 301. The loss of Indo-Iranian *ph* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Panj. *saūl*, etc. (see § 298).

Epenthesis of ph, f.

§ 302. The epenthesis of *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taša* 'axe,' New Pers. *taš*, Kurd. *tafsciū*.

b = b.

§ 303. Indo-Iranian *b* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *badhnati* 'binds,' Prāk. *bandhat*, Pāli *bandhati*, Hindi *bāndh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhi *bāndh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhat*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kāsm. *sanjhāadi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *bājhana*, Hindi *bājhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhi *bujhanu*, Guj. *bujavuh*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baršaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baršidan*, Afy. *bašal*, *baxal*, Bal. *bakšag*, N. Bal. *baškay*, Kurd. *baršīn*. Av. *barəs* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burs*, Kurd. *bars*, Oss. *baršond*.

b > p.

§ 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *badha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhāuli) *pādha*, Māhār. Prāk. *badha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

b > bh.

§ 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bhaaphadi*.

b > m.

§ 306. The change of *b* to *m* is extremely rare (cf. Skt. *brūhi* 'speak!' Av. *mrūidi*).

a. Indian. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *samara*, *sabara*. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kamandha*, *kayandha*.

b > *y*.

§ 307. The change of *b* to *y*, which is only an apparent one (cf. §§ 122, 137, 143, 183, 229, 242, 256, 270, 292), is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kabandha* 'belly, cloud,' Prāk. *kayandha*, *kamandha*.

b > *v*.

§ 308. The change of *b* to *v* is very common, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Prākrits have so far confused *b* and *v* that Vararuci writes *v* for *b* throughout. The New Indian dialects use *v* almost to the exclusion of *b* in the East, Hindi reverses this, writing every *v* as *b*, Panjabi uses *b* and *v* indifferently, while the Western dialects preserve the original distinction between the two more carefully.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'vapor,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pali *bappa*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pali *vamjjhā*, Bang. *bāmjhā*, Sindhi *vāmjh*, Marvari *bāmjhādī*, Guj. *vāmjham*, Mar. *vāmjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxi *buc*, *būc*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afy. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēv*, *nēk*.

Syncope of b.

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic *b* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piat*, Pali *pibati*, Sinh. *bonavā*, caus. *poranavā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

Epenthesis of b.

§ 310. The epenthesis of *b* is quite rare. It seems to occur mostly in the vicinity of *m*.

b. Iranian. Av. *staxra* 'stiff,' Phl. *stahmbaktar*, *stahmaktar*,

New Pers. *sitam*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum*, *dumb*, Sarq. *ḍām*, *ḍāmbā*, Afy. *lam*, Kurd. *dāv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*. Skt. *rōman* 'hair of the body,' New Pers. *rūm*, *rumah*, *rumbah*.

bh = *bh*.

§ 311. In the Indian dialects Indo-Iranian *bh* is in general retained unchanged. The Iranian dialects, on the other hand, change *bh* to *b*, which, however, in the younger Avesta became *w*, excepting when *b* was preceded by a written nasal or sibilant, or when *b* was initial.

a. Indian. Skt. *pratibhāti* 'glory,' Prak. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prak., Pali *bhāmi* 'earth,' Uṛ. *bhāma*, *bhūriṃ*, Bang. *bhām*, Hindi *bhām*, *bhūiṃ*, *bhūriṃ*, Panj. *bhām*, *bhām*, *bhūriṃ*, *bhōriṃ*, Sindhi *bhā(iṃ)*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Gyp. *phuv*.

bh > *kh*, *x*.

§ 312. The change of *bh* to *kh*, *x*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ābha* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āstāb* 'sun,' Šiy., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Bostani *tāv*.

bh > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiuirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *sāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxi, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *urṇavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmān*, Wāxi *vufam*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afy. *ḍdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafay*, Oss. *vafin*.

bh > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,' Prak. *bhaṅi*, *bahiṅi*, Pali *bhagini*, Kaśm. *byaṅ*, Uṛ. *bhāuṅi*, *bhaṅi*, Bang. *baṅ*, Hindi

bahin, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāinh*, Sindhi *bhēnu*, Guj. *behen*, Mar. *bahīn*, Gyp. *phen*.

bh > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dundubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bharṅā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *baraha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāfak*), Afy. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfay*, Kurd. *nāv*.

bh > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇat*, Pāli *bhaṇati*, Mar. *mhaṇaṇēmi*.

bh > *v*.

§ 317. The change of *bh* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Yidg. *nuvuh*.

bh > *h*.

§ 318. The change of *bh* to *h* is the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *bh* is subject in the Indian dialects, but *bh* does not become *h* in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṇḍa* 'pot,' Pāli *bhaṇḍa*, U_r, Bang. *hāmḍi*, Bihārī *hāmḍ*, *bhāmḍ*, Hindi, Panj. *hōmḍi*, Sindhi *hamḍi*, Guj. *hāmḍi*, Mar. *hāmḍi*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahat*, Pāli *labhati*, U_r. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindi *laha*, Hindi *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lai*, Sindhi *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvaṭ*, *bhavaṭ*, Pāli Prāk. *bhōti*, Śaur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, U_r. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindi *hōnā*, Panj. *hōnā*, Sindhi *huanu*, Guj. *hōvum*, Mar. *hōṇem*.

m = *m*.

§ 319. Indo-Iranian *m* is in general retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass.

māj, Kaśm. *maims*, Ur. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindi *mājhi*, *mamjhōla*, Panj. *māñjh*, *mājhh*, Sindhi *mamjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Sinh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍe*, Ur. *malā*, Hindi *muḍ*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhi *muḍ*, Guj. *muwuh*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Sinh. *maḷa*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pali *khamā*, Hindi *chimā*, Panj., Sindhi *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamanēm*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pali *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindi *gāmv*, Sindhi *gāmu*, *gāū*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxi *malung*, Šiyn. *madāna*, Sarq. *madān*, Afy. *manj*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərətā* 'dead,' Phl. *marj* 'mortal,' New Pers. *marḍ*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *simō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *sam*, Wāxi *sam*, Šiyn. *simj*, *sinj*, Sarq. *samān*, Afy. *kimai*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, Tag. *simag*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Wāxi *nung*, Afy. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, plur. *namththa*, Tag. *nom*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, So Kurd. *yūma*.

m > n.

§ 320. The change of *m* to *n* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Dig. Oss. *non*, but plur. *namththa*, etc. (see preceding §).

m > ŋg.

§ 321. The change of *m* to *ŋg* occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Wāxi *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxi *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmay*, Kurd. *xāv*.

m > ph, f.

§ 322. The change of *m* to *ph, f*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dāman* 'bond,' New Pers. *dām*, Afy. *lūm*, Kurd. *daf*.

m > b.

§ 323. The change of *m* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *māiṃs*, Uṛ. *bhayeṣa*, Bang. *bhatṃs*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāiṃs*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindi *bhāiṃs*, *mhāiṃs*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhi *manjh*, *māmhī*, Guj. *bhēiṃs*, *bhāiṃs*, *bhāiṃh*, Mar. *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manumaraka* 'grandson' < **manurama-ka*, Sinh. *munuburu* (*m > b* by dissimilation).

m > v.

§ 324. In the New Indian dialects the change of *m* to *v* is a very frequent one. It is more rare in the Middle Indian, while only a few instances are quotable from the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manmatha* 'love,' Prāk. *vammaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *mammadha*. Skt. *abhimanyu* nom. prop., Prāk. *ahivanyū*, *ahimanyū*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *nīmāiṃs* 'investigating,' Pāli *ivvāiṃs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmālā*, Bang. *āōlā*, *āūlā*, Hindi, Panj. *āiṃvalā*, Sindhi *āiṃvirō*, Mar. *āiṃvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindi *sāiṃvar*, Hindi *sāiṃvalā*, W. Hindi *sāiṃvraū*, Panj. *sāiṃvalā*, Sindhi *sāiṃvalu*, *sāiṃviru*, Mar. *sāiṃvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvi*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāim*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andīmāni*, New Pers. *dim*, Siv., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afy. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dēv*, *dēv*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *pairi* 'around' + *vazaiti* 'flies,' New Pers. *parmāz* 'flight' beside *parvāz*. New Pers. *parvānah* 'butterfly' beside *parmānah*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz., New Pers. *namāz*, Afy. *nmunj*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nivēz*, *nvēž*, *nmēž*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afy. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmag*, Kurd. *niv*.

m > s.

§ 325. The change of *m* to *s* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

bhasana, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasaku*, Jaina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamāra*, Bang. *bhāmāra*, Bihārī *bhāumrā*, Hindī *bhamvar*, *bhāumr*, Panj. *bhamur*, Sindhī *bhāumru*, Mar. *bhōmr*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

m > m̄.

§ 326. The change of *m* to *m̄* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāmv*, Panj. *nātūm*, Sindhī *nāmūm*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, *bhūim*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhām*, *bhūim*, *bhūm*, Panj. *bhām*, *bhām*, *bhōim*, *bhām*, Sindhī *bhūim*, *bhā*, Guj. *bhā*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Sinh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōmā*, Bihārī *rōām*, *rōvam*, Hindī, Panj., *rōām*, Sindhī *lūm*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsātūm*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhūām*, Kāsm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūām*, *dhūām*, Sindhī *duhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Sinh. *dum*.

m > m̄v.

§ 327. The change of *m* to *m̄v* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāmv*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kumar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kumvar*, Panj. *kamvar*, Mar. *kumvar*.

Syncope of m.

§ 328. The loss of Indo-Iranian *m* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects, although in Middle Indian *m* is lost only when final. In the Iranian dialects the phenomenon is found but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *katham* 'how,' Prāk. *kaha*, *kahām*. Skt. *idāntm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇi*, *dāṇim*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions

hidālōkika 'temporal,' Skt., Pāli *nēmi* 'circumference,' Uṛ. *nia*, Bang. *nēḍ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *nēv*, Panj. *niun̄*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prak. *cāmara*, Pāli *cāmara*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāumr*, *camarā*, Hindi *cāurī*, *cāuhrī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhi *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurt*, Mar. *cāurt*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhuām*, Hindi, Panj. *dhuām*, *dhu-mām*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prak., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindi *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāunā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gādumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *ganṭum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxi *yiḍim*, Šīyn. *zindam*, Sarq. *zandam*, *zandum*, Sangl., Minj. *yandam*, Yidg. *yadum*, Afy. *yanum*, Bal. *gandim*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanim*.

Epenthesis of m, ṁ.

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *ṁ*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jāina Prak. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prak. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṣa*, Kāsm. *mūṣ*, Bang. *bhatims*, Bihārī *bhāims*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindi *bhāims*, *mhāims*, Sindhi *māmjh*, *māmhi*, Guj. *bhēms*, *bhāims*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāims*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāsm. *khuh*, Uṛ., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj. *kūmām*, *kūām*, Sindhi *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prak. *chāhī*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Uṛ. *chāhina*, Bihārī *chāmh*, Hindi *chām*, *chām̄v*, *chām̄h*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāūm*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prak. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Sinh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prak., Pāli *lajjā* 'modesty,' Uṛ., Old Bang., Hindi *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhi *lāj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Sinh. *lamda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pr̄daku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *pr̄āng*. Av. *nōmah* 'homage,' Afy. *nmun̄*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gvams*, *gvabs*. New Pers.

pōs 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pās*, Sangl. *fusik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōsa*, *para*, Bal. *pōns*, *pōs*, N. Bal. *phōns*, *phōs*, Kurd. *pās*, *pōs*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *finj*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 8 a. pres. *hambēt*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihumbidan*, Kurd. *niziftin*.

y = y.

§ 330. Indo-Iranian *y* remains in general unchanged in the Iranian dialects, especially in the Persian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, the preservation of an initial *y* is excessively rare, although it is usually retained internally.

a. Indian. Skt. *yabhati* 'futuūt,' Sindhi *yabhaṇu*. Skt., Prak., Pali *dayalu* 'merciful,' U_r., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *dayal(u)*, Sindhi *ḍayālu*, Guj., Mar. *dayāl(u)*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prak. *hia(y)a*, Pāś. Prak. *hitaaka*, Pali *hadaya*, Ass., U_r., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiāum*, Sindhi *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (*y*)ilo.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juy*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiyn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Bal. *jōy*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Siv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Ya_{yn}. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afy. *yūn*. Av. *asaya* 'shadowless,' Phl. *sāyak* 'shadow,' New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*. Av. *zayata* 'was born,' Phl. *zayand*, New Pers. *zayad*, Afy. *sēti*, Bal. *sāyag*, N. Bal. *sāy*, Kurd. *sāin*, Oss. *sāyi*.

y > j.

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. U_riya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindi and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhi, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, on the other hand, retain the Old Indian value of *y* (cf. also § 308). The change of *y* to *j* is less common in the Iranian dialects, although New Persian, Afyān, Balūčī, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pāli *ya*, U_r., Bang. *jē*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovvaṇa*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhi *jōbbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pāli *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, U_r. *jēṭhā*, Bang. *jekhānē*, Hindi *jahāni*, Panj. *jitthē*, Sindhi *jiti*, Guj. *jāmhām*, Mar. *jēthēh*, *jithē*. Skt., Pāli *yāna* 'vehicle,' U_r. *jibā*, Bang. *jāitē*, Hindi *janā*, Panj. *janā*, Guj. *javum*, Mar. *yāñēh*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuviyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *jušt*, Afy. *juxt*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *jav*, *yav*, New Pers. *jav*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *yāma* 'glass,' Phl. *jām*, *yām*, New Pers. *jām*.

y > b.

§ 332. The change of *y* to *b* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pūya* 'pus,' Pāli *pubba*. Skt. *jarāyu* 'uterus,' Pāli *jalābu*, Simh. *dalabu*.

y > bh.

§ 333. The change of *y* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarayu* name of a river, Pāli *sarabhu*.

y > r.

§ 334. The change of *y* to *r* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrāmanēya* 'novice,' Pāli *sāmaṇēra*. Skt. *snāyu* 'sinew,' Jaina Prāk. *ṇhāru*, Pāli *nahāru*, Simh. *naharaya*.

y > l.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, U_r., Bang. *lāṭhi*, Hindi *laṭ(t)*, *lāṭhi*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhi *lāṭhi*, Guj. *lāṭ*, *lāṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtayatī* 'illuminates,' Pāli

jōtalati, jōtayati, jōtēti. Bihārī *dilōtarsu* 'one hundred and two' beside *diyōtarsu* (on the analogy of *tilōtarsu, calōtarsu*, etc.).

y > v.

§ 336. The change of *y* to *v* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛgaya* 'hunt,' Pāli *migava*. Skt. *trayas-trimśat* 'thirty-three,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *tavattisa*, Kāsm. *tyaya-trah*, Bihārī *tāimtis*, cf. archaic Siṃh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āuha*, Pāis. Prāk. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Siṃh. *avi(ya)*.

y > h.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāha* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindi *chāmh, chām(v), chāōm*, Panj. *ca(ū)ṃ*, Sindhi *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*. Skt. *raṇāñ-jaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇāñjaha*. Skt. *svayampati* 'epithet of Brāhma,' Pāli *sahampati*.

Apocope of y.

§ 338. The loss of an original initial *y* is found, although but seldom, in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yūkā* 'louse,' Pāli *ūkā*, Hindi *jūm*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yušmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xšmāka*, YAv. *yušmākam*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*.

Syncope of y.

§ 339. The loss of an original *y* is not a very frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kisalaya* 'sprout,' Prāk. *kisala, kisalaya*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hīa, hiaya*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiāum, hiyām*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāu*, Pāli *vāyu*, Uṛ. *bāa*, Bang., Hindi *bāṛ, bāo*, Panj. *vāu*, Sindhi *bāṛ, vāu*, Guj. *vā(ṛ)*, Mar. *vāv*. Skt. *dēva-*

laya 'temple,' Uṛ. *deval*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvala*, Sindhi *dēvali*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēval*.

Prothesis of y.

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prak. *yēva*, Śaur. Prak. *jevva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *āvīrbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jaina Prak. *yāvīhotta*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (*a*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šīyn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yur*, N. Bal. *ac*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afy. *as*, Bal. (*i*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amiy*, New Pers. *am*, Afy. *yam*, *am*, Kurd. *im*.

aya > *ā*.

§ 341. The loss of Indo-Iranian *y* in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, which has been noted in § 339, gives rise to various contractions. Similar contractions often occur in consequence of the syncope of Indo-Iranian consonants. The contraction of *aya* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyayana* 'rehabilitation,' Pāli *abbhāna*. Skt., Pāli *udaya* 'rise,' Sinh. *udā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayavauš* nom. prop., Phl. *dāriav*, New Pers. *dārā(b)*, *dārāv*.

aya > *ē*.

§ 342. The contraction of *aya* to *ē* is the normal one in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. It is carried out in all causatives in the Middle Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prak. *dhareī*, Pāli *dhāreti*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śaur. Prak. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *kathēti*. Skt. *nayati* 'leads,' Prak. *nēi*, Śaur. Prak. *nēdi*, Pāli *nēti*, Pāli *nayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prak., Pāli *khaya*, Hindi, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khā*. Skt.,

Prāk., Pāli *bhaya* 'fear,' Uṛ. *bhē*, Hindi, Panj. *bhāi*, Sindhi *bhāi*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaṇa*, Pāli *nayana*, Hindi, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhi *nēṇu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēhn*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Siṃh. *maṇṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pāli *sayanāsana*, Siṃh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāś. *parē*, Bal. *parēri*, *pairēri* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairi*. Av. *sayeiti* 'is born,' Pāmīr dialects *śīd*.

ayū > ō.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pāli *mōra*, Kāśm., Uṛ. *mōr*, Sindhi *mōru*, Guj., Mar. *mōr*.

ayō > ē, āi.

§ 344. The contraction of *ayō* to *ē, āi*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, *tēdasa* (inscriptions of Khālsi), *trāidasa* (inscriptions of Girnar), Pāli *tērasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Uṛ. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindi *tērah*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhi *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

iya > ī.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ī* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyant* 'how much?' Pāli *kittaka* < **kiyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *fri*.

āya > ā.

§ 346. The contraction of *āya* to *ā* seems to be the most usual one to which *āya* is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāyasa* 'aerial,' Jaina Prāk., Pāli *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upaṭṭhāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upaṭṭhāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pāli *kalāsa*, *kalāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyathiya* 'king,' Phl., New Pers. *šāh*.

āya > *ē*

§ 347. The contraction of *āya* to *ē* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāyati* 'flees,' Māhār. Prāk. *palāyai*, Pāli *paleti*.

āya > *aī*.

§ 348. The contraction of *āya* to *aī* is found in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *frasnāyanta* 'they washed,' Dig. Oss. *axsnun*, Tag. *axsnin* 'wash,' Tag. *nain* 'bathe.' Skt. *rāyati* 'bellows,' Oss. *raīn*.

r = *r*.

§ 349. Indo-Iranian *r* is in general preserved unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rēkhā* 'streak,' Prāk. *rēhā*, Pāli *rēkhā*, Hindi, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhi *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Mag. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūlikapāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindi *rāū*, *rāv*, Simh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuhurā*, Sindhi *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *rayan*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl., New Pers. *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*. Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(th)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxi *stār*, Šiyn. *štarj*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustūrak*, Minj. *astāri*, Afy. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *x^raraiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μapri-χόρα*, Phl. *x^rarānō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šiyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^raram*, Minj. *xaram*, Afy. *x^raral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *x^rarin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$.

§ 350. The change of r to j is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pali *purāṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindi *pujna*, Sindhi *pujāṇu*.

$r > ḍh$.

§ 351. The change of r to $ḍh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabdha* 'beginning,' Prak. *āḍhatta*, *āraddha*, Mahār. Prak., Pali *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > d$.

§ 352. The change of r to d is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pali *purindada*, *purinda* (by assimilation or false analogy).

$r > n$.

§ 353. The change of r to n is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *dārayāmiy* 'I hold,' Phl., New Pers. *dāram*, Wāxi *vadūram*, Sarq. *ḍoram*, Lād. *dānam*. Phl., New Pers. *mār* 'serpent,' Afy. *mangarai*.

$r > l$.

§ 354. The change of r to l is by far the most common of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian r is subject, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In Māgadhī Prakrit r becomes l everywhere. Similarly in the Prakrit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khāsi, Bhabra, Sahasaram, and Bairāt r becomes l throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth r occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratni* 'night,' Prak. *ratti*, *rāi*, Māg. Prak. *lattī*, Pali *rattī*, Uṛ., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *carāṇa* 'foot,' Prak. *calaṇa*, Śaur. Prak. also *carāṇa*, Apab. Prak. *calaṇu*, Pāis. Prak. *calaṇa*, Pali *carāṇa*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prak., Pali *halidda*. Skt. *parigha* 'iron bar,' Pali *paligha*. Skt. *rējju* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindi *lējuri*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Prak. *cattālisa*,

cālisa, Pāli *cattāḷisa*, *cattārisa*, Kāśm. *ḡatajih*, Ur. *cālisa*, Bang. *callisa*, Bihārī *cālis*, Hindī *cālis*, Panj. *cāḷi*, Sindhi *cālih*, Guj., Mar. *cālis*, Siṃh. *hataḷiha*, *sataḷiha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raēcayaṭ* 'poured,' Phl. *rēxtanō*, Pāz. *rēšed*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rētman*, Vōn. *rētan*, Wāxi *varicam*, Sarq. *varaisam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rišay*, Kurd. *rētin*, Dig. Oss. *lājun*, Tag. *lijin*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārak*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāś. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sulāx*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrik*, Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *malfig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > l$

§ 355. The change of *r* to *l* is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *iṅgālā*, Pāli *aṅgāra*, Guj. *iṅgārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *iṅgāl(a)*, *iṅgōl*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Pāli *cattāḷisa*, *cattārisa*, Panj. *cāḷi*, Siṃh. *hataḷiha*, *sataḷiha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhi *chāru*, Siṃh. (*h*)*alu*, Maladive *hulu*.

Syncope of r.

§ 356. The loss of an original *r* is infrequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *param*, *parē* 'beyond,' Māg. Prāk. *palē*, Apab. Prāk. *pālī*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārīta* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dōsarīta*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *agar* 'if,' Siv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāś. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāś. *ba*, Vōn. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

ba. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *mā(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *maī*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *mōr*, *māar*, Tal. *mā*, Šīyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afy. *mōr*, Bal. *māt*, N. Bal. *māθ*, *mās*, Kurd. *māk*, Dig. Oss. *mada*, Tag. *mād*.

Epenthesis of r.

§ 357. Epenthetic *r* occurs in the Indo-Iranian dialects very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṭi* 'ten millions,' Māg. Prāk. *kōḍi*, Bihārī *karōr*, *karōr*, Hindi *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṭ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāštan*, Afy. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afy. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *aḫē dahāk*, New Pers. *aḫdahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *aḫdarha*, *aḫdaha*.

l = l.

§ 358. Indo-Iranian *l* is in general preserved unchanged in the Indian dialects. In Old Iranian Indo-Iranian *l* was entirely lost, excepting in the foreign proper names *haldita* and *dubāla* in the Old Persian inscriptions. In the Middle and New Iranian *l* reappears, sometimes representing Indo-Iranian *l*, and sometimes Indo-Iranian *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindi *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpaṭ*, Pāli *limpati*, Uṛ. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindi *lip*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhi *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Uṛ. *āmala*, Bang. *aōla*, *āulā*, Hindi *āmvalā*, Panj. *āulā*, Sindhi *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calaṭ*, Pāli *calati*, Uṛ., Bang. *cāl*, Hindi *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhi *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *caḷ*. Skt., Pāli *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhi *pīpiru*, Guj. *pīpal*, Mar. *pīmpāl*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt. *lov*, Wāxi *lav*, *lafc*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxi *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. *λέγω*, Lith. *lēsiù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *yar*, Afy. *yāra*, Kurd. *garu* (cf. Skt. *gala*, Lat. *gula*, O. H. Germ. *kēla*).

l > ḍ.

§ 359. The change of *l* to *ḍ* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *palāśa* 'green,' Śāk. Prak. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalūṭa*, *raraṭa* 'forehead,' Prak. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tād*, *tār*.

l > n.

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uriya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prak. *naṅgala*, *laṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Siṁh. *nagulo*. *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *raraṭa* 'forehead,' Prak. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prak., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindi *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūn*, Sindhī *lūnu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṅṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nuṭī*, Hindi *lūṭ*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhantī* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambūla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmun*.

l > r.

§ 361. The change of *l* to *r* is the most frequent of all the changes to which Indo-Iranian *l* is subject. In Old Iranian, as already noted in § 358, original *l* has become *r* throughout.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jaina Prak. *yāvāra*, Pāli *ya-mala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindi *pīpar*, Sindhī *pīpiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindi *sāmvar*, Hindi *sāmvala*, W. Hindi *sāmvrāṭ*, Panj. *sāmvalā*, Sindhi *sāmviru*, *sāmvalu*, Mar. *sāmvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapé*, Bal. *rophask*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robas*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*.

$l > \underline{l}$

§ 362. The change of *l* to \underline{l} occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kāla*, Uṛ. *kaḷā*, Bang., Hindi *kālā*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhi *kārō*, Guj. *kālō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kaḷu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' Uṛ., Panj. *thal*, Sindhi *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' Uṛ. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindi *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhi *ṭil*, *ṭar*, Guj., Mar. *ṭal*.

Syncope of l.

§ 363. The syncope of an original *l* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiñculaka* 'earth-worm,' Māg. Prāk. *kiñculaē*, Bihārī *kēñcuvā*, *kēñcvā*. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṛilla*, Pāli *balivadda*. Skt. *khalu* 'indeed,' Prāk. (*k*)*khu*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions *khō*, *ku*, Pāli *khō*.

$v = v$.

§ 364. Indo-Iranian *v* remains in general unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vattikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *batti*, Sindhi *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vimchia*, *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Uṛ. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindi *bichūā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhi *bichūm*, *vimchū*, Guj. *vimchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *vimcū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūna*, Pāli *pavana*, Kāśm.

pāvan, Ur., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindi *paūn*, Panj. *paūn*, Guj. *pōn*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prak. *natim*, Pali *navuti*, Kaśm. *namath*, Ur. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbat*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindi, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhi *navē*, Guj. *nēvun*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcaṣhevant* 'glorious,' Phl. *varc*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Siv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kaś. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kaś., Māz., Gil. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kaś., Šiyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afy. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxi *līv*, Šiyn. *div*, Sarq. *dēv*.

v > ū.

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to *ū* is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prak. *paūṇa*, Hindi *paūn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paūn*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prak., Pali *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindi *dēō*, *dēū*, Panj., Sindhi *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vaināhy*, Phl. *vēnat*, New Pers. *binad*, Wāxi, Šiyn. *vinam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afy. *vinam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Siv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kaś. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaṅn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukri *yō*, Oss. *yau*. Av. *avivanta* 'bevomited,' archaic New Pers. *vāmītan*, Dig. Oss. *vomun*, Tag. *ūmin*.

v > k.

§ 366. The change of *v* to *k* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəda* 'plant,' Phl. *vartā*, *gul*, New Pers. *gul* 'rose,' Samn. *vāla*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

v > *g*.

§ 367. The change of *v* to *g* occurs regularly before *u* in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vitarəta* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vitārtanō*, New Pers. *gudaštan*, Gab. *vadarta*, Vön. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *baudarnādan*, Kurd. *buhārtin*, *bahārtin*. Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Phl. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yaγn. *aurak*, Afγ. *lug*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bəray*, Tag. *biray*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanō*, *gaštanō*, New Pers. *gaštan*, Gab. *vāštmin*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *vərəsyēiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vist*, New Pers. *bist*, Kāš. *vistā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxi *vist*, Sarq. *vist*, Bal. *gist*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaʃ*.

It is to be noted also that Old Pers. *vi* > Mid. Pers. **vu* > Pāz., New Pers. *gu*, and that Old Pers. **vγ* > Mid. Pers. **vur* > Pāz., New Pers. *gur*.

v > *gh*, *γ*.

§ 368. The change of *v* to *gh*, *γ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Sarq. *γirsam*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > *gv*.

§ 369. The change of *v* to *gv* is regular initially before *a*-vowels in Balūci.

b. Iranian. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *gvās*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, etc. (see § 367). Old Pers. *vasiy* 'much,' Phl. *vas*, New Pers. *bas*, Kāš. *vas*, Bal. *gvās*.

v > *n*.

§ 370. The change of *v* to *n* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Bihārī *ninānabē* (assimilation).

v > *ph*, *f*.

§ 371. The change of *v* to *ph*, *f*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *ava* 'this,' Pāz. *ō*, New Pers. *av*, *ō*, Kurd. *af*, *ava*, *āv*.

v > *b*.

§ 372. The change of *v* to *b* is extremely common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects (cf. the converse change of *b* to *v*, § 308).

a. Indian. Skt. *svr̥ṣṭi* 'abundance of rain,' Pāli *subbuṭṭhi*. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, U_r, Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vār*, *vād*, U_r. *bēdhā*, *bhēḍā*, Bang. *bēḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *bēdhā*, Sindhi *vaḍḍhō*, Mult. *vērḥā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāst*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buḍḍha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāśm. *bor*, *boḷ*, U_r, Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindi *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindi *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhi *vaḍḍō*, Guj. *vaḷḷō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Sinh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaeti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vid*, Kāš. *vid*, *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēl*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bīst*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vata* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *rai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxi *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afy. *varyaḷ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *lun*, Afy. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravaḥ* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūsrov*, New Pers. *xusrav*.

v > *bh*.

§ 373. The change of *v* to *bh* is quite common in the Indian dialects, being the sound considered in the preceding paragraph further influenced by a neighbouring sibilant, aspirate or *h*.

a. Indian. Skt. *vaṣpa* 'tear, vapor,' Ass. *bhāp*, Ur., Bang., *bhāp*, Hindi *bhāph*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *veṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Ur. *bhēḍā*, *bēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

v > m.

§ 374. The change of *v* to *m* is not common in the Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yāvat* 'how long,' *tāvat* 'so long,' Apab. Prāk. *jāma*, *jāum*, *jāmahim*, *tāma*, *tāum*, *tāmahim*, Pali *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāisravaṇa* nom. prop., Jaina Prāk. *vēsamaṇa*. Skt. *vijñaptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindi *mintī*, Hindi *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhi *mintī*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *nava*, Pali *nara*, Kaśm. *nāu(m)*, Ur. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindi *nāu*, Panj. *nāum*, *naūm*, Sindhi *naivam*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Sinh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + √*varəs* 'do,' New Pers. *parvās* 'plough,' Bux. *parmās*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *vartak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxi *volc*, Afy. *maraz*, *nvaraz*, Bal. *gvardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

v > y.

§ 375. The apparent change of *v* to *y* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects (cf. the following §).

a. Indian. Skt. *pravartati* 'proceeds,' Prāk. *payatṭat*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jaina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pali *dāya*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dāra*, *diara*, *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindi, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhi *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dtr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *juṭanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Afy. *ḷōyal*, *ḷōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jū(i)n*.

Syncope of v.

376. Syncope of *v* is not common in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Prāk. *jīa*, Pali *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *dīaha*, Jaina Prāk., Pali *divasa*, Sindhi *ḍīn̄hu*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōvīmśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvīsa*, Pali *tēvīsa(ti)*, Bihāri *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhi *ṭrēvīli*, Guj. *trēvīś*, Mar. *tēvīs*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uwaitṭha*, Pali *upaviṭṭha*, Hindi, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēs*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxi *γau*, *γū*, Šīyn. *ḡāv*, Sarq. *ḡao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yaʿn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sīv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukri *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaḡ*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *baēvara* 'ten thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *bēvar*, Dig. Oss. *bēura*, *bēra*, Tag. *bira*.

Prothesis of *v*.

§ 377. Prothetic *v* occurs occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Prāk. *vuccat*, Śaur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pali *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pali *vuttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxi, Šīyn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *zuh*, Afy. *za*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxi *hāṣ*, Šīyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *vaxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaʿn. *urs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ῶον* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *haʿik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

Epenthesis of *v*.

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chahā*, *chāyā*, Pali *chāyā*, Uṛ. *chāhina*, Hindi *chām̄v*, *chām̄(h)*, *chām̄*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhi *chām̄v*, *chām̄*, Guj. *cāny*.

āvā > a.

§ 379. The loss of Indo-Iranian *v*, which has been noted in § 376, gives rise to various contractions in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. The contraction of *āvā* to *a* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prak. *pabhavat*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prak. *sambhavaī*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayēiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyač*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Waxī *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāč* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

ava > ā.

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to *ā* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prak., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ. Bang. *nūn*, *lōn*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūn*, Sindhi *lūnu*, Guj. *lūn*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *avajñā* 'contempt,' Pāli *uññā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *avasthita* 'firm,' New Pers. *ustām*, *ōstām*.

ava > ē.

§ 381. The contraction of *ava* to *ē* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *avalambati* 'hangs down,' Elu *elabanavā*, Siñh. *ellanavā*, *elvan*, *olambu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nuh*, Kāś. *muhdō*, Tāt *nūf*, Waxī, Šīyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yayn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

ava > o.

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to *o* is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prak., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *lōn*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūn*,

Sindhi *lānu*, Guj. *lūn*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śaur. Prāk. (*b*)*hōdi*, (*b*)*hwadi*, (*b*)*havadi*, Māg. Prāk. (*b*)*havaṭ*, *hucāṭ*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāś. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting Ur. *hē*, Sindhi *hua*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jaina Prāk. *samōsaḍha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindī, Panjī, Guj. *ōs*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pravatā* 'downwards,' Phl. *frōt*, New Pers. *furōd*, Sarq. *prōd*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *nōk*, *navak*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Tag. Oss. *nvog*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *avadā* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōdā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navat*, New Pers. *navad*, Afy. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

āva > au.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, Ur., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhi *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlum*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhi *āūtāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaṣn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxi *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

avi > ē.

§ 384. The contraction of *avi* to *ē* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyē* 'I shall be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyē*. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thēra*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(aḍā)*.

avi > āi.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnar), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

āva > *ō*.

§ 386. The contraction of *āva* to *ō* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *savarə* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(ih)*, New Pers. *sōr*.

āvay > *ē*, *ai*.

§ 387. The contraction of *āvay* to *ē*, *ai*, is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kāvaya* 'royal,' Phl. *kē*, *kai*, Pāz., New Pers. *kai*.

āvi > *ā*.

§ 388. The contraction of *āvi* to *ā* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *āviṣkṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āškārāk*, New Pers. *āškār(ā)*, *āškārah*, Afy. *xkāra*.

ivā > *ō*.

§ 389. The contraction of *ivā* to *ō* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōst*, *paḍōst*, *parōst*.

ivē > *ō*.

§ 390. The contraction of *ivē* to *ō* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōsāi*.

iva > *ī*.

§ 391. The contraction of *iva* to *ī* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jvahy*, Phl. *stvas-tanō*, New Pers. *sistan*, Kurd. *sin*, *šiin*. Phl. *dipivar* 'scribe,' *dipir(ih)*, New Pers. *dibr*.

ēvā > *ī*.

§ 392. The contraction of *ēvā* to *ī* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *ḍīr*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvanah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *ḍīn*.

uva > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *uva* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuan*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardi*.

uva > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *uva* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *uva* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. **vadhuvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Pāz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durūd*.

ś = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avantikā, and Śākāri alone preserve *ś*. Of the New Indian dialects Gujarātī and Marāṭhī often retain *ś*, although great confusion in the use of *ś* and *s* prevails. Hindī and Sindhī indeed write *ś*, but pronounce the *ś* as *s*, while in Bangālī *ś* is pronounced *ṣ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prak. *sa(y)a*, Pāś. Prak. *sata*, Māg. Prak. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kāsm. *hat*, U_r. *śaž*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*, Guj. *ṣel*. Skt. *śiṛsa* 'head,' Prak. *sisa*, *sissa*, Pāli *sisa*, Hindī, Panj. *sis*, Sindhī *sist*, Guj. *śiś*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Eḷu *hisa*, Simh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśti* 'eighty,' Prak. *asti*, Pāli *asiti*, Ass. *ṣit*, Kāsm. *śith*, U_r. *aśi*, Bang. *aśi*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *asī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *ēmsī*, Mar. *ēmsī*. Skt. *dēśiya* 'native,' Pāli *dēśiya*, U_r., Bang. *dēśi(ya)*, Hindī, Panj. *dēsi*, Sindhī *ḍēsi*, *ḍēhai*, Guj., Mar. *dēśi*.

ś > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śavaka* 'young animal,' Prak. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, U_r. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(m)*, Hindī *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhī *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkarō*, Mar. *chāvāḍā*, Gyp.

chavō. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śeṣa* 'end,' Prak., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chello*. Skt. *śaṇa* 'hemp,' Uṛ. *chaṇa*, Bang. *chana*.

ś > ḍ.

§ 397. The change of ś to ḍ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāka* 'pot-herb,' Pāli *ḍāka*, *sāka*, Kaśm. *hak* (cf. Skt. *ḍākini* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākini*).

ś > y.

§ 398. The change of ś to y is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prak. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauri, Jaugada) *dvādasavāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *dvāḍasavasa*.

ś > v.

§ 399. The change of ś to v is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prak. *parasu*, Sinh. *porava*, Maladive *furō*. [Really syncope of ś (cf. § 402).]

ś > s.

§ 400. The change of ś to s is the regular one to which Indian ś is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects with the exception of the dialects already noted in § 395.

a. Indian. Skt. *śōbhati* 'is beautiful,' Prak. *sōhat*, Pāli Prak. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śusruṣā* 'obedience,' Prak. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *susruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prak. *sa(y)a*, Pāli Prak., Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhi *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prak. *astī*, Pāli *astī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhi *asī*, Guj. *emst*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śilā* 'stone,' Prak. *silā*, Māg. Prak. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Uṛ. *śilā*, Bang. *śil*, Hindī *sil*, Panj. *siḷ*, Sindhi *sir*, Mar. *siḷ*.

ś > h.

§ 401. The change of ś to h is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

K

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha*, *dasa*, Pali *dasa*, Kaśm. *dah*, Ur., Bang. *daś*, *das*, Hindi *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhi *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Sinh. *dahaya*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deš*. Skt. *śaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pali *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhi *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saštrō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindi (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kīśari* 'lion,' Prāk., Pali *kēsari*, Bihārī *kēhari*, *kēsari*, Hindi *kēhari*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhi *kēhari*, Guj. *kēsari*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pali *pāsa*, Hindi *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhi *phāhī*, *phāsi*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Elu *hisa*, etc. (see § 395).

Apocope and syncope of ś.

§ 402. The loss of an initial or internal Indian ś occurs frequently in the Sinhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *śirṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śrṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pali *siṅga*, Hindi *siṅg*, Mar. *śiṅg*, Elu *samgu*, *aṅgu*, Sinh. *aṅga*, *si(n)gu*, *suṅgu*. Skt. *śisira* 'cold,' Prāk., Pali *sisira*, Sinh. *āl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pali *lasuna*, Sinh. *lānu*.

ś = ṣ.

§ 403. The retention of Indian ś is found only in Kaśmīrī, Uṛiya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pali *sōlasa*, *sōrasa*, Kaśm. *ṣurāh*. Ur. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhi *sōrahan*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *soḷosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' Ur. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

ś > kh.

§ 404. In Hindi and Panjābī, as well as in other New Indian dialects in sporadic instances, Indian ś is pronounced *kh*, even if ś be retained in script.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāṣā* 'vernacular,' Prāk., Pali *bhāsā*, Nāip.

bhas, *bhakka*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *bhakha*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pali *mānusa*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhi *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the tadbhava forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

§ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of § to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pali *cha*, Kāsm. *ṣah*, *śih*, Ur. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindi *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhi *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(ā)*, Old Simh. *caka*, Simh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣaṭpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jaina Prāk. *chappaya*.

§ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of § to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pali *karisa*, Simh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

§ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of § to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvṛṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *aṇṇṣanti*. Skt. *alabhiṣanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiṣanti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiṣamrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisanti* Dhauli, *ālabbhiyisanti* Jaugada, *ālabbhiyisanti* Khālsi).

§ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of § to *s* is the normal one to which Indian § is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pali *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Ur. *sōhala*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindi *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhi *sōrahañ*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Simh. *soḷosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣam̐r*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sām̐r*, Panj. *sām̐h*, Sindhi *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐ḍ*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,

usaha, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindī *purīṣ*, semitatsama *purukh*.

§ > h.

§ 409. The change of § to h is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jaina Prāk. *egahaṭṭhi*, *egasatṭhi*, *egayatṭhi*, *egavatṭhi*, *egaṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *ekahāṭh*, Panj. *ikahaṭ*, Sindhī *ekahaṭhi*. Skt. *viṣa* 'poison,' Prāk., Pāli *visa*, Panj. *bih*, *bis*, Sindhī *vihu*.

s = s.

§ 410. Indo-Iranian s is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, while in the Iranian dialects Indo-Iranian s normally becomes h. Iranian s, arising from Indo-Germanic *k̄* (Old Indian *ś*, see also §§ 395–402), remains unchanged in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kaśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *siha*, Mahār. Prāk. *siṅgha*, *siṅha*, Pāli *siha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṅgh*, Sindhī *siṅghō*, *śiṅhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṅh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *ataṣī* 'linseed,' Ur. *tēṣī*, Bang. *tīṣī*, E. Hindī *tīṣī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarota* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sarṭ*, Wāxī *sūr(ṭ)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sarṭ*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vön. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kašr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khashthar*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *ḍis*, *lis*, Sarq. *ḍēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yāyn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *paēsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πιδύσας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīsk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pis(aj)*.

s > ch.

§ 411. The change of *s* to *ch* is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prak. *chuhā*, Pali *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prak. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pali *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' Ur., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siñcati* 'sprinkles,' Prak. *simcat*, Pali *siñcati*, Bihārī *chimcāi*, *simcāi*, Mar. *simcañēñ*.

s > j(h).

§ 412. The change of *s* to *j(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hamsa* 'goose,' Prak., Pali *hamsa*, Hindi *hāms*, Sindhi *hamj(h)u*, Sinh. *has*.

s > t.

§ 413. The change of *s* to *t* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sax'ārō* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *suxun*, Siv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' New Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *tēr* (Justi, Kurd. Gramm. 64, compares also the Av. ἀπ. λεγ. *θātairi*, Yt. x, 14).

s > th, θ.

§ 414. The change of *s* to *th, θ*, occurs frequently only in Old Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *surra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suzr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Osa. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Gr. *κόπος* 'satiety,' Av. *θātairi*, etc. (? see preceding §).

s > d.

§ 415. The change of *s* to *d* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prak., Pali *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhi *sahasu*, Sinh. *dahasia*, *das*, *dāha* (*d* for *s* by false analogy with Sinh. *dahaya* 'ten,' Skt. *daśan*, etc.).

s > *v*.

§ 416. The change of *s* to *v* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Kurd. *dav*, etc. (see § 410).

s > *ś*.

§ 417. The change of *s* to *ś* is very rare. In East Hindi *ś* is often written for *s*, although *s* is retained in pronunciation. This lax writing is very frequent in Gujarātī and in Marāṭhī most of all (cf. §§ 395, 400). The change of *s* to *ś* is regular in Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Śakarī Prākṛit, and the Avantikā Prākṛit also shows numerous examples of this development.

a. Indian. Skt. *vilāsa* 'coquetry,' Māg. Prāk. *vilāśē*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *vilāsa*. Skt. *sabhika* 'keeper of a gambling-house,' Māg. Prāk. *śahia*. Skt. *anuśāsana* 'instruction,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *anuśāsaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *aṇuśāsaṇa*, Pāli *anusāsana*.

s > *ṣ*.

§ 418. The change of *s* to *ṣ*, apart from the regular development in Old Indian of *ṣ* from *s* after *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ*, *ḛ*, *ō*, is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *uyanaṣi* 'in a garden,' beside *uyānaṣi* (inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi). Skt. *bhaviṣyāsi* 'thou wilt be,' Gāthā *bhēṣyaṣi*.

s > *ś*.

§ 419. The change of Iranian *s* to *ś* is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śāṇa* 'whetstone,' New Pers. *sān*, *afsān*, dialectic *šan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *saḡan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sičīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šišan*, *šišin*, Kurd. *šūšin*, *sušin*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afy. *γō-šāk*, *γō-šōē*, N. Bal. *saḡan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *saḡai*.

s > z

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūrya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surnai* 'trumpet,' Tāt. *surnai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt. *pas*, Wāxi *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *p(i)ās*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x^oasura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxi *xurs*, Afy. *sxar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xasūr*, *xasīr*, *xaur*.

s > h

§ 421. The change of Indian *s* to *h*, which is very similar to the Iranian *h* developed from Indo-Germanic *s*, where the Old Indian retains *s*, occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects. The change is regular in South-Eastern Bangālī (e. g. Bang. *sakal* 'all,' S.-E. Bang. *hakal*), and it occurs very frequently in Panjābī, Sindhī, and Sinhalese. Iranian *s* becomes *h* only internally in Middle and New Persian.

a. Indian. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śaur., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ekasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kāsm. *akasatath*, Ur. *ekastōri*, Bang. *ekāttar*, Bihārī *ekahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ekahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ekahattar*, cf. Jāina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Sinh. *hattāva*, *sāttāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Ur., Bang. *sāpa*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *hapu*, *sapu*, *sap(ā)*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, etc. (see § 410). Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis and syncope of s.

§ 422. The loss of initial or internal *s* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sīdati* 'sits,' Prāk. *stai*, *saḍai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Sinh. *imdinavā*, *himdinavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhār. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Sinh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^oasura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xasūr*, *xasīr*, etc. (see § 420).

š = ś.

§ 423. Iranian š remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxi *cauam*, Šīyn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šudā*, Kurd. *cian*, *cān*, Oss. *čoun*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nay. *guš*, Wāxi *γuš*, *γiš*, Šīyn., *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afy. *γvaš*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Osa. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēkah* 'wound,' Phl., New Pers. *rēš*, Afy. *raš*.

š > c, č.

§ 424. The change of š to c, č, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxi *cauam*, Kurd. *cian*, *cān*, Oss. *čoun*, etc. (see preceding §).

š > j.

§ 425. The change of š to j is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bašaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšazak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *birišk*.

š > l.

§ 426. The change of š to l is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxi *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afy. *spaša*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

š > s.

§ 427. The change of š to s is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šīyn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afy. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Šīv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaōša* 'ear,' Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*.

š > z.

§ 428. The change of š to z occurs very seldom.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šekam* 'belly,' New Pers. *šikam*, *iškam*, Kurd. *sik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxi *šād*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xauš*, Afy. *špaš*, Oss. *arsas*.

š > š̄.

§ 429. The change of š to š̄ is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *yūš*, Afy. *γvaš*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *araša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *aš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yūrx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaš*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hirc*, *virç*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kušanō*, New Pers. *kušan*, Kurd. *bukušim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ah)*, Citrālī *rixīš*, *rikiš*, Wāxi *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarša*, Afy. *šira*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rixi*.

Apocope of š.

§ 431. The loss of final š occurs occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Yidg. *γū*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, etc. (see § 426).

s = z.

§ 432. Iranian z remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxi *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afy. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ašnōh*. Av. *zərōdaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gil. *zil*, Šiyn. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zil*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *sarda*. Av. *maēzanti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēstānō*, New Pers. *mēst-*

dan, Afy. *mītal*, Bal. *mīšay*, *mēšay*, Kurd. *mīstin*, *mīstin*, Dig. Oss. *mēšun*, Tag. *mīšin*. New Pers. *pōs* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūs*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paša*, Bal. *pō(š)z*, N. Bal. *phōšz*, Kurd. *pōs*, *pūs*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋg*.

s > *š*.

§ 433. The change of *s* to *š* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zana* 'chin,' New Pers. *zanax*, Šiyn. *zingū*, Sarq. *sangān*, Afy. *šana*, *sana*. Afy. *jōē* 'son' beside *sōē* (from $\sqrt{\text{zan}}$ 'to be born').

s > *s*.

§ 434. The change of *s* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dərəza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

s, *š* > *š*.

§ 435. The change of *s*, *š* to *š* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāšah*, *kāšah*.

s > *š*.

§ 436. The change of *s* to *š* is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl. New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *šimai*, *zimai*, *jimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

s > *h*.

§ 437. The change of *s* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzih*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzū*, Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhi*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, Xor. *bāhū*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

Syncope of s.

§ 438. The loss of internal *s* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhi*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} = \text{š}$.

§ 439. Iranian š is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Paz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōsax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōsax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōsak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōsax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dūšē*. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Phl. *šūšak*, New Pers. *šūšah*, Gab. *jūjik*.

$\text{š} > \gamma$.

§ 440. The change of š to γ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Afy. *dōyaš*, *dōšax*, *dōsax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{š} > j$.

§ 441. The change of š to j is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jūjik*, etc. (see § 439).

$\text{š} > \text{š}$.

§ 442. The change of š to š is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of š to š occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for š , and employs the character for š instead).

$\text{š} > z$.

§ 443. The change of š to z is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian š is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōsax*, Afy. *dōsax*, *dōšax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōsak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōsax*, *dōšē*, etc. (see § 439).

$h = h$.

§ 444. Indian h is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects, and Iranian h (corresponding to Indian s) is, in like manner, retained in most cases in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prak., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kāśm. *ath*, Uṛ. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*. Skt. *hr̥daya* 'heart,' Prak. *hia(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindi *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiaām*, Sindhi *himāmu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārg̃ha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahanigā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahanigō*, E. Hindi, Hindi *mahanigā*, Panj. *mahinigā*, Sindhi *mahanigō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prak., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Uṛ. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhi *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl., Pāz. *hin*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxi *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šiyn. *vurd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaʿn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāś. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *valjag*.

h > k.

§ 445. The change of *h* to *k* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *hintāla* 'kind of palm,' Pāli *kintāla*, Sinh. *kitul*, *hitul*.

h > kh, x.

§ 446. The change of *h* to *kh, x*, is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects, where it occurs more usually initially than internally or finally.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. *xušk(īh)*, New Pers. *xušk*, Siv. *fušk*, Kāś. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxi *vask*, Yidg. *ušk*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxi *xūg*, Sarq. *xang*, Afy. *xūg*, Bal. *hik*, N. Bal. *hix*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētu* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yaʿn. *ūtk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dušah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōšax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afy. *dōšax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōšē*, Kurd. *dūšē*.

$h > c$.

§ 447. The change of *h* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Siv. *camcah* (assimilation).

$h > ph, f$.

§ 448. The change of *h* to *ph, f*, is very rare, and it seems to occur only initially.

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Siv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$.

§ 449. The change of *h* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jaina Prak., Pali *vēbhāra*.

$h > v$.

§ 450. The change of *h* to *v* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxi *vūvd*, (*h*)ub, hūb, Šiyn. *vūd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxi *task*, Afy. *vuc*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > y, i$.

§ 451. The vocalization of *h* to *y, i*, occurs but seldom.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *māh* 'month,' Phl., New Pers. *māh*, Wāxi *māi*, Šiyn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomya*, Afy. *mai*, Dig. Oss. *maya*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$.

§ 452. The change of *h* to *s* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pali *snēsika* (but Pali *s(i)nēha* 'love,' Skt. *snēha*).

$h > š$.

§ 453. The change of *h* to *š* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāš*, Afy. *nmūnš*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimīš*, *nimī*.

$h > z, \xi$.

§ 454. The change of *h* to *z, ξ*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nimīš*, *nimī*, etc. (see preceding §).

Aphaeresis of *h*.

§ 455. The loss of initial *h* is excessively rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the other hand, the phenomenon is not infrequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Kāsm. *ath*, Sindh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxi *ub*, *hub*, *hüb*, *rūd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaγn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Kāš. *uškudan*, *huškudan*, Yidg. *ušk*, etc. (see § 446). Av. *haca* 'from,' Old Pers. *hacā*, Phl. *aj*, New Pers. *az*, *z(i)*, Afy. *ǰ*-, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *aš*, *š(a)*.

Syncope of *h*.

§ 456. The loss of internal *h* is very rare in the Indian dialects, although it is more frequent in the New than in the Middle period. The phenomenon occurs more often in the Iranian than in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ihalōka* 'this world,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *ialōka*. Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bahapphaṭ*, *bhayapphaṭ*, *bihapphaṭ*, *buhapphaṭ*, *buhappaṭ*, *bahassaṭ*, *bahappaṭ*, *bhaassaṭ*, *bhuapphaṭ*, *bhuaspadṭ*, Uṛ. *biphāi* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphāi*, *bihaphāi*. Skt. *gēhiṇī* 'woman,' Prāk. *ghariṇī*, Sindh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vṛthi* 'rice,' Pāli *vṛthi*, Sindh. *vī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vohuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Siv. *fīn*, Wāxi *vuzan*, Šīyn. *vixīn*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vīnē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *ōura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāš. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

Apocope of h.

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimi*, *nimīk*, etc. (see § 453).

Prothesis of h.

§ 458. Prothetic *h* is not uncommon in the Middle Indian and in the Iranian dialects. In the New Indian dialects it occurs but rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *idānim* 'now,' Prak. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidālōkika*, lit. Prak. *dāni(m)*. Skt. *ēdṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prak. *ērisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prak. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēlā*, Bang. *hōtha*, *ōtha*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Prak., Pāli *oṭṭha*, Ur. *ōṭha*, Bang. *hō(m)ṭh*, Hindi *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōmṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpaṭ*, lit. Phl. *hērpāṭ*, *īrpāṭ*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aośah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxi *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag. *yafs*.

Epenthesis of h.

§ 459. Epenthetic *h* is extremely rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *māna* 'measure,' Ur. *mahana*, Hindi *man*, Mar. *maṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jik*, New Pers. *sih*, Kāš. *yah*, *ša*, Afγ. *šai*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *ših*.

CONSONANT-GROUPS

§ 460. In the sections dealing with vowels and single consonants, similarity of development, both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects, has been the rule rather than the exception. In the following paragraphs differences will be found more often than resemblances. Comparatively few consonant-groups have developed in the same way in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The Indian languages have continued the tendency already observable in the Middle Indian. The component sounds of consonant-groups are assimilated, and the resulting repeated consonant is either retained, or one of the letters is dropped with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel. In the Iranian languages, on the other hand, a consonant-group is in the majority of instances softened as a whole, and this secondary consonant-group may be retained without further change in the New Iranian dialects. As a result of these developments with principles which are radically different, consonant-groups in Iranian are less easy to systematize than those in the Indian languages. For the Indian dialects the classification of Beames, *Comparative Grammar*, i. 281–282 (cf. 359–360), into the ‘strong, weak, and mixed nexus’ is admirable. But since in the Iranian dialects the consonant-group is softened and retained instead of being simplified, such secondary consonant-groups are subject to many tertiary developments. Moreover, it will be seen in many instances noted in the following paragraphs that the component consonants of a consonant-group, in the Middle and New Iranian dialects, may each be modified according to the changes to which they are liable as single consonants.

The essential difference in the treatment of consonant-groups in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects renders the discussion in

the present chapter less satisfactory in results, in some respects, than has been the case with the consideration of the vowels and single consonants. On the other hand, it will not be without interest to note how two closely-related members of the same language-group agree in general in certain parts of their phonology, but at the same time are radically different in other portions of it. Notwithstanding this, the divergent developments of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian languages are no less instructive than their coincident changes, and a survey of disagreement as well as of agreement is absolutely necessary if a correct knowledge of the entire subject under discussion is to be gained.

kt > k(k).

§ 461. The assimilation of *kt* to *k(k)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *utkanṭhā* 'anxiety,' Prāk. *ukkaṅṭhā*, Pāli *ukkaṅṭhati* 'regrets.' Skt. *mukta* 'released,' Prāk. *mukka*, Pāli *mukka*, *mutta*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śakta* 'able,' Phl., New Pers. *saxt*, Yidg. *sukt*, Bal. *sak*.

kt > gđ, γđ.

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group *kt* to *gđ, γđ*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxi *naγđ*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thayđ*.

ktz > γz, sz.

§ 463. The assimilation of *ktz* to *γz, sz*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suyzarina*, Tag. *sizarin*.

kt > t(ł).

§ 464. The assimilation of *kt* to *t(ł)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhakta* 'boiled rice,' Prāk., Pāli *bhatta*, Kāśm. *bata*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, W. Hindī *bhāt*, Panj. *bhatt*,

Sindhi *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prak., Pali *mutta*, U_r. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *mōti*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prak., Pali *ratta*, U_r., Bang. *rakta*, Hindi *rāt*, Sindhi *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Sinh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtano* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtān*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxi *pōcam*, Afy. *paravul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtano* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtān*, Māg. *sūt*, Gil. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afy. *sēzal*, *sējal*, *svašavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtani *suhtin*, Dig. Oss. *sōjun*, Tag. *sōjin*.

kt > *pht*, *ft*.

§ 465. The assimilation of *kt* to *pht*, *ft*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt* 'pair,' New Pers. *juft*, Afy. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūstan* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtān*.

kt > *ht*.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxi *pōšt*, Šiyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtano* 'to burn,' Bohtani *suhtin*, etc. (see § 464).

ktr > *lkh*, *lx*.

§ 467. The assimilation of *ktr* to *lkh*, *lx*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *ba_xr*, New Pers. *balx*.

ktr > *hr*.

§ 468. The assimilation of *ktr* to *hr* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxdra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*, *barx*.

kth > (*t*)*th*.

§ 469. The assimilation of *kth* to (*t*)*th* is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *siktha* 'beeswax,' Prak., Pali *sittha*, Hindi *sith*, *sīth*, Panj. *sēth*, *sēt*, Mar. *st*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pali *satthi*.

kn > nn.

§ 470. The assimilation of *kn* to *nn* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaṭ*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhi *sagh*, Guj., Mar. *śak*.

km > m(m).

§ 471. The assimilation of *km* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmaṇavati* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummavati*.

b. Iranian. Av. **staxma* 'firm' (cf. Av. *staxra*), Phl. *sitahmak*, New Pers. *sitam* 'violence.' Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *tōxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxi *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*.

km > gm, γm.

§ 472. The softening of the consonant-group *km* to *gm*, *γm*, is not frequent.

b. Iranian. Av. *taoxmān* 'seed,' Wāxi *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, etc. (see preceding §).

km > p(p).

§ 473. The assimilation of *km* to *p(p)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukminiṭ* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppiniṭ*.

ky > k(k).

§ 474. The assimilation of *ky* to *k(k)* occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkyā* 'the three worlds,' Prāk. *tellokka*, *tēlokka*.

kr > k(k).

§ 475. The assimilation of *kr* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cakra* 'wheel,' Prāk., Pali *cakka*, Ass. *cāk*, Uṛ. *caka*, Bang. *cāka*, E. Hindi, Hindi *cak*, Panj. *cakh*, Sindhi *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Sinh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ajñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Sinh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

kr > *r(r)*.

§ 476. The assimilation of *kr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Stv. *sīr*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sār*, Wāxi *sōkr*, Šīyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*.

kr > *hr*.

§ 477. The assimilation of *kr* to *hr* is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *caxra* 'wheel,' New Pers. *carx*, *cahrah*, Kāš. *cōra*, *cīr*, Oss. *čalx*. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Bal. *suhr*, *sohr*, etc. (see preceding §).

kl > *l(l)*.

§ 478. The assimilation of *kl* to *l(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kliṣṭa* 'sick,' Prāk., Pali *kiliṭṭha*, Sinh. *leḍa*.

kv > *k(k)*.

§ 479. The assimilation of *kv* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pali *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papi*, Uṛ. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindi *pākal*, Hindi, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhi *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pik*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pako*.

kṣ > *k(k)*.

§ 480. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *k(k)* is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects as well as in the Indian dialects, excepting Bangālī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *bubhukṣā* 'hunger,' Pali *bubhukkhati*, Hindi

bhakh, Sindhi *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bokh*. Skt. *kṣtra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khtra*, *chtra*, Pali *khīra*, Kaf. *su*, New Ind. dialects *khīr*, Simh. *kiri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Siv., Judæo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxt *maks*, Minj. *muḡa*, Afy. *mac*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

kṣ > *kkh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *kkh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Pali *makkhikā*, Kāsm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(m)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(m)ṣī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(m)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(m)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhi *makhi*, Guj. *mākhi*, Mar. *maklū*, *māṣī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pali *dakkhiṇa*, Kāsm. *dachan*, Uṛ. *dāhinā*, *dāhāna*, Bang. *dāṭn*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhi *ḍakhiṇō*, Mar. *ḍakhīṇ*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pali *pakkha*, Kāsm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhi*, Bihārī *pāmkh* 'wing,' *pāhīm* 'beside,' *pāmchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pākhi*, *pāmchī*, Panj. *pāmchī*, Sindhi *paṅgu*, Guj. *pāmchī*, Mar. *pākhi*, *pāmchī*, Simh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xašava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yaḡn. *xīšap*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *arsav*.

kṣ > *khs*, *xs*.

§ 482. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khs*, *xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' Oss. *axsav*, etc. (see preceding §).

kṣ > *g(g)*.

§ 483. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *g(g)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Siv., Judæo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

kṣ > *c(c)*.

§ 484. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *c(c)* is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Uṛ. *khudata*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. **xšapacara* 'bat,' Bal. *šapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

kṣ > *(c)ch*.

§ 485. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *(c)ch* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *riccha*, *rikkha*, Pāli *accha*, *ikka*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. *richa*, Bihārī *rich*, *rikkh*, Hindī *rich*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rich*, Mar. *ris*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(ni)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(ni)si*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(ni)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣetra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Kāśm. *khūt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, Uṛ. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatrī*, *khetrī*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

kṣ > *j, (j)jh*.

§ 486. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *j, (j)jh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīna*, *khīna*, *chīna*, Pāli *khīna*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khīnō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjāi*, Mar. *jhij*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

kṣ > *s(s)*.

§ 487. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *s(s)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, Bang. *aku*, E. Hindī *ūkh*, W. Hindī *ikh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *ris*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(ni)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(ni)si*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sinh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khaṇa*, *chaṇa* 'feast,' New Ind. dialects *khaṇ*, excepting Hindi *khan*, *chan*, *chin*, Sinh. *sāna*, *san(d)a*, inscriptions *sāndā*.

kṣ > ś(ṣ).

§ 488. The assimilation of *kṣ* to ś(ṣ) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian languages.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* 'king,' Paz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Minj. *xšīr*, Dig. Oss. *axšīr*, Tag. *axsir*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šīyn. *šab*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, Kurd. *šav*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > h(h).

§ 489. The assimilation of *kṣ* to h(h) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaikṣa* 'novice,' Jaina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *paṅkṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīm* 'beside,' *paṅchī* 'bird,' *paṅkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhiṇa*, Uṛ. *dāhinā*, *dāhāna*, Hindi *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

kṣ > s(ṣ).

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to s(ṣ) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Kaf. *zu*, etc. (see § 480).

Aphaeresis of kṣ.

§ 491. The loss of initial *kṣ* is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣāra* 'potash,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, excepting Sindhi *chāru*, Sinh. *alu*, *halu*, Maladive *hulu*.

kṣn > ṇ, n.

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to ṇ, n, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šīyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*.

kʃn > *ʃn*.

§ 493. The assimilation of *kʃn* to *ʃn* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxʃna* 'shining,' Šiṽ. *rōʃnaga*, Sangl. *rōʃnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

kʃn > *hn*.

§ 494. The assimilation of *kʃn* to *hn* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxʃna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhnāi*, *rūnā(h)i*, *rōn*, *rūn*, etc. (see § 492).

gdh > *t(t)*.

§ 495. The assimilation of *gdh* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prak., Pali *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kaśm. *doḍ*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindi *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhi *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxi *dōgnam*, Sarq. *ḍauzam*, Afy. *lvašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dūčīn*.

gdh > *d(d)*.

§ 496. The assimilation of *gdh* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kaśm. *doḍ*, Bang. *dud(u)*, *dudh*, Panj. *dudd*, Gyp. *thud*, etc. (see preceding §).

gdh > *ddh*.

§ 497. The assimilation of *gdh* to *ddh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prak., Pali *duddha*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindi *dūdh*, Sindhi *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prak., Pali *muddha*.

gn > *g(g)*, *γ*.

§ 498. The assimilation of *gn* to *g(g)*, *γ*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is excessively rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, *aggiṇi*, *giṇi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindi *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhi *āgi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, Ur. *naṃgālā*, Bang. *nēṇitā*, Bihārī *naṃg*, Hindi, Panj. *naṃgā*, Sindhi *naṃgō*, Guj. *nāgum*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṃgā*, Gyp. *naṃgō* (cf. also Kāśm. *naṃrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindi *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*.

gn > *n(n)*.

§ 499. The assimilation of *gn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Sarq. *raun*, Kurd. *rūn*, etc. (see preceding §).

Syncope and apocope of gn.

§ 500. The loss of internal or final *gn* occurs with the utmost rarity.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Kāš. *rō*, *ruyan*, etc. (see § 498).

gm > *m(m)*.

§ 501. The assimilation of *gm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yugma* 'pair,' Prāk. *jumma*, *jugga*. Skt. *tigma* 'sharp,' Prāk. *timma*, *tigga*.

b. Iranian. GAv. *āgemaṣ* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāymaṣ*, Old Pers. *hagmatā*, Phl. *maṣanō*, New Pers. *āmudan*.

gy > *g(g)*.

§ 502. The assimilation of *gy* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yōgya* 'suitable,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*,

New Ind. dialects *jōg*. Skt. *lagyati* (Nirukta, iv. 10) 'is attached,' Prāk. *laggaṭ*, Pāli *laggati*, Kāśm. $\sqrt{\text{lāg}}$, Hindī *lag*, Panj. *lagg*, Sindhī *lāg*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*.

gr > g(g).

§ 503. The assimilation of *gr* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *agra* 'front,' Prāk., Pāli *agga*, Ass. *āgē*, Nāip. *aghi*, Uṛ. *āgu*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *āgē*, Panj. *aggū*, Sindhī *aggō*, Gyp. *agor*, *angle*. Skt. *vyagra* 'crooked,' Prāk. *vagga*.

ghr > (g)gh.

§ 504. The assimilation of *ghr* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śīghra* 'swift,' Prāk. *siggha*, Pāli *siḡhu*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *śiggir*, Gyp. *sigō*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

ghr > r(r).

§ 505. The assimilation of *ghr* to *r(r)* is sometimes found.

b. Iranian. Av. *tiyri* 'arrow,' Old Pers. *tiyra*, Phl., New Pers., Bal. *tīr*, N. Bal. *thīr*, Kurd. *tīr(ik)*.

ṛk > ṛg.

§ 506. The softening of *ṛk* to *ṛg* occurs not infrequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *paryarṅka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallanika*, Śāur. Prāk. *palianika*, Pāli *pallanṅka*, *pariyarṅka*, Ass. *pālērṅg*, Nāip. *palaṛṅg*, Uṛ. *palaṛṅk*, Bang. *pālāṛṅg*, *pālāṛṅk*, Bihārī *palaṛṅg*, *pālāṛṅk*, Hindī *palaṛṅg*, Panj. *palaṛṅgh*, Sindhī *palaṛṅgu*, Guj., Mar. *palaṛṅg*, Anglo-Ind. *palaṛṅquin*. Skt. *kaṛṅkaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṛṅkaṇa*, Ass. *kaṛṅgan*, *kāṛṅkan*, Kāśm. *kaṛṅkāin*, *kaṛṅṅum*, Uṛ., Bang. *kāṛṅgan*, E. Hindī *kaṛṅgan*, *kaṛṅkan*, *kāṛṅkan*, Hindī *kaṛṅgan*, *kaṛṅkan*, Panj. *kaṛṅgan*, Sindhī *kaṛṅganu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṛṅgan*.

ɾkt > mt.

§ 507. The assimilation of *ɾkt* to *mt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paṛkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pali *paṁti*, Bihārī *pānti*.

ɾkh > k(h).

§ 508. The assimilation of *ɾkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṛkhala* 'fetter,' Pali *saṁkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikri*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindi *st(m)kar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindi *stkar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhi *saṁgharō*, Guj. *saṁghal*, Mar. *sā(m)khal*, *sikri*.

ɾkh > ɾgh, ɱgh.

§ 509. The softening of *ɾkh* to *ɾgh*, *ɱgh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṛkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṁghar*, Sindhi *saṁgharō*, Guj. *saṁghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

ɾg > g(g).

§ 510. The assimilation of *ɾg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṛgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṁgala*, *ṇaṁgala*, Pali *naṁgala*, Bang. *nāṁgal*, Bihārī *lāṁgal*, Mar. *nāṁgar*, Siṁh. *nagula*, *nāgala*. Skt. *lāṛgūla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṁgūla*, Siṁh. *nagal*, *nakuṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

ɾg > ɾgh.

§ 511. The aspirization of *ɾg* to *ɾgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṛgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṛghal*, Sindhi *jhæṛgu* < **jaṛghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṁgal*, Old Hindi also *jaṁgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

ech > *śc(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *ech* to *śc(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *prcchati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchitta*, Pāli *ucchittha*.

cy > *c(c)*.

§ 513. The assimilation of *cy* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *acyuta* 'firm,' Prāk. *accuda*, Pāli *accutu*. Skt. *cyavatē* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavai*, Pāli *cavati*, Uṛ. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindi *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhi *cuhaṇu*, Mar. *cāvaṇēṇi*. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccat*, Pāli *vuccati*.

cv > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 514. The assimilation of *cv* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *cvant* 'how many?' Phl., New Pers. *cand*, Waxi *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afy. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

jñ > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yajña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jañña*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, Uṛ., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindi *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagya*, *jagya*, Hindi *jāg*, Panj. *jagy*, Sindhi *jaṅu*, Mar. *jāg*.

jñ > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhi, Gujarāṭi, and Marāṭhi, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uṛiya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarāṭi *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhi *jñ* is pronounced *dny*. Sindhi usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *ñāna*, Pāli. Prāk. *ñāna*, Pāli *jāna*, Uṛ., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *g'ānō*), Hindi,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*. Skt. *ājña* 'command,' Prāk. *āṇa*, Pali *aññā*, Hindi *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhi *āgyā*, Guj. *āgnyā*.

jñ > j(j).

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j(j)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *ṇāna*, Pali *jāna*, Sindhi *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jān*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *sarvajja*, *sarvañṇu*, Śaur. Prāk. *sarvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *sarvannu*, Pāś. Prāk. *sarvañña*.

jñ > ñ(ñ).

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāś. Prāk. *sarvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viñṇāna*, Pali *viññāna*.

jñ > n(n).

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viñṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindi *rāñī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāñī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Simh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

jñ > n(n).

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *sarvannu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pali *ñāti*, Simh. *nā*.

jy > j(j).

§ 521. The assimilation of *jy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rājya* 'kingdom,' Pali *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Gab.

jovādmūn, Afy. *ḫōvul*, *ḫōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāy*, Kurd. *jān* (cf. Old Bulg. *ḫivati*, Old High Germ. *kiuwan*).

jy > (j)jh.

§ 522. The assimilation of *jy* to (j)jh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adhijya* 'having the bow-string taut,' Pāli *adejjha*, but Skt. *iyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)yā*.

jy > s(s), ḫ(ḫ).

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to s(s), or ḫ(ḫ), is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afy. *ḫōvul*, *ḫōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jik*, New Pers. *sih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ḫa*, Afy. *ḫai*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *ḫih*.

jv > j(j).

§ 524. The assimilation of *jv* to j(j) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Prāk., Pāli *jālā*, Uṛ. *jvalibā*, Hindi *bālanā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *balaṇā*, Sindhi *jalaṇu*, *bāraṇu*, Guj. *jalavum*, Mar. *jalaṇēm*, Sinh. *dala*.

jv > (j)jh.

§ 525. The assimilation of *jv* to (j)jh is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvalati* 'flames,' Apab. Prāk. *jalaṭ*, Pāli *jalati*, Uṛ. *jhalakanā*, Sindhi *jhalakaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavum*, Mar. *jhalakanēm*.

jv > d(d).

§ 526. The assimilation of *jv* to d(d) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see §§ 524, 182).

jv > b(b).

§ 527. The assimilation of *jv* to b(b) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jvālā* 'flame,' Hindi *bālanā*, Panj. *bālanā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhi *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhi *bar*.

ñc > *ɲg*.

§ 528. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ɲg* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxi *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afy. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

ñc > *c(c)*.

§ 529. The assimilation of *ñc* to *c(c)* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prak. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, Kāsm. *pañcah*, Uṛ. *pacāśa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindi *pacās*, Panj., Sindhi *pañjāh*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*.

ñc > *j(j)*.

§ 530. The assimilation of *ñc* to *j(j)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kumji*, Kāsm. *kuñz*, Uṛ. *kuji*, *kumcī*, *kumjhī*, Bang. *kājī*, *kumji*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kumji*, Guj. *kumcī*, Mar. *kumji*.

ñc > *ñj*.

§ 531. The softening of *ñc* to *ñj* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kumji*, Bang. *kū(m)jī*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi, Mar. *kumji*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāš. *hanc*, Wāxi *pānz*, Šiyn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afy. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *panj*, *penj*.

ñc > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 532. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ñ(ñ)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

ñc > *ɳ(ɳ)*.

§ 533. The assimilation of *ñc* to *ɳ(ɳ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Prak. *pañṇāsa*, Pāli *pañ-ñāsa*, *paññāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > n(n)$.

§ 534. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāśata* 'fifty,' Mar. *pañnās*, Sinh. *panaha*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > s(s)$.

§ 535. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 165).

a. Indian. Skt. *kāncana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcana*, Pāli *kañcana*, Sinh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kāśm. *pañc*, U_r., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *pāñc*, Panj., Sindhi *pām̐j*, Guj., Mar. *pāñc*, Sinh. *pasa*, *paha*, Gyp. *panc*.

$\hat{n}c > h(h)$.

§ 536. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $h(h)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Sinh. *paha*, *pasa*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. § 169).

$\hat{n}j > m̐d$.

§ 537. The assimilation of $\hat{n}j$ to $m̐d$ is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjana*, Pāli *añjana*, Sinh. *am̐duna*.

$\check{d}g > g(g)$.

§ 538. The assimilation of $\check{d}g$ to $g(g)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, U_r. *kham̐dā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindi *kharag*, *khām̐d*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khārūm̐*, Mar. *khām̐d*.

$\check{d}g > \check{d}(\check{d})$.

§ 539. The assimilation of $\check{d}g$ to $\check{d}(\check{d})$ is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' U_r. *kham̐dā*, Hindi *khām̐d*, *kharag*, Guj. *khārūm̐*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\check{d}g > n(n)$.

§ 540. The assimilation of $\check{d}g$ to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Sindhi *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$n\ddot{t} > t(t)$.

§ 541. The assimilation of $n\ddot{t}$ to $t(t)$ is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prak. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāmṭt*, Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Kāśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Uṛ. *kaṇṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Bang. *kaṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Hindi *kāmṭā*, Panj., Sindhi *kamḍā*, Guj. *kāmṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāmṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$n\ddot{t} > d(d)$.

§ 542. The assimilation of $n\ddot{t}$ to $d(d)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāmṛā*, Panj., Sindhi *kamḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n\ddot{t} > nḍ$.

§ 543. The softening of $n\ddot{t}$ to $nḍ$ occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kāśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$n\ddot{t}h' > n\ddot{t}$.

§ 544. The deaspirization of $n\ddot{t}h$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Kāśm. *śoṇṭ*, Uṛ., Bang. *śuṇṭha*, Hindi *sōmṭh*, Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *suṇḍhi*, Guj. *suṇṭh*.

$n\ddot{t}h > nḍh$.

§ 545. The softening of $n\ddot{t}h$ to $nḍh$ is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṇṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṇḍh*, *sōmḍh*, Sindhi *suṇḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nḍ > d(d)$.

§ 546. The assimilation of $nḍ$ to $d(d)$ is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kāśm. *khāḍak*, Uṛ. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *khāmṛ*, Panj. *khāmḍā*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāmḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *deḍḍubha*.

$n\dot{d} > nd$.

§ 547. The decerebralization of $n\dot{d}$ is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass., Nāip. *rāmri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *rām̄r*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhi *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmḍ*.

$n\dot{d} > n(n)$.

§ 548. The assimilation of $n\dot{d}$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhi *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhi *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāṇḍā*.

$n\dot{d}h > d(\dot{d})$.

§ 549. The assimilation of $n\dot{d}h$ to $d(\dot{d})$ is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̄r*, Bang. *ṣām̄r*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sām̄r*, Panj. *sāṇḍh*, Sindhi *sānu*, Multānī *sām̄h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṇḍ*.

$n\dot{d}h > n(n)$.

§ 550. The assimilation of $n\dot{d}h$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhi *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n\dot{d}h > n̄r$.

§ 551. The assimilation of $n\dot{d}h$ to $n̄r$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sām̄r*, etc. (see § 549).

$n\dot{d}h > n̄h$.

§ 552. The assimilation of $n\dot{d}h$ to $n̄h$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sām̄h*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

$ny > n̄j$.

§ 553. The assimilation of ny to $n̄j$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmanya* 'Brahmanical,' Śāur. Prāk. *vamhañja*.

$\eta y > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 554. The assimilation of ηy to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pali *puṇṇā*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhi *puṇi*. Skt. *aranya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pali *araṇṇa*, Hindi *ran*, Sindhi *raṇ*, *rinu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

$\eta y > \eta(n)$.

§ 555. The assimilation of ηy to $\eta(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *punya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pali *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta y > n(n)$.

§ 556. The assimilation of ηy to $n(n)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aranya* 'desert,' Hindi *ran*, Sindhi *rinu*, *raṇ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiranya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khalsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṃna*, Pali *hiraṇṇa*.

$\eta v > \eta(n)$.

§ 557. The assimilation of ηv to $\eta(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇva* nom. prop., Prāk. *kaṇṇa*. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Pali *kiṇṇa*, Sindhi *kinu*.

$\eta v > n(n)$.

§ 558. The assimilation of ηv to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Sindhi *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\# > t(f)$.

§ 559. The cerebralization of tt to $t(f)$ is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding r .

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛtta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vaṭṭa*, Pali *vattā*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pali *mattikā*, Ur., Bang. *māṭṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *miṭṭi*, *maṭṭi*, Sindhi *miṭṭi*, Guj. *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭaṇa*, Pali *pattāna*.

tp > p(p).

§ 560. The assimilation of *tp* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utpadyantē* 'they arise,' Prāk. *uppajjantē*, Pāli *uppajjanti*, cf. Sindhi *upanō*, Guj. *upan(y)ō*.

tm > t(t).

§ 561. The assimilation of *tm* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Pāli *attā*, *ātumā*, Ass. *āpu*, Nāip. *āphu*, Kaśm. *pān*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhi *pān*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*.

tm > pt.

§ 562. The assimilation of *tm* to *pt* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, lit. Prāk. *attā*, *appā*, etc. (see preceding § and cf. Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 277).

tm > p(p).

§ 563. The assimilation of *tm* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ātman* 'self,' Prāk. *appā*, *attā*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *āptā*, Ass. *āpu*, Kaśm. *pān*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhi *pān*, Guj. *āp*, Mar. *āp(an)*, etc. (see § 561).

ty > c(c).

§ 564. The assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ass. *sāmcā*, (pron. *homsā*), Ur. *sacā*, Bang. *sāmcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindī *sāmc*, Hindī *sāmc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhi *sacā*, Guj., Mar. *sācum*, Sinh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhi *hacā*.

ty > *t(ṭ)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t(ṭ)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prak., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *nit(ṭ)*, Sindhī *nitū*, Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prak., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jaina Prak. *accunaya*.

ty > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Sinh. *nisadī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Sinh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

tr > *č(č̣)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č(č̣)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šīyn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

tr > *t(ṭ)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *t(ṭ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prak. *putta*, Śaur. Prak. *puḍ(d)a*, Pāli *putta*, Uṛ. *pua*, Hindi *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *puṭī*, Sinh. *piṭ*, *put*.

tr > *ṭr*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭr* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prak. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīni*, Kāsm. *trih*, Uṛ. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tīni*, Hindi *tīn*, Panj. *tīmn*, Sindhī *ṭrē*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prak., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *sutṭu*, Sinh. *suta*.

tr > (f)ʃh.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (f)ʃh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindi, Hindi *pahilam̐hā*, Panj. *pahilōthā*, Sindhi *pahrōthō*, *pahrātū*.

tr > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to ḍ(ḍ) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śaur. Prak. *puḍ(ḍ)a*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > t(t).

§ 572. The assimilation of *tr* to t(t) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prak. *ratti*, *rāt*, Pāli *ratti*, Kāśm., U_r., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhi *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sirh. *rāya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (a)*raci*. Skt. *ksētra* 'field,' Prak. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, U_r., Bang. *khēta*, Hindi *khēt*, *khēḍā*, Panj. *khēt*, Sindhi *khētū*, Guj. *khēḍ*, Mar. *śēt*, Sirh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pāli *tmaṇḍala*, Old Sirh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Sirh. *tunmadulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prak., Pāli *putta*, Hindi *put*, Mar. *putī*, Sirh. *pit*, *put*, etc. (see § 568).

tr > dr.

§ 573. The assimilation of *tr* to dr is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Waxī *trui*, Šīyn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yāyn. *θarāi*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

tr > phr, fr.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to phr, fr, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θraētaona* nom. prop., Phl. *frētūn*, Pāz. *frēdūn*, New Pers. *farēdūn*.

tr > r(r).

§ 575. The assimilation of *tr* to r(r) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' New Pers. *pūr*, *pus(ar)*, Gab.

pūr, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *ciθrē*, New Pers. *cihr*, Afy. *čēr*, Kurd. *cāra*.

tr > *l(l)*.

§ 576. The assimilation of *tr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Yāyn. *pulah*, etc. (see § 567). Old Pers. *Μιθραδάρης*, *Μιθριδάρης*, nom. prop., Phl. *miθrdāt*, New Pers. *mīlād*.

tr > *s(s)*.

§ 577. The assimilation of *tr* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Kurd. *pisir*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *θri* 'three,' Pāz. *se*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Kurd. *sē*, etc. (see § 573). Av. *pāθra* 'protection,' Phl., New Pers. *pās*.

tr > *š(š)*.

§ 578. The assimilation of *tr* to *š(š)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θri* 'three,' Minj. *šarai*, etc. (see § 573).

tr > *hr*.

§ 579. The assimilation of *tr* to *hr* is common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Phl. *puhr*, *pus(ar)*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' New Pers. *cihr*, etc. (see § 575). Av. *θri* 'three,' Sarq. *haroi*, etc. (see § 573).

Syncope of tr.

§ 580. The loss of the consonant-group *tr* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *rātri* 'night,' Prak. *rāv*, *ratti*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prak. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhi *miō*.

tv > t(t).

§ 581. The assimilation of *tv* to *t(t)* is the regular one undergone by this consonant-group in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tvarita* 'quick,' Prak. *turia*, Pali *turita*, Hindi, Panj. *turamt*, Sindhi *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turūt*. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Prak. *cattāra*, *caūra*, Pali *catu*, Kaśm. *čōr*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindi, Panj. *cār*, Sindhi *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, New Sinh. *hātara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* < **tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

tv > d(d).

§ 582. The assimilation of *tv* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tūm* 'thou,' Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > p(p).

§ 583. The assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, especially in the case of the Old Indian suffix *-tva*, which generally becomes *-pan*, *-paṇu*, *-puṇā*, etc., in the New Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects an assimilation of *tv* to *p(p)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛddhatva* 'old age,' Bang. *budhāpaṇā*, *budhāpā*, Hindi *budhāpan*, Panj. *budhāpā*, Sindhi *budhāpaṇu*, Guj. *budhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxi *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiyn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *cir*, Yaın. *tfo*, Afy. *calor*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*.

tv > ph, f.

§ 584. The assimilation of *tv* to *ph, f*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *catwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yaın. *tfo*, Dig. Oss. *čuppar*, *čuphphar*, Tag. *cippar*, *ciphphar*, etc. (see preceding §).

tv > b(b).

§ 585. The assimilation of *tv* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Wāxī *čabur*, *čabur*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > l(l).

§ 586. The assimilation of *tv* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Afy. *calor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > v(v).

§ 587. The assimilation of *tv* to *v(v)* is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvārah* 'four,' Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, etc. (see § 581).

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Šīyn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, etc. (see § 583).

tv > sp.

§ 588. The assimilation of *tv* to *sp* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *θwāša* 'firmament,' Phl. *spāsar*.

tv > h(h).

§ 589. The assimilation of *tv* to *h(h)* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, etc. (see § 583). Av. *frapīšwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh*, *farpīh*, New Pers. *farbīh*.

Syncope of tv.

§ 590. The loss of the consonant-group *tv* internally is a very rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Yidg. *cīr*, etc. (see § 583).

ts > c(c).

§ 591. The assimilation of *ts* to *c(c)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bibhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bibhacca*. Skt.

vatsa 'calf,' Prāk., Pali *vaccha*, Ass. *bācru* (pron. *bāsvu*), Kāśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindi *bāchā*, W. Hindi *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhi *bacō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

ts > (c)h.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)h is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pali *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pali *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindi *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ts > ś(ṣ).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to ś(ṣ) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxi *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, etc. (see § 591).

ts > s(s).

§ 594. The assimilation of *ts* to s(s) is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *utsuka* 'anxious,' Prāk. *ussua*, Māhār. Prāk. *ussuya*, Jaina Prāk. *ussuka*. Skt. *vyutsarga* 'eructation,' Prāk. *viussagga*. Skt. *utsada* 'desire,' Pali *ussada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Dig. Oss. *vass*, etc. (see § 591).

tsy > (c)c.

§ 595. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)c is found frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pali *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Ur., Bang., Hindi *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhi *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

tsy > (c)h.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)h is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pali *maccha*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhi *machu*, etc. (see preceding §).

tsy > *s(s)*.

§ 597. The assimilation of *tsy* to *s(s)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Bang. vulgar pron. *māsō*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, etc. (see § 595).

thy > *(c)ch*.

§ 598. The assimilation of *thy* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pathya* 'welfare,' Prāk. *paccha*. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Prāk. *micchā*, Avant. Prāk. *mitthā*, Pali *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Uṛ. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindi *michā*, Sindhi *maṭhyani*, Sinh. *misa*.

thy > *s(s)*.

§ 599. The assimilation of *thy* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mithyā* 'false,' Sinh. *misa*, etc. (see preceding §).

dg > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *dg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is extremely rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mudga* 'kidney-bean,' Prāk., Pali *mugga*, Uṛ. *mūga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindi, Hindi *mūng*, Panj. *mugg*, Multāni *mūng*, Sindhi *muṅu*, Mar. *mūg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pali *muggara*, Uṛ. *mōgara*, Hindi *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhi *muṅirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māy*.

dgh > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggat*, *ugghāḍat*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, U_r. *uganā*, Sindhī *uḡaṇu*, Guj. *ugavun*, Mar. *ugavinēṃ*.

dgh > (g)gh.

§ 602. The assimilation of *dgh* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍat*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

ddh > (f)h.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to *(f)h* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindi *sudh*, Sindhī *suḥhō*.

ddh > (d)dh.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*.

a. Indian. Skt. *śradhdhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saḍḍhā*, *saddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vuḍḍhi*, Pāli *vuddhi*, *vuddhi*.

dm > m(m).

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m(m)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < **nišīdman*.

dm > nm.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinaḍmi* 'I split,' Gāthā *bhinanmi*.

dy > j(j).

§ 607. The assimilation of *dy* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *vijju*, U_r. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindi, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhī *vijun*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bījalī*, *vij*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kaśm.

aj, as, Uṛ., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindi *āju*, E. Hindi, Hindi *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhi *ajū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Sinh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prak. *jui*, Pali *juti*.

dy > d(d).

§ 608. The assimilation of *dy* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Sinh. *ada*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vaidya* 'physician,' Prak., Pali *vejja*, Sinh. *veda*.

dr > j(j).

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prak., Pali *niddā*, Hindi, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhi *nimḍ*, Mar. *nj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

dr > d(d).

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣudra* 'small,' Prak. *khudḍa*, Pali *khudda*, Uṛ. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pali *daddu*, Hindi *dād*, Sindhi *ḍarhu*, *ḍaḍhu*, Guj. *dadar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

dr > (d)ḍh.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(d)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhi *ḍarhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

dr > d(d).

§ 612. The assimilation of *dr* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prak., Pali *niddā*, Hindi, Panj. *nīnd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prak., Pali *muddā*. Skt. *drākṣa* 'grape,' Kaśm. *dach*, Hindi, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhi *ḍakh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

dr > l(l).

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l(l)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prak. *bhadda*, Pali *bhadra*,

bhadda, Ass. *bhāl*, U_r. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindī, Panj. *bhālā*, Sindhī, Guj. *bhālō*, Mar. *bhālā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Māhar. Prāk., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *ched*, Sinh. *hila*.

dr > *sr*.

§ 614. The assimilation of *dr* to *sr* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšudra* 'seed,' Phl. *susar*, Gab. *šosr*.

dr > *hr*.

§ 615. The assimilation of *dr* to *hr* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baḥra* 'portion,' Phl., New Pers. *bahr*.

dv > *d(d)*.

§ 616. The assimilation of *dv* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śādvala* 'grassy,' Pāli *saddala*. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *dēra*, *duāra*, *dāra*, *bāra*, Pāli *dvāra*, U_r. *daru*, Sindhī *dāru*, *dāri*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Sinh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pāli *dvi*, Kāśm. *zah*, U_r., Bang. *dui*, Hindī, Panj. *dō*, Sindhī *ba*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *diva*, Pāli *dīpa*, Sinh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dar*, Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *bari*, Wāxi *bār*, Šiyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divīr*, Minj. *labra*, Afy. *var*, Kurd. *bar*, Oss. *dvar*.

dv > *b(b)*.

§ 617. The assimilation of *dv* to *b(b)* is frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvāra* 'door,' Prāk. *bāra*, *dāra*, *duāra*, *dēra*, Guj. *bār*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *dvādaśan* 'twelve,' Prāk. *bāraha*, Pāli *bārasa*, *dvādasa*, Kāśm. *bāh*, U_r. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, Panj. *bārāni*, Sindhī *bārahani*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kaš. *bar*, Samn. *bari*, Wāxi *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ḫbaēšah*, Phl. *bēš*.

dv > v(v).

§ 618. The assimilation of *dv* to *v(v)* is comparatively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udvēṣṭati* 'surrounds,' Prāk. *uvvellat*. [See now Fischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afy. *var*, etc. (see § 616).

dhy > (j)jh.

§ 619. The assimilation of *dhy* to *(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pali *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *mās*), Kaśm. *maṁs*, Ur. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burhvāni *maddē*, Bihāri *madhi*, Old Hindi *maddhe*, Hindi *mājhi*, *mānjh*, *māmh*, *mānjhōlā*, Panj. *māmjl*, *majjl*, Sindhi *maṁjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Siṁh. *mūda*, inscriptions *mānda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pali *upajjhāya*, Bihāri *pādḥā*, Hindi *ojhā*, Sindhi *vājḥō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhat*, Pali *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōsi*), Ur. *bujhibā*, Bang. *būjhan*, Hindi *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhi *ḷujhanu*, Guj. *bujavum*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pali *jhāna*, Hindi *samajjhānā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Phl., New Pers. *jān*.

dhy > d(d).

§ 620. The assimilation of *dhy* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Burhvāni *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Siṁh. *mā(m)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pali *viḷjhati*, Siṁh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Wāxi *malung*, Šīyn. *madāna*, Sarq. *mēd*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mīā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*.

dhy > (d)dh.

§ 621. The assimilation of *dhy* to (d)dh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindi *maddhē*, etc. (see § 619).

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Šīyn. *madāna*, Sarq. *mēd*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhy > y(y).

§ 622. The assimilation of *dhy* to y(y) is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > l(l).

§ 623. The assimilation of *dhy* to l(l) is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidya* 'middle,' Wāxi *malung*, Afy. *mīā*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > s(s).

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to s(s) occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *mās* (written *māj*), Kāsm. *maṃz*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kāsm. *būzi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

dhy > h(h).

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to h(h) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindi *mānh*, *mānjh(ōlā)*, *mānjh*, *mājhi*, etc. (see § 619).

dhr > (j)jh.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to (j)jh is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grāhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *gidḍha*, Pāli *gijjha*, *gaddha*, *gidḍha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindi *gīdh*, *gidḍh*, Panj. *gidḍh*, Sindhi *gījhu*, Guj. *gīd(h)*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gidhaḥ*.

āhr > *ā(d)*.

§ 627. The assimilation of *āhr* to *ā(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛāhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd*, *gīdh*, *gīdhāḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

āhr > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 628. The assimilation of *āhr* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jaina Prak. *dhruva*. Skt. *gṛāhra* 'vulture,' Prak. *gīddha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *giddha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gīdh*, Hindi *gīdh*, *gīddh*, Panj. *gīddh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīdhāḍ*, *gīd*, etc. (see § 626).

dhw > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhw* to (*j*)*jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prak. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindi, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajāḍ*, Sinh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvālu* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

dhw > *d(d)*.

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhw* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Sinh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhw > (*d*)*dh*.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhw* to (*d*)*dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prak. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindi, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajāḍ*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prak., Pāli *addhā*.

nt > *t(t)*.

§ 632. The assimilation of *nt* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *-ant* term. of pres. part. act., Prak. *-anta*, Apab. Prak. *-antu*, Śaur. Prak. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōntē*, Nāip. *-ada*, Kāśm. *-ān*, Ur. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindi *-at*, Old Hindi *-ant*,

Hindi -*atā*, Panj. -*a(n)dā*, Sindhi -*andō*, Multāni -*andā*, -*endā*,
Guj. -*atō*, Mar. -*atā*, -*at*, -*it*.

nt > (*t*)*th*.

§ 633. The assimilation of *nt* to (*t*)*th* is not of frequent occurrence.

a. Indian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *barəsant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Oss. *barzantlitha* (plural), Tag. *barzatlitha*.

nt > *d(d)*.

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Nāip. -*ādā*, Panj. -*adā*, -*andā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Kurd. *didān*, etc. (see preceding §).

nt > *nd*.

§ 635. The softening of *nt* to *nd* is very common both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Śaur. Prak. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhi -*andō*, Multāni -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dūndūk*, Šīyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *ḵvant* 'living,' Phl. *šivandak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afy. *ḵvand*.

nt > *n(n)*.

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kāsm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afy. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

ntr > *n̄tr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *n̄tr* is confined to the Sindhi (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṅṭru*, *maṅḍru*.

ntr > *n̄ḍr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *n̄ḍr* also is confined to the Sindhi.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhi *maṅḍru*, *maṅṭru*.

ntr > *r(r)*.

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*.

ntr > *l(l)*.

§ 640. The assimilation of *ntr* to *l(l)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(t)*.

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prak., Pali *gaṅṭhi*, Sindhi *gaṁḍhi*, *ghuṁḍi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, Sinh. *gāṭaya*.

nth > *m̄ṭh*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prak., Pali *gaṅṭhi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pali *gantha*, Uṛ. *gaṅṭha*, Bang. *gāṁt*, *gāṁṭh*, Hindi *gāṁṭh*, Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṅḍh*, Sindhi *gaṁḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṁṭh*, Sinh. *gata*.

nth > *m̄ḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *m̄ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṅḍh*, Sindhi *gaṁḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(t)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Sinh. *gata*, etc. (see § 642).

nth > *d(d)*.

§ 645. The assimilation of *nth* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Yidg. *pāduh*, Dig. Oss. *fand*.

nth > *nd*.

§ 646. The assimilation of *nth* to *nd* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pantan* 'way,' Phl., New Pers. *pand*, Šiyn. *pund*, Sarq. *pānd*, Sangl. *pandah*, Dig. Oss. *fand*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ndh*.

§ 647. The softening of *nth* to *ndh* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pantha* 'way,' Prak. *pañtha*, Pali *pantha*, Kaśm. *pāimth*, *pāmth*, *pānth*, Sinh. *pandhu*.

ndr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prak. *canda*, *caṃda*, Pali *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṃd*, also Kaśm. *čandar*, E. Hindī *cīn*, Hindī, Panj. *caṃd*, Sindhī *caṃḍu*, *caṃḍru*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, Gyp. *con*.

ndr > *nd*.

§ 649. The assimilation of *ndr* to *nd* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prak. *canda*, *caṃda*, Pali *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṃd*, also Hindī, Panj. *caṃd*, Sinh. *sanda*, *handa*, Maladive *ha(n)du*, etc. (see preceding §).

ndr > *n(n)*.

§ 650. The assimilation of *ndr* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' E. Hindi *cān*, Gyp. *con*, etc. (see § 648).

ndh > *t(t)*.

§ 651. The assimilation of *ndh* to *t(t)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Phl. *baṣṭanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gil. *davaddam*, Waxī *vandam*, Šīyn., Sarq. *vindam*, Bal. *bandag*, Kurd. *bandim*, Dig. Oss. *battim*, Tag. *baththin*.

ndh > *(t)th*.

§ 652. The assimilation of *ndh* to *(t)th* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Tag. Oss. *baththin*, etc. (see preceding §).

ndh > *d(d)*.

§ 653. The assimilation of *ndh* to *d(d)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Gil. *davaddam*, etc. (see § 651).

ndh > *nd*.

§ 654. The deaspirization of *ndh* is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prak., Pali *khandha*, Ass. *kānd*, *kāndh*, Ur., Bang. *kāndh*, Bihārī *kāndhā*, *kāndā*, Hindi *kāndhā*, Panj. *kāndhā*, *kānh*, Sindhi *kandhu*, Guj. *kāndō*, Mar. *kāndā*, Simh. *kanda*.

ndh > *n(n)*.

§ 655. The assimilation of *ndh* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bandāmi* 'I bind,' Māz. *van(n)am*, etc. (see § 651).

ndh > *(n)nh*.

§ 656. The assimilation of *ndh* to *(n)nh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhi* 'friendship, burglar's mine,' Prak., Pali *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kāsm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *siṁdh*, E. Hindi *sēnhi*, *sēndh*, Hindi *sēndh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhi *sēndhi*, Multānī

sandh. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pāli *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindi *amdhērā*, *amdlāyārā*, Panj. *annhērā*.

ndhy > *nj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *nj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *samjāhā*, Pāli *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāmjh*, Bang. *sāmj*, *sāmjh*, Bihārī, Hindi *sāmjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhi *sāmjhī*, *sañjhā*, Guj. *sāmj*, Mar. *sāmj*, *sāmjh*.

nāhy > *n(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *nāhy* to *n(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *samjāhā*, Pāli *sañjhā*, Uṛ. *sāmjh*, Bang. *sāmjh*, *sāmj*, Bihārī, Hindi *sāmjh*, Panj. *sañjh*, Sindhi *samjāhā*, *sāmjhī*, Mar. *sāmjh*, *sāmj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pāli *vañjha*, Ass. *bāmji*, Uṛ. *bāmjha*, Bang. *bāmjhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāmjh*, Panj. *bañjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāmjh*.

nm > *mm*.

§ 659. The assimilation of *nm* to *mm* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *janman* 'birth,' Prāk., Pāli *jamma*. Skt. *unmārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *um-magga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *sīmury*.

ny > *ñj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāli. Prāk. *kañjā*, *kaññakā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhi *kañā*.

ny > *ñ(ñ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ñ(ñ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Mag. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pāli *kañña*, Sindhi *kañā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pāli *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, Sinh. *amk(ak)*, *amkek*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śanya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suñña*, *sunna*, Pāli *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāsm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunū(ā)*, Sindhi *suñā*, Guj. *sun*, *sunn*, Mar. *sunā*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 663. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *manyāmi* 'I think,' Jaina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śanya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāsm. *chōnōi*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunū(ā)*, Guj. *sun*, *sunn*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindi *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *naxō*. Av. *anya* 'other,' Old Pers. *aniya*, Pāz. *han*, Oss. *inna*.

nv > *n(n)*.

§ 664. The assimilation of *nv* to *n(n)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvṛṣaṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annvṛṣaṇa*.

pt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaśaṣṭhi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasatṭhi*, Kāsm. *satahāiṭh*, Ur. *satsaṭhi*, Bang. *satsatṭhi*, Bihārī *sarasatṭh*, *sarasatṭhi*, *satasatṭhi*, Hindi *sarsatṭh*, *satsatṭh*, Panj. *satahaṭ*, Sindhi *sathaṭhi*, Guj. *sadsetṭh*, Mar. *satsasṭ*.

pt > *t(t)*.

§ 666. The assimilation of *pt* to *t(t)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptan* 'seven,' Prak., Pali *satta*, Kasm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhi *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Sinh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prak., Pali *sutta*, Sindhi *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av. $\sqrt{x^o}ap$ 'to sleep,' Phl. *x^oaftanō*, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmūn*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xūt*, Vön. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xūt*, Waxi *rūxpam*, Šiyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsaγ*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*. Phl. *kaftanō* 'to fall,' Gab. *kaftmūn*, Kāš. *darkatan*, *darkaftan*, Māz. *dakatan*, Gil. *bakaftan*, Bal. *kapag*, Kurd. *katin*.

pt > *d(d)*.

§ 667. The assimilation of *pt* to *d(d)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' New Pers. *xuftah*, Afy. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afy. *tōd*, S. Oss. *thafth*.

pt > *(d)dh*.

§ 668. The assimilation of *pt* to *(d)dh* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Waxi *hūb*, (*h*)ub, Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uō*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yayn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

pt > *pht*, *ft*.

§ 669. The spirantization of *pt* to *ft* occurs not infrequently in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Sangl. *hoft*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, *avd*, etc. (see preceding §).

pt > *phth*, *ftth*.

§ 670. The double spirantization of *pt* to *phth*, *ftth*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' S. Oss. *thafth*, etc. (see § 667).

pt > b(b).

§ 671. The assimilation of *pt* to *b(b)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' WaxI *hūb*, (*h*)*ub*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > r(r).

§ 672. The assimilation of *pt* to *r(r)* is excessively rare (cf. § 230).

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasāṭhi*, *sarasaṭh*, *satasāṭhi*, Hindi *sarsaṭh*, *satsaṭh*, etc. (see § 665).

pt > v(v).

§ 673. The assimilation of *pt* to *v(v)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yaγn. *av*, Afy. *ōva*, *ava*, etc. (see § 668).

pt > vd.

§ 674. The softening of the consonant-group *pt* to *vd* is not very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Šiγn. *vud*, Sarq. *ūd*, Yidg. *avduh*, Oss. *avd*, etc. (see § 668).

pn > pp.

§ 675. The assimilation of *pn* to *pp* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śrapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prak. *pāṇai*, *pācai*, Pāli *pappōti*, *pāpunāti*, Uṛ. *pā*, Bang. *pāḍ*, Old Hindi *pāu*, Hindi *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāu*, Sindhi *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Sinh. *pāmiṇenavā*.

pn > f(f).

§ 676. The assimilation of *pn* to *f(f)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *tafnu* 'heat,' New Pers. *taf*.

pn > m(m).

§ 677. The assimilation of *pn* to *m(m)* is very rare (cf. § 291).

a. Indian. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Sinh. *pāmiṇenavā*, etc. (see § 675).

pn̄y > *m(m)*.

- § 678. The assimilation of *pn̄y* to *m(m)* is exceedingly rare.
 b. Iranian. Av. *xšafn̄ya* 'supper,' Phl. New Pers. *šam*.

py > *p(p)*.

- § 679. The assimilation of *py* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kupyati* 'is angry,' Prāk. *kuppai*, Pāli *kup-pati*, Bihārī *kōpāi*. Skt. *tapyatē* 'is warmed,' Pāli *tappati*.

pr > *p(p)*.

- § 680. The assimilation of *pr* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paḍi*, Pāli *pati*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḍ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Uṛ. *paṭhāṭā*, Bang. *pāṭhan*, Hindi *pāṭhānā*, Sindhi *paṭhanu*, Guj. *pāṭhavunī*, Mar. *pāṭaviṇm̄*.

pr > *r(r)*.

- § 681. The assimilation of *pr* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *fra* 'forward,' Phl. *fra*, *far*, New Pers. *far*, *fir*, Pāmīr dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *bacrōš* 'sell!' Vōn. *baruš*, Kuhr. *bazrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šaraškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *fraš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frāz*, *fraš*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *rasai*.

pr > *hl*.

- § 682. The assimilation of *pr* to *hl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafar*, New Pers. *šarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afy. *šavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *šōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

ps̄ > s̄(s̄).

§ 683. The assimilation of *ps̄* to *s̄(s̄)* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *fšarəma* 'shame,' Phl. New Pers. *šarm*, Dig. Oss. *afsarmi*, Tag. *afsarm*. Av. **fšu-pāna* 'shepherd,' Phl. *š(u)pān*, New Pers. *šubān*, Waxī *spūn*, *šūpūn*, Bal. *sipānk*, N. Bal. *šavānkh*, *šafānkh*.

ps > (c)ch.

§ 684. The assimilation of *ps* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *apsarā* 'nymph,' Prak., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindi *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prak. *du(g)ucchaī*, *du(g)umchaī*, Pāli *jigucchati*.

ps > bs.

§ 685. The softening of *ps* to *bs* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *grabz*, *gvamz*.

ps > ms.

§ 686. The assimilation of *ps* to *ms* is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsā* 'wasp,' Bal. *gvamz*, *grabz*, etc. (see preceding §).

ps > vs.

§ 687. The assimilation of *ps* to *vs* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *afsār* 'headstall,' New Pers. *afsār*, Šiyn., Sarq. *avsār*.

ps > s(s).

§ 688. The assimilation of *ps* to *s(s)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^oafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *x^oafsitānō*, New Pers. *xuspidān*, Šiyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsaγ*, Dig. Oss. *xussun*, Tag. *xussin*.

pstr > str.

§ 689. The assimilation of *pstr* to *str* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *xrafstra* 'noxious beast,' Phl. *xrafstr*, New Pers. (Pārsi) *xarāstar*, archaic *xrafstar*.

fs > ps.

- § 690. The hardening of Iranian *fs* to *ps* occurs very seldom.
 b. Iranian. Av. *xʷafsata* 'sleep ye!' Bal. *vapsag*, etc. (see § 688).

bj > j(j).

- § 691. The assimilation of *bj* to *j(j)* is found but rarely.
 a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Prak., Pali *khujja*, Kāsm. *kobb*, Uṛ. *kūja*, Bang. *ku(m)ja*, *kubja*, Hindi *kubja*, *kubbā*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubba*, *kūba*, Sindhi *kuḃō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍa*.

bj > bḍ.

- § 692. The assimilation of *bj* to *bḍ* is very rare (cf. § 182).
 a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindi *kubrā* (rare), *kubbā*, *kubjā*, etc. (see preceding §).

bj > b(b).

- § 693. The assimilation of *bj* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.
 a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Kāsm. *kobb*, Hindi *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūba*, Sindhi *kuḃō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*, etc. (see § 691).

bd > d(d).

- § 694. The assimilation of *bd* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.
 a. Indian. Skt. *śabda* 'word,' Prak., Pali *sadda*, Old Hindi *sād*.

bḍh > (d)dh.

- § 695. The assimilation of *bḍh* to *(d)dh* is very rare.
 a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prak., Pali *laddha*, Sindhi *ladhō*.

br > b(b).

- § 696. The assimilation of *br* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bambhāṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhāṇa*, Pali *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhi *bāmbhāṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

bhy > (b)bh.

§ 697. The assimilation of *bhy* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *abhyan̄tara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pali *abbhantara*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindi *bhitār*, Guj. *bhitār*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhat*, Pali *labbhati*, Old Hindi *labbh*, Sindhi *labh*.

bhr > b(b).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to b(b) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindi, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāum̄r*, Sindhi *bhāum̄ru*, Mar. *bhōm̄r*, Sinh. *bambarā*.

bhr > (b)bh.

§ 699. The assimilation of *bhr* to (b)bh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhrātar* 'brother,' Prāk. *bhāā*, Pali *bhatā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāt*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhi *bhāū*, Mar. *bhāū*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pali *bhamara*, Uṛ. *bhamara*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindi, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāum̄r*, Sindhi *bhāum̄ru*, Mar. *bhōm̄r*, etc. (see preceding §).

bhr > vr.

§ 700. The assimilation of *bhr* to vr is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *bhāt(ar)*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barō*, *barāi*, Gil. *brār*, Waxi *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yāyn. *virāt*, Afy. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāš*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*, Gab., Kāš. *avr*, Judaeo-Pers. *abr*, Afy. *varyaš*, Bal. *havr*, Kurd. (*h*)*avr*, *hasr*. Oss. *arv*.

mn > mm.

§ 701. The assimilation of *mn* to *mm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *kamna* 'small,' Phl., New Pers. *kam*.

mp > p(p).

§ 702. The assimilation of *mp* to *p(p)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *parampara* 'reciprocal,' Pāli *parampara*, Sinh. *parapura*. Skt. *campaka* 'sort of tree,' Apab. Prāk. *campayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Sinh. *sayu*.

mp > mb.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampat*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaniṣ*, Kāsm. *kam(p)*, Uṛ. *kamṣ*, Bang. *kāṃṣ*, Hindi *kāṃṣ*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhi *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kaniṣ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ḥampāfrāiti* (intens.) 'fills,' Phl., New Pers. *ambāštan* (written *anbāštan*).

mb > b(b).

§ 704. The assimilation of *mb* to *b(b)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Prāk., Pāli *kambala*, Uṛ. *kamaḷa*, Bang. *kambal*, *kamli*, E. Hindi *kanmar*, Hindi *kamāl*, *kāmbal*, Panj. *kamāl*, *kāmbal*, Sindhi *kamari*, Guj. *kābalō*, *kāmaḷ*, *kamālī*, Mar. *kāmbalā*.

mb > m(m).

§ 705. The assimilation of *mb* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *jambuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhi *jāmūn*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' Uṛ. *kamala*, E. Hindi *kammār*, Hindi *kammāl*, *kambāl*, Panj. *kammāl*, *kambāl*, Sindhi *kumari*, Guj. *kamāl*, *kamaḷi*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prak. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindi *lim*, *nīm*, Sindhi *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambās* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīs*.

mbh > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prak. *kumbhāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumāmlyē*, Uṛ. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kumār*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhi *kumhāru*, Guj., Mar. *kumbhār*.

mbh > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kuhmāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

mbh > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Uṛ. *kuhmāra*, *kumhāra*, etc. (see § 706).

mr > *mbr* > *mb*.

§ 709. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *mb* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prak. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, Uṛ. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhi *ṣāmō*, Guj. *tāmbunī*, Mar. *tāmbēn*, Sinh. *tāmbāra*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prak., Pāli

amba, U_r., Bang., Hindi *ām*, *āmb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhi *ambu*, Larī *āmō*, *āmā*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Sinh. *amba*.

mr > *mbr* > *m(m)*.

§ 710. Insertion of *b* in the group *mr* and subsequent assimilation to *m(m)* is found in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, U_r. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhi *ḥāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' U_r., Bang. *ām*, *āmb*, Larī *āmō*, *āmā*, etc. (see preceding §).

mv > *m(m)*.

§ 711. The assimilation of *mv* to *m(m)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamvārah* 'ever' beside *hamārah*.

m̄h > *m̄gh*.

§ 712. The assimilation of *m̄h* to *m̄gh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prak. *siha*, Māhar. Prak. *siṅgha*, *siha*, Pāli *siha*, Gāthā *simha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindi *sīṅgh*, *siṅgh*, *siṁh*, Panj. *siṅgh*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh* (pron. and often written *siṅgh*).

rk > *k(k)*.

§ 713. The assimilation of *rk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arka* 'sun,' Prak., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāmkar*, Bang. *kāmkar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, U_r., Bang. *kāmkarā*, E. Hindi *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindi *kāmkarā*, Sindhi *kāmkarō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' U_r., Bang. *kā(m)kuḍī*, Hindi, Panj. *ka(k)kaḍī*, Sindhi *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sakhar*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *sirkah* 'vinegar' beside *sikah*.

rk > (k)kh.

§ 714. The assimilation of *rk* to (k)kh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkhara*, *sakkara*, Mar. *sākhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

rk > t(t).

§ 715. The change of *rk* to t(t) is extremely rare (cf. § 119 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura* 'dog' besides *kukkura*, Pāli *kukkura*, Bang. *kuttā*, *kukkur*, Bihārī *kutta*, *kuk(k)ar*, Hindī *kuttā*, *kukkā*, Sindhī *kuṭō*, Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*.

rk > tr.

§ 716. The change of *rk* to tr is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kurkura*, *kukkura* 'dog,' Guj. *kuṭrō*, Mar. *kuṭrā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rg > g(g).

§ 717. The assimilation of *rg* to g(g) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varga* 'row,' Prak., Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prak. *maggat*, Pāli *maggati*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kāsm. *māng*, Ur. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māng*, Panj. *māng*, Sindhī *mañ*, Guj., Mar. *māg*, Gyp. *mang*.

rgr > (g)gh.

§ 718. The assimilation of *rgr* to (g)gh is found but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgrantha* 'ascetic,' Prak. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighamta*.

rgḥ > g(g).

§ 719. The assimilation of *rgḥ* to g(g) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgḥa* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṅgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṅgā*, Panj. *mahiṅgā*, Sindhī *mahaṅgō*, Guj. *mōmghum*, Mar. *mahāg*, Maladive *agu*.

rg̃h > (*g̃gh*).

§ 720. The assimilation of *rg̃h* to (*g̃gh*) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirgh̃ṛṇa* 'pitiless,' Prak. *niggh̃ina*. Skt. *arg̃ha* 'sacrifice,' Pali *ag̃gha*. Skt. *ḍirgha* 'long,' Prak. *dig̃gha*, *ḍiḥa*, Pali *ḍiḥa*, Sindhi *ḍirigh̃ō*.

rg̃h > *h(h)*.

§ 721. The assimilation of *rg̃h* to *h(h)* is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *ḍirgha* 'long,' Prak. *ḍiḥa*, *dig̃gha*, etc. (see preceding §).

rj > *j(j)*.

§ 722. The assimilation of *rj* to *j(j)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garjita* 'must-elephant,' Prak. *gaj̃jida*, Pali *gaj̃jita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pali *gaj̃jana*, Hindi *gājanā*, Panj. *gaj̃janā*, Sindhi *gaj̃janu*, Guj. *gājavun̄*, Mar. *gājan̄em̄*.

rj > *rz*.

§ 723. The change of *rj* to *rz* is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arsān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ašā*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afγ. *yarz*.

rj > *š(š)*.

§ 724. The assimilation of *rj* to *š(š)* is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arajah* 'value,' Kāš. *ašā*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, etc. (see preceding §).

rjh > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 725. The assimilation of *rjh* to (*j*)*jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirjhara* 'cascade,' Prak., Pali *nij̃jhara*.

rṇ > *ṇ(ṇ)*.

§ 726. The assimilation of *rṇ* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pali *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindi, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhi *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaiṅ*, *sōṇēṅ*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

rṇ > n(n).

§ 727. The assimilation of *rṇ* to *n(n)* is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *karṇa* 'ear,' Pali *kaṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindi *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhi *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmraparṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khāsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(m)ni*, Pali *tambapaṇṇī* (Gr. Ταμποβάμ). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kaśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindi, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhi *sō(m)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunaiṅ*, *sōṇēṅ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pali *uṇṇa*, Hindi *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhi, Guj. *un*.

rṇ > r(r).

§ 728. The assimilation of *rṇ* to *r(r)* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'powder,' Prāk., Pali *cunṇa*, Kaśm. *čūn*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindi *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhi *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindi, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pali *punṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhi *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

rt > rth.

§ 729. The aspirization of *rt* to *rth* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṯ*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxi *sūr(ṯ)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

rt > r(ṯ).

§ 730. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(ṯ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakti* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *naṯṯai*, Pali

naṭṭakā, New Ind. dialects *naṭi*. Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Pali *vaṭṭakā*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *vaṭēr*, Sindhi *baṭērō*, Sinh. *vaṭuvā*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prak. *gaḍḍa*, Uṛ. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindi *gaḍ*, *gaḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhi *gāranu*, Guj. *gāravum*, Mar. *gāranēm*.

rt > t(t).

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prak., Pali *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pali *āvattā*, *āvattā*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prak. *vattiā*, Pali *vaṭṭikā*, Uṛ. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindi, Panj. *batti*, Sindhi *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartari* 'scissors,' Prak. *kattari*, Uṛ. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindi, Panj. *katarani*, Sindhi *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

rt > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *cəd*, Kurd. *kird*, *kir*, Oss. *khard*.

rt > rd.

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kird*, *kir*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardtj*, WaxI *volc*, Afy. *nvaraz*, Bal. *gvardag*, Kurd. *vardi*.

rt > r(r).

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' WaxI *sūr(t)*, Kurd. *sar*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrā*, etc. (see § 733).

rt > l(l).

§ 736. The assimilation of *rt* to *l(l)* is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhr*, *puhl*, New Pers. *puł*, Gil. *puṛd*, Kurd. *pəl*, *par*, *pirā*, *puṛd*.

rt > ld.

§ 737. The softening of *rt* to *ld* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Tag. Oss. *sald*, etc. (see § 729).

rt > hl.

§ 738. The change of *rt* to *hl* is found occasionally (cf. §§ 227, 742).

b. Iranian. Av. *pərətu* 'bridge,' Phl. *puhl*, *puhr*, etc. (see § 736).

rth > t(f).

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(f)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *attha*, *aṭṭha* (cf. inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *anaṭṭha*), Pāli *aṭṭa*, *aṭṭha*, *attha*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, Bang. *cāuṭā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*.

rth > (f)ṭh.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(f)ṭh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *artha* 'object,' Prāk. *aṭṭha*, *attha* (Kapur di Giri) *anaṭṭha*, Pāli *aṭṭha*, *attha*, *aṭṭa*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cauṭṭha*, *cottha*, Śaur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rth > (f)th.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(f)th* is the normal one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *cottha*, Pāli *catuttha*,

Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāunthā*, etc. (see § 739).

rth > *hl*.

§ 742. The change of *rth* to *hl* occurs with extreme rarity in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 354, 245, 956).

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *parthava* nom. prop., Phl., New Pers. *pahlav*. Skt. *samartha* 'suitable,' New Pers. *hamāl*.

rd > *ḍ(ḍ)*

§ 743. The assimilation of *rd* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *chardati* 'rejects,' Prāk. *chaḍḍati*, Pāli *chaḍḍeti*, Ass. *cār* (pron. *sār*), Kaśm. *char*, *ĉar*, Uṛ., Bang. *chūr*, Old Hindi *chānd*, E. Hindi, Hindi *chām̄r*, Panj. *chaḍḍ*, Sindhi *chaḍ*, Mar. *sām̄r*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhi *gaḍḍahu*, Guj. *gadhērō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*, Gyp. *khel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

rd > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gāḍhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

rd > *d(d)*.

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *d(d)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caṇḍdaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *ĉōdāh*, Uṛ. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindi *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhi *cōḍaham̄n*, Guj. *caūd*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gad-daha*, *gaḍḍaha*, Nāip. *gadāha*, Panj. *gaddā*, *gadhā*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *(d)dh*.

§ 746. The assimilation of *rd* to *(d)dh* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Ass. *gādh*, Uṛ. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindi, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Guj. *gadhērō*, etc. (see § 743).

rd > *r(r)*.

§ 747. The assimilation of *rd* to *r(r)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kapardikā* 'small shell,' Prāk. *kavaḍḍa*, E. Hindi, Hindi *kāuri*, *kaurī*, Anglo-Ind. *cowry*.

rd > *l(l)*.

§ 748. The assimilation of *rd* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, it is not infrequent (cf. §§ 354, 258).

a. Indian. Skt. *balivarda* 'bull,' Prāk. *baṭṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, Tag. *sard*.

rdh > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 749. The assimilation of *rdh* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Kāśm. *baḍ*, Uṛ. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāḍh*, W. Hindi *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *vaḍh*, Mar. *baḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saddha*, Kāśm. *sādu*, Uṛ. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhi *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sāḍā*, Mar. *sāḍē*, Sinh. *aḍa*.

rdh > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 750. The assimilation of *rdh* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Prāk. *vaḍḍhai*, Pāli *vaḍḍhati*, Ass. *bārḥ*, Uṛ. *barḥ*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bāḍh*, W. Hindi *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' Uṛ., Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *barḥāi*, Panj. *baḍḍhi*, Sindhi, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥāi*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*,

saddha, Ur., E. Hindi, Hindi *sārhē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhi *sāḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rdh > (d)dh.

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to (d)dh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhi, Guj. *vadh*, etc. (see § 749).

rdhv > (d)dh.

§ 752. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (d)dh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prak., Pali *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhi *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rdhv > (b)bh.

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (b)bh is frequent in the Indian dialects (*rdhv* > *ddhv* > *ddhb* > *dlhb* > *bbh*).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prak., Pali *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhi *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhum*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rn > n(n).

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to n(n) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in Afyān, which has borrowed the cerebral row from the Indian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' New Pers. *kar(r)*, Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, Afy. *kōṇ*, *kūṇ*, Oss. *kurmatha*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī *par*, Afy. *pāṇa*, Bal. *pan*, Kurd. *par*, Zaza *pal*.

rn > n(n).

§ 755. The assimilation of *rn* to n(n) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karəna* 'deaf,' Laym. *kanna*, Sarq. *cūnn*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Šīyn. *vān*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yaṅn. *pun*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Bal. *pan*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rn > r(r)$.

§ 756. The assimilation of rn to $r(r)$ is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *darəna* 'gullet,' New Pers. *darrāh*, Waxī *ḍōr*, Sarq. *ḍar*. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *x^oarənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *vīda]farnah*, Phl. *farn[bağ*, New Pers. *far(r)*.

$rn > l(l)$.

§ 757. The assimilation of rn to $l(l)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 281).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəna* 'leaf,' Zaza *pal*, etc. (see § 754).

$rp > p(p)$.

§ 758. The assimilation of rp to $p(p)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prak., Pāli *sappa*, U_r., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāmp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *sapu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Sinh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prak., Pāli *kappūra*, New Ind. dialects *kapūr*, except Mar. *kāpūr*.

$rb > b(b)$.

§ 759. The assimilation of rb to $b(b)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *arbuda* 'ten million raised to the eighth power,' Pāli *abbuda*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prak., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *ḍublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *ḍublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍūbirō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubāl*.

$rbh > (b)bh$.

§ 760. The assimilation of rbh to $(b)bh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dial

a. Indian. Skt. *garbha* 'uterus,' Prak., Pāli *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gābhu*, *garābhu*, Guj., Mar. *gābh*, cf. also Gyp. *khabnī* 'pregnant.'

rm > *m(m)*.

§ 761. The assimilation of *rm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *carman* 'skin,' Prāk., Pāli *camma*, New Ind. dialects *cām*, excepting Panj. *camm*, Sindhī *camu*, Siñh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhī *kamu*, Siñh. *kama*.

rm > *r(r)*.

§ 762. The assimilation of *rm* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *carəman* 'skin,' Phl. *carmin*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma*, New Pers., Šīyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *ğarma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *ğar*, *ğarm*, Tag. *qarm*.

ry > *j(j)*.

§ 763. The assimilation of *ry* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Prāk. *kajja*, Māg. Prāk. *kayyē*, Śaur. Prāk. *kēra*, Pāli *kayya*, *kāriya*, *kayira*, Hindī, Panj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Sindhī *kārju*, Guj. *kāj*, *kāraj*, Mar. *kāj*.

ry > *r(r)*.

§ 764. The assimilation of *ry* to *r(r)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *tūrya* 'trumpet,' Prāk. *tūra*, Pāli *tūriya*, Uṛ. *turi*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūri*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhī, Guj. *turi*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sārju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Siñh. (*h*)*iru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciryā* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *čir*. Av. *airya* 'noble,' Oss. *ir*.

ry > *rj*.

§ 765. The change of *ry* to *rj* is not unknown to the Indian dialects (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārya* 'business,' Sindhi *kārju* (cf. also Hindi, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhi *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

ry > ū(l).

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *ū(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *pyarāka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliāmka*, Pāli *pallamka*, New Ind. *palamg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *pyāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, Uṛ. *palāṇa*, Bang. *pālāṇ*, Hindi *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhi *palāṇu*, Guj. *palāṇ(ō)*, Mar. *pālāṇ*.

rv > p(p).

§ 767. The hardening of *rv* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Pāli *cappēti*, Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindi *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhi *caḅ*, Guj., Mar. *cāv*, Sinh. *sapanavā*, *hapanavā*.

rv > b(b).

§ 768. The assimilation of *rv* to *b(b)* is not very frequent (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *carvayati* 'chews,' Uṛ. *cōbā*, Bang., Hindi *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhi *caḅ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Sinh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Uṛ. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhi *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

rv > (b)bh.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindi, E. Hindi *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhi *sabhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

rv > rbh.

§ 770. The change of *rv* to *rbh* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *parvan* 'festival,' Pāli *pabba*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi, Panj. *parab*, Sindhi *pirbhu*, Guj., Mar. *parv*.

rv > *r(r)*.

§ 771. The assimilation of *rv* to *r(r)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *haurva* 'all,' Old Pers. *haruva*, Phl., New Pers. *har*.

rv > *v(v)*.

§ 772. The assimilation of *rv* to *v(v)* is not common either in the Indian or in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *savva*, etc. (see § 768). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sinh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

rś > *ms*.

§ 773. The change of *rś* to *ms* is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daṃsana*, Ass. *daršana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhi *darsanu*.

rś > *s(s)*.

§ 774. The assimilation of *rś* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparsana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindī, Panj. *phaṃsanā*, Sindhi *phasanu*, Guj. *phasavum*, Mar. *phasanēm*.

rśv > *s(s)*.

§ 775. The assimilation of *rśv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Prāk. *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, Panj. *pās*, *pāh*, Sindhi, Guj. *pāsē*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsim*, Gyp. *paš*.

rśv > *h(h)*.

§ 776. The assimilation of *rśv* to *h(h)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 401).

a. Indian. Skt. *pārśva* 'side,' Panj. *pāh*, *pās*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\ddot{s} > (d)\ddot{d}h$.

§ 777. The assimilation of $r\ddot{s}$ to $(d)\ddot{d}h$ is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Uṛ. *kārhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindi *kārhnā*, Panj. *kārhanā*, Sindhi *karhaṇu*, Guj. *kāhāravum*, Mar. *kārhaṇēm*.

$r\ddot{s} > r(r)$.

§ 778. The assimilation of $r\ddot{s}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgaśṛṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prak. *maggasīru*, Uṛ. *māg(h)uśtra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhi *manīglāru*.

$r\ddot{s} > rs$.

§ 779. The change of $r\ddot{s}$ to rs is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afy. *vraš*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barsa*, Tag. *bars*.

$r\ddot{s} > ś(ś)$.

§ 780. The assimilation of $r\ddot{s}$ to $ś(ś)$ is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṣa* 'head,' Prak. *sissa*, *sisā*, Pāli *sisā*, Hindi, Panj. *sis*, Sindhi *sist*, Guj. *śiś*, Mar. *śi(m)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$r\ddot{s}, r\ddot{s} > ś(ś), ś(ś)$.

§ 781. The assimilation of $r\ddot{s}, r\ddot{s}$ to $ś(ś), ś(ś)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prak. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prak. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barəša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayən* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašītanō*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afy. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišan*.

$r\ddot{s} > s(s)$.

§ 782. The assimilation of $r\ddot{s}$ to $s(s)$ occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, li *sīsa*. Hindi, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhi *sīsī*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*. etc. (see § 780).

$rṣ > h(h)$.

§ 783. The assimilation of $rṣ$ to $h(h)$ is excessively rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *kārṣāpaṇa* 'a certain coin,' Prāk. *kāhāvaṇa*, Pāli *kahāpaṇa*, Ur. *kāhāṇa*, Bang. *kāhaṇ*, Hindi *kahān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Sinh. *vahinu*, Malādive *vehent*.

$rśn > kh, x$.

§ 784. The assimilation of $rśn$ to kh, x , is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *tarśna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(i)*, Šīyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*.

$rśn > n(n)$.

§ 785. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $n(n)$ is quite rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tarśna* 'thirst,' Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tanī*, *tī*, etc. (see preceding §).

$rśn > r(r)$.

§ 786. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tarśna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(i)*, etc. (see § 784).

$rśn > rs$.

§ 787. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rs is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varśni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurs*.

$rśn > rʂ$.

§ 788. The assimilation of $rśn$ to $rʂ$ is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varśni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurs*, etc. (see preceding §).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$.

§ 789. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' New Pers. *tiš*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{s}n$.

§ 790. The reduction of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{s}n$ is quite common.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Yidg. *trušna*, etc. (see § 784). Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, etc. (see § 787).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{k}(\dot{k})$.

§ 791. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{k}(\dot{k})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tašai*, etc. (see § 784).

$r\dot{s}v > \dot{s}v$.

§ 792. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}v$ to $\dot{s}v$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karšvar* 'clime,' Phl., New Pers. *kišvar*.

$rs > hl$.

§ 793. The transposition of rs to hl is very rare (cf. §§ 354, 421).

b. Iranian. Av. *parəsu* 'side,' Phl. *pahlūk*, New Pers. *pahlū*.

$rz > l(\dot{l})$.

§ 794. The assimilation of rz to $l(\dot{l})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bāliš*, Gab. *bāliš*, Kāš. *bōlēsm*, *bōliš*.

$rh > r(r)$.

§ 795. The assimilation of rh to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gāṭī*.

$rh > l(\dot{l})$.

§ 796. The assimilation of rh to $l(\dot{l})$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gāṭī*, *gārī*.

lk > k(k).

§ 797. The assimilation of *lk* to *k(k)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ulkā* 'meteor,' Prāk., Pāli *ukkā*, Hindi *lūkā*, Sindhi *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *vakkala*, Sindhi *bakaru*.

lg > g(g).

§ 798. The assimilation of *lg* to *g(g)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *valgā* 'rein,' New Ind. dialects *bāg*. Skt. *valgulī* 'bat,' Pāli *vaggulī*.

lp > p(p).

§ 799. The assimilation of *lp* to *p(p)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalpa* 'time,' Pāli *kappa*. Skt. *kalpatē* 'conducts himself,' Māhār. Prāk. *kappaē*, Pāli *kappati*, Sirhh. *kapanavā*.

lm > mb.

§ 800. The assimilation of *lm* to *mb* is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *sālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jaina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbali*, U_r. *simila*, *simula*, Bang. *simul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simabal*, *simmal*, Mar. *sāmvar*.

lm > m(m).

§ 801. The assimilation of *lm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' U_r. *simila*, *simula*, Bang. *simul*, Hindi *sēmal*, *simbal*, Panj. *simmal*, *simabal*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *jālma* 'reckless,' Pāli *jamma*.

lm > mv.

§ 802. The change of *lm* to *mv* is extremely rare in Indian (cf. §§ 324, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *sālmali* 'silk-cotton tree,' Mar. *sāmvar*, etc. (see § 800).

ly > *l(l)*.

§ 803. The assimilation of *ly* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' Prak., Pali *kalla*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *kāli*, E. Hindi, Hindi *kāl*, *kālh*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhi *kālh*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

ly > *(l)lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to *(l)lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindi, Hindi *kālh*, *kāl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhi *kālh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mālya* 'price,' Prak. *mulla*, *molla*, Kāsm. *mōl*, Uṛ. *mula*, Bang., Hindi *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhi *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

lv > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lv* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pali *pabbaja*.

lv > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lv* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pali *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khālvaṭa* 'bald,' Prak. *khallīḍa*, Pali *khallāṭa*.

vy > *b(b)*.

§ 807. The assimilation of *vy* to *b(b)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 372). In Bangālī *vy* is regularly pronounced *b*.

a. Indian. Skt. *svyati* 'sews,' Pali *sibbati*. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Uṛ. *bitibā*, Hindi *bitnā*, Panj. *bitītanā*, Guj. *vaṭavum*. Skt. *vyaniśana* 'division,' Hindi *bāchnā*, Panj. *banchuanā*, Sindhi *virchanu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prak. *vaggha*, Pali *vyaggha*, Hindi *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*.

vy > *v(v)*.

§ 808. The assimilation of *vy* to *v(v)* occurs very frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' Guj. *vaṭavun̄*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Sindhi *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Sinh. *vag*, etc. (see preceding §).

vr > *v(v)*.

§ 809. The assimilation of *vr* to *v(v)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *urvaśī* nom. prop., Prāk. *uvraśī*. Skt. *vr̥thi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pali *vr̥thi*, Sinh. *vī*.

śc > *c(c)*.

§ 810. The assimilation of *śc* to *c(c)* is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pali *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindi, Panj. *acaraj*, Sindhi *acaraj*, *acarat*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *piṣē*, *pāṣē*), Kaśm. *pat(h)*, Uṛ. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *piṣē*), Hindi *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Sinh. *pas(u)*.

śc > *(c)ch*.

§ 811. The assimilation of *śc* to *(c)ch* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vin̄cua*, *vicchua*, *vin̄chua*, Pali *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kaśm. *bīc*, *būch*, Uṛ., Bang. *bichā*, E. Hindi *biccu*, Hindi *bichua*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhi *vichūm*, Guj. *vichu*, *vin̄chū*, Mar. *vin̄cū*, *vin̄chūm*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pali *pacchā*, Uṛ. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindi *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, etc. (see preceding §).

śc > *s(s)*.

§ 812. The assimilation of *śc* to *s(s)* is very rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Ass. *pišē*, *pāšē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *pišē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Sinh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

Syncope of śc.

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhi *pōē*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścātvarimśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *tāātsā*, Kaśm. *tēyatājih*, Bihāri *tāntālis*, Hindi *tāāts*, *tētātsā*, *tāimāts*, Sindhi *ṛētāth*.

śm > m(m).

§ 814. The assimilation of *śm* to *m(m)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *maṃsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihāri *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindi *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāna*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāna*, Jāina Prāk. *siyāna*, *susāna*, Pāli *susāna*, Uṛ. *maśāna*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindi *masān*, Panj. *masān*, Sindhi *masānu*, Guj. *masān*, Mar. *masān*.

śm > s(s).

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jāina Prāk. *siyāna*, *susāna*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmi*, *raṃsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *rasi*), Kaśm. *raz*, Uṛ., Bang. *rasi*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhi *rasī*, Mar. *rassī*.

śr > ṛj.

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṛj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṃsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kaśm. *āuš*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āmsā*, Uṛ. *ānjhū*, *āmsū*, Bihāri, Hindi *āmsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, Sindhi *hañj*, Guj. *āmju*, Mar. *aṃsū*, *āsū*.

śr > ṛjh.

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṛjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' U_r. *ōmjhū*, *āmsū*, Panj. *añjhu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śr > *ś(ś)*.

§ 818. The assimilation of *śr* to *ś(ś)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' U_r. *śuṇibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindi *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhi *sunanu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, U_r. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*.

śr > *s(s)*.

§ 819. The assimilation of *śr* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśru* 'beard,' Prāk. *māsu*, *massu*, *māmsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindi *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhi *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *āmsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āmsū*, U_r. *āmsū*, *ōmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindi *āmsū*, Mar. *āmsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindi *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhi *suṇanu*, etc. (see preceding §).

śl > *s(s)*.

§ 820. The assimilation of *śl* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *ślṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *śimbha*, Pāli *śilṣuma*, *śēmha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*.

śv > *s(s)*.

§ 821. The assimilation of *śv* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśva* 'horse,' Prāk. *assa*, *āsa*, Pāli *assa*, Sinh. *as*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindi, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhi *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, U_r. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindi *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhi *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsā*, Mar. *sāsā*. Skt. *śvāsa* 'breath,' Prak., Pali *sāsa*, Sindhi *sāhu*.

ṣk > k(k).

§ 822. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛta* 'evil,' Prak. *dukkāḍa*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pali *dukkata*, *dukkāḍa*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prak. *sukka*, *sukkha*, Pali *sukkha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kaśm. *hōkh*, Uṛ., Bang. *śukā*, Hindi *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Sindhi *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pali *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindi *nikālanā*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsaṇā*, *nikkāḷaṇā*, Sindhi *nikāraṇum*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāt-ṇum*, Guj. *nikāḷavum*, *nikāsarum*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇēn*, *nikāl*.

ṣk > (k)kh.

§ 823. The assimilation of *ṣk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prak. *sukkha*, *sukka*, Pali *sukha*, Kaśm. *hōkh*, Hindi *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prak., Pali *pokkhara*, Uṛ. *pōkhari*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindi, Mar. *pōkhar*.

ṣṭ > ṭ(t).

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ṭ(t)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pali *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prak. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śaiṭh*, *śeṭh*, Uṛ. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindi *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhi *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Sinh. *sāṭa*.

ṣṭ > (ṭ)ṭh.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prak. *laṭṭhi*, Śaur. Prak. *jaṭṭhi*, Pali *laṭṭhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *lāṭhi*, Hindi *lāṭhi*, *lāṭ(i)*, Panj. *laṭṭhi*, Sindhi *lāṭhi*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāṭ*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭāu* 'eight,' Prak.,

Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm. *āṭh*, U_r. *āṭha*, Bang. *aṭa*, Bihārī, Hindi *aṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhi *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *aṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prak. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śaiṭh*, *śeṭh*, U_r. *sāṭhiḥ*, Bang. *saeṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindi *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhi *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

ṣṭ > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *veṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pāli *veṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vāḍ*, *vār*, U_r. *bherā*, *bērḥā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindi, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multāni *verḥā*, Sindhi *vaḍehō*, *verḥā*, Mar. *veḍhā*. Skt. *leṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhār. Prak. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

ṣṭ > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *veṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' U_r. *bērḥā*, *bherā*, Hindi, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multāni *verḥā*, Sindhi *verḥā*, *vaḍehō*, Mar. *veḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindi, Panj. *ruḍh*.

ṣṭr > *(ṭ)ṭ*.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel,' Prak. *uṭṭa*, Kāśm. *(r)ūmṭh*, Bihārī *ū(m)ṭ*, Sindhi *uṭṭu*.

ṣṭr > *(ṭ)ṭh*.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(ṭ)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahāraṭṭha*, Sindhi *marāṭhi*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

ṣṭr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *daṃṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prak. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *daṭṭhā*, U_r. *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Bang. *dār(ṭ)*, Hindi *dāḍh(ṭ)*, Panj. *dāḥaḍ(ṭ)*, Sindhi *ḍāṭh*, *ḍāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhi*, *dāḥār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Sinh. *daḷa*.

ṣṭr > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 831. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prak. *dāḍhā*, U_r., Hindi *dāḍh(ī)*, Guj. *dāḍhi*, *ḍahār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣṭr > ḷ(ḷ).

§ 832. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to ḷ(ḷ) is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Sinh. *dala*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭr > h(h).

§ 833. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to h(h) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhaḍ(ṭ)*, Guj. *ḍahār*, *dāḍhi*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣṭh > t(t).

§ 834. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to t(t) is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pali *koffha*, New Ind. dialects *koff*, *koffh*.

ṣṭh > (f)ṭh.

§ 835. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (f)ṭh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prak. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Pali *piṭṭha*, Ass., U_r. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *piṭ*, Hindi *piṭh*, Panj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Sindhi *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *piṭh*, Mar. *paṭh*, Gyp. *puṣto*. Skt. *gōṣṭhi* 'assembly,' Prak. *goṭṭhi*, Pali *goṭṭha*, Sindhi *gōṭhu*, Mar. *goṭṭhi*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhar. Prak. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pali *oṭṭha*, Kaśm. *vuṭh*, U_r. *ōṭha*, Bihārī *hō(h)ṭh*, Hindi *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣt*.

ṣṭh > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 836. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to ḍ(ḍ) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' U_r. *kudha*, Bang. *kudī*, Sindhi *kōṛhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōṛ*, *kōṛh*, *kōhōṛ*.

ṣṭh > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 837. The assimilation of *ṣṭh* to (ḍ)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kuḍha*, Sindhi *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōrḥ*, *kōr*, *kōhōr*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṣ(ṣ)$.

§ 838. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṣ(ṣ)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prak., Pali *uṣha* (but Pali *situnnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *situnhaka*), Sindhi *uṣ*, Guj. *unhuṣ*, Mar. *uṣha*, Sinh. (*h*)*uṣu*.

$ṣṇ > ṣ(n)$.

§ 839. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṣ(n)$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. (*h*)*uṣu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṣh$.

§ 840. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṣh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects, but it is very rare in the Middle Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prak. *uṣha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prak., Pali *kaṣha*, Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kāhāi*, Sindhi *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kānhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > ṣ(n)$.

§ 841. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṣ(n)$ occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pali *situnnaka*, *situnhaka*, Mar. *uṣha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhi *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṣh$.

§ 842. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṣh$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhuṣ*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindi, Panj. *kānh*, *kāhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kānhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$.

§ 843. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $h(h)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *trṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṅhā*, Pāli *tiṅhā*, *tasiṅā*, Panj. *tiḥā*, Sindhi *ṭih*, Mar. *tahān*.

sp > *p(p)*.

§ 844. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śaur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kāśm. *bāha*, Ur., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bhāp*, *bā(m)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppaha*, Kāśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phāp*, *phūph*, Old Hindi *puhup*, Hindi *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phāl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhi *nipuṭrō*.

sp > (*p*)*ph*.

§ 845. The assimilation of *sp* to (*p*)*ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bappha* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' E. Hindi *bā(m)ph*, Hindi *bā(m)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhi *bāph*, Guj. *bā(m)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppaha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

sp > *h(h)*.

§ 846. The assimilation of *sp* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kāśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

sm > (*b*)*bh*.

§ 847. The assimilation of *sm* to (*b*)*bh* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindi *ūbh*, Mar. *umhāl*. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gimbha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindi *garīsam*, Mar. *gimbh*, *gīm*.

sm > *m(m)*.

§ 848. The assimilation of *sm* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm*, *gimbh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣm > *mh*.

§ 849. The change of *ṣm* to *mh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prak., Pali *gimha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prak. *umhā*, Mar. *umhaḷ*, etc. (see § 847).

ṣy > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 850. The change of *ṣy* to (*k*)*kh* is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prak. *śisa*, Pali *sissa*, Sindhi *sikhu*.

ṣy > *ṣṣ*.

§ 851. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *ṣṣ* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prak. *pūsa*, Ur. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindi *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*.

ṣy > *s(s)*.

§ 852. The assimilation of *ṣy* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣyati* 'dries,' Prak. *sūsat*, Pali *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prak. *pūsa*, Hindi *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣy > *h(h)*.

§ 853. The change of *ṣy* to *h(h)* is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prak. *hōhāmi*, *hōhimi*, *hossāmi*, Pali *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhi *pōhu*, etc. (see § 851).

sk > *k(k)*.

§ 854. The assimilation of *sk* to *k(k)* is very frequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *taskara* 'thief,' Prak., Pāli *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prak. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Ur., Bang., Hindi *kāndhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kāndhā*, Sindhi, Guj. *kāndhō*, Mar. *khāndā*, Eļu *kānda*, Maladive *koḍu*.

sk > (k)kh.

§ 855. The assimilation of *sk* to (k)kh is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prak. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Mar. *khāndā*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > c(c).

§ 856. The assimilation of *sc* to c(c) is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṭ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kaš. *pac*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastāga*, Tag. *fastag*.

sc > š(š).

§ 857. The assimilation of *sc* to š(š) is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. §§ 419, 166).

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṭ* 'afterward,' Kuhr. *paš*, *pas*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pāšī*, etc. (see preceding §).

sc > šk.

§ 858. The change of *sc* to šk is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Phl. *škastanō*, New Pers. *šikastan*, Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*.

sc > s(s).

§ 859. The assimilation of *sc* to s(s) is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *pascaṭ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl., New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, etc. (see § 856). Av. *scindayeiti* 'breaks,' Oss. *sadhtin*, *satthin*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > (k)kh.

§ 860. The change of *st* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Prāk. *khambha*, *thambha*, Pāli *thambha*, U_r. *khambh(a)*, *kham(bā)*, Bang. *khambā*, Hindi, Panj. *thamb*, Sindhi *thambhu*, Guj. *khāmb*, *khambh*, *thamb*, Mar. *khāmb*, Sinh. *ṭāmba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

st > ṭ(f).

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to ṭ(f) is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Sinh. *ṭāmba*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > t(f).

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to t(f) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jaina Prāk. *tēniya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pāli *hiyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kāsm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), U_r., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāra*, New Pers. *tar*.

st > (t)th.

§ 863. The assimilation of *st* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pustaka* 'book,' Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *pōthaka*. Kāsm. *pūth*, U_r. *pōthā*, Sindhi, Guj., Mar. *pōthi*, Sinh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāth*, *hāt*, Kāsm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindi *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhi *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pāli *patthara*, U_r. *pathara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindi, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhi *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pāli *thana*, U_r., Bang. *thana*, Hindi *than*, Panj. *thaṅ*, Sindhi *thanu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Sinh. *tana*.

st > s(s).

§ 864. The assimilation of *st* to s(s) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *rāsta* 'right,' Phl. *rāst*, New Pers. *rās*, *rāst*, Oss. *rast*, *rasth*.

sty > *ʃh*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *ʃh*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pāli *ʃhina*, *thina*.

sth > *(k)kh*.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to *(k)kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthānu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khānu*, *khannu*, 'firm,' *thānu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 809.]

sth > *ʃ(f)*.

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *ʃ(f)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pāli *aʃʃhi*, Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *hāḍī*, Panj. *hāḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Sinh. *āṭa*.

sth > *(f)ʃh*.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to *(f)ʃh* is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ʃhāna*, *thāna*, Pāli *ʃhāna*, Nāip. *tharai*, Uṛ. *ʃhanā*, *thānā*, Bang. *thānā*, *thān*, Hindi *ʃhannā*, *thānā*, Panj. *ʃhūn*, *thānā*, Sindhi *ʃhānu*, *thānu*, Guj. *ʃhān*, *thān*, Mar. *ʃhān*, *thar*, Sinh. *ʃāna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

sth > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Uṛ., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindi *hāḍ*, *hāḍī*, Panj. *hāḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

sth > *t(f)*.

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t(f)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Uṛ. *thira*, Hindi *ʃhir*, Sinh. *tara*. Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pāli *thālī*, Uṛ., Panj. *thālī*, Guj. *thālō*, Mar. *thāla*, Sinh. *tāli*, Maladive *teli*.

sth > (*t*)*th*.

§ 871. The assimilation of *sth* to (*t*)*th* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects and in North Balūci.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāna*, *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *tharai*, Uṛ. *thānā*, *ṭhānā*, Bang. *thān*, *thānā*, Hindi *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhān*, Sindhi *thānu*, *ṭhānu*, Guj. *thān*, *ṭhān*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Uṛ. *thira*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Phl., New Pers. *-stān*, N. Bal. *thān*, Kurd. *šūn*.

sth > *st*.

§ 872. The deaspirization of *sth* to *st* is very rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥has̥tha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahaṭṭha*, Bihārī *girhast*, Hindi *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhi *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

sth > *ś(ṣ)*.

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to *ś(ṣ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *-stāna* 'standing,' Kurd. *šūn*, etc. (see § 871).

sn > *ṇh*.

§ 874. The change of *sn* to *ṇh* is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhānu*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāṭṭnā*, Guj. *nahān*, Mar. *nahān*, *nāhaṇēm*.

sn > *n(n)*.

§ 875. The assimilation of *sn* to *n(n)* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. It is more frequent in the latter group.

a. Indian. Skt. *snēha* 'love,' Prāk. *nēha*, *siṇēha*, Apab. Prāk. *nēhu*, Pāli *s(i)nēha*, Bihārī *nēh*, Sindhi *nīmhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoða* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōd*, N. Bal. *nōd*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nēōr*, Bal. *našār*, Oss. *n(ṽ)ostha*. Av. *snavarə* 'bow-string,' Dig. Oss. *navr*, Tag. *nvar*.

sn > nh.

§ 876. The change of *sn* to *nh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bathing,' Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nlāūnā*, etc. (see § 874).

sp > p(p).

§ 877. The assimilation of *sp* to *p(p)* is very rare (cf. § 293).

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaṭ*, *vaṇapphaṭ*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass. \sqrt{pas} , Bang. *sparśa* (pron. *pōrśō*), Hindi, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəsa* 'spleen,' Phl. *spārz*, New Pers. *supurz*, Kāš. *aspūl*, *aspōl*, Tāt *sūpūl*, Kurd. *pišik*.

sp > (p)ph.

§ 878. The assimilation of *sp* to *(p)ph* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian languages.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *spandana* 'throb,' Prāk. *phāmdana*, Pāli *phandana*, Hindi *phāmdanā*, Panj. *phāmdanā*, Mar. *phāmdanēm*.

sp > s(s).

§ 879. The assimilation of *sp* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects. In the Indian dialects, on the other hand, it is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vanaspati* 'tree,' Prāk. *vaṇassaṭ*, *vaṇapphaṭ*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaṭ*, *bhaassaṭ*, *bahappaṭ*, *bhaappaṭ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *span* 'dog,' Old Pers. (Median) $\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha$, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yaš(a)p*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

yafs. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl., New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istir*, *histir*.

sp > *sph*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sph*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospənta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspand*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspand*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēz*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afγ. *spīn*, Kurd. (i)spī.

sp > *sḅ*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sḅ* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sūbō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *span* 'dog,' Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, etc. (see § 879).

sph > (k)kh.

§ 882. The assimilation of *sph* to (k)kh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Prāk. *khōḍaa*, Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*. [So the Prākṛit grammarians, falsely. See now Pischel, § 311.]

sph > (p)ph.

§ 883. The assimilation of *sph* to (p)ph is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphuṭa* 'thrilled,' Prāk. *phuḍa*, Pāli *phuṭa*. Skt. *sphōṭaka* 'boil,' Pāli *phōṭa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*.

sm > *mḥ*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *mḥ* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle Indian dialects (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *asmi* 'am,' Prāk. *amhi*, Pāli *amhi*, *asmi*. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Prāk. *vimhaa*, Pāli *vimhaya*, Sindhī *visāi*.

sm > *s(s)*.

§ 885. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(s)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vismaya* 'wonder,' Sindhi *visāi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindi, Panj. *surat*, Sindhi *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *sarat*, *sumarat*, Pali *sarati*, *sumarati*.

sm > *sb*.

§ 886. The change of *sm* to *sb* is excessively rare (cf. § 828).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *āsmān*.

sm > *s(z)*.

§ 887. The assimilation of *sm* to *s(z)* is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsmā* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *isma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hasang*.

sm > *sm*.

§ 888. The softening of *sm* to *sm* is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsmā* 'fuel,' Gab. *isma*, etc. (see preceding §).

sm > *šm*.

§ 889. The change of *sm* to *šm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *āsmān*, etc. (see § 886).

sy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 890. The change of *sy* to (*j*)*jh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāmsya*, *kaṁsa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kaṁsia*, Pali *kaṁsa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindi *kāṁsā*, Panj. *kāṁsi*, Sindhi *kaṁjhō*, Guj. *kāṁsun*, Mar. *kāṁsēn* (cf. also Prāk. *tujjha* 'of thee' < Old Ind. **tusya*).

sy > *s(s)*.

§ 891. The assimilation of *sy* to *s(s)* is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *syāla* 'brother-in-law,' Pāli *sāla*, Bang. *śāl*, Hindi *sāl*, Panj. *salā*, Sindhi *salō*, Guj. *sālō*, *salō*, Mar. *salā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šūi*, Oss. *sau*.

sy > ś(ṣ).

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to ś(ṣ) is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šūi*, etc. (see preceding §).

sr > (k)kh.

§ 893. The change of *sr* to (k)kh is extremely rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *sraoni* 'thigh,' Phl. *sarūk*, *sarīn*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Waxī *šunj*, Šīyn. *šāun*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*.

sr > ls.

§ 894. The metathesis of *sr* to ls is rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ūšū*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (h)*istir*, *asr*.

sr > s(s).

§ 895. The assimilation of *sr* to s(s) is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sahasra* 'thousand,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāsm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhi *sahasu*. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Prāk. *sotta*, Pāli *sōta*, Sinh. *sō*, *soya*, (h)*oya*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusū*, *xusrū*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x^vāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassū*, *xasrū*.

sr > sl.

§ 896. The change of *sr* to sl is very rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Kāš. *asl*, etc. (see § 894).

sr > ś(ṣ).

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to ś(ṣ) is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afy. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afy. *x^oāša*, etc. (see § 895).

sr > *h(h)*.

§ 898. The assimilation of *sr* to *h(h)* is rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *hoya*, *oya*, *sū*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

Aphaeresis of sr.

§ 899. The loss of initial *sr* occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *srōtas* 'river,' Sinh. *oya*, *hoya*, *sō*, *soya*, etc. (see § 895).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *k(k)*.

§ 900. The assimilation of *sv* to *k(k)*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *x^vaftanō*, New Pers. *xuspidan*, Siv. *fatan*, Täl. *asp*, Waxī *xōfsam*, Šīyn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Zaza *knana*.

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *(k)kh*, *x*.

§ 901. The assimilation of *sv* to *(k)kh*, *x*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Phl. *xur*, *x^var*, New Pers. *xur*. Šīyn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*, Tag. *xūr*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Phl. *x^varjanō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Gab. *xartin*, Siv. *fōrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamūn*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xūrdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Täl. *bahardēn*, Šīyn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^varam*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*. Afy. *xōyal*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *sa^vārə* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *suxun*, Siv. *tuxun*, Kāš. *suxan*.

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > *nm*, *nv*.

§ 902. The change of *sv* to *nm*, *nv*, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is very rare (cf. §§ 904, 929 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *hvarə* 'sun,' Afy. *nmar*, *nvar*, etc. (see preceding §).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > (p)ph, f.

§ 903. The change of *sv* to (p)ph, f, through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is exceedingly rare (cf. §§ 904, 971 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Siv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *x^vafsa'a* 'sleep!' Siv. *fatan*, etc. (see § 900).

sv > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > v(v).

§ 904. The assimilation of *sv* to v(v), through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *x^vaš*, *xūš* 'good,' Pāz. *x^vaš*, New Pers. *xūš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *uš*, *xōš*, Šiyn. *xāiš*, Sarq. *xēx*, Bal. *vaš*, Kurd. *xōš*, Zaza *vaš*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, etc. (see § 901).

sv > s(s).

§ 905. The assimilation of *sv* to s(s) is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Prak. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmi*, *suwāmi*, Uṛ., Bang. *śāmi*, Hindi, Panj. *sāim*, Sindhi *sāmim*, Sinh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindi *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhi *sāgō*, Guj. *saguin*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svārāja* 'mimicry,' Hindi, Panj. *sāmg*, Sindhi *sāmgū*, Guj., Mar. *sōmg*.

sv > h(h), and *sv* > Iranian *x^v*, *hv* > h(h).

§ 906. The assimilation of *sv* to h(h) is very rare (cf. § 421).

a. Indian. Skt. *svāmin* 'lord,' Sinh. *hami*, *himi*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Tāl. *bahardēn*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *x^vaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^vaī*, *x^vēdē*, New Pers. *x^vai*, Waxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaiδ*, Afy. *x^valē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēd*, Kurd. *xū*, *xoi*, *xōh*, Oss. *xad*.

Aphaeresis of sv > Iranian x^v, hv.

§ 907. The loss of initial *sv* through Iranian *x^v*, *hv*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Tal. *asp*, etc. (see § 900).

šk > c(c).

§ 908. The assimilation of *šk* to *c(c)* is rare (cf. §§ 424, 118).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Old Pers. *uška*, Phl. New Pers. *xušk*, Kāš. *ušk*, Waxi *vask*, Afy. *vuc*, Bal. *hušay*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*.

šk > s(s).

§ 909. The assimilation of *šk* to *s(s)* is extremely rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Oss. *xus*, *xusk*, etc. (see preceding §).

šk > sk.

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *sk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxi *vask*, Oss. *xusk*, *xus*, etc. (see § 908).

šk > š(š).

§ 911. The assimilation of *šk* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'cat,' Gil. *pičā*, Waxi *piš*, Šiyn. *paš*, Afy. *pišō*, Bal. *pūši*, *piši*, Kurd. *pišik*.

šk > šc.

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxi *pōšk* Šiyn. *pašc*, Afy. *paca*.

št > klt, xt.

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxi *yangl*, Šiyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss *angursth*.

št > *khs, xs*.

§ 914. The change of *št* to *khs, xs*, is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, WaxI *həθ, hāt*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yayn. *uxs*, Afy. *ata*, Oss. *asth*.

št > *t(t)*.

§ 915. The assimilation of *št* to *t(t)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' WaxI *hāt, həθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afy. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afy. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *(t)th*.

§ 916. The assimilation of *št* to *(t)th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' WaxI *həθ, hāt*, etc. (see § 914).

št > *l(l)*.

§ 917. The assimilation of *št* to *l(l)* is exceedingly rare (cf. § 426).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' WaxI *yangl*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *s(s)*.

§ 918. The assimilation of *št* to *s(s)* is quite common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *šk*.

§ 919. The change of *št* to *šk* is very rare (cf. § 222 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Minj. *aška*, etc. (see § 914).

šty > *št*.

§ 920. The assimilation of *šty* to *št* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*.

šn > *khn*, *xn*.

§ 921. The change of *šn* to *khn*, *xn*, is very rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Phl. *pāšnak*, New Pers. *pāšnah*, Waxi *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puxnā*, Afy. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūnsig*, *pīns*, N. Bal. *phiz*, *phid*, Kurd. *pānī*.

šn > *d(d)*, *nd*.

§ 922. The change of *šn* to *d(d)*, *nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afy. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phid*, *phiz*, etc. (see preceding §).

šn > *n(n)*.

§ 923. The assimilation of *šn* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Kurd. *pānī*, etc. (see § 921).

šn > *ʃ(š)*, *ns*.

§ 924. The assimilation of *šn* to *ʃ(š)*, *ns*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūnsig*, *pīns*, N. Bal. *phiz*, *phid*, etc. (see § 921).

šm > *m(m)*.

§ 925. The assimilation of *šm* to *m(m)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Siv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gil. *ciš*, Waxi *cōšm*, Šiyn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Sangl. *šam*, Minj. *cam*, Yidg. *cum*, Bal. *cam*, N. Bal. *cham*, Kurd. *cāv*, Zaza *cim*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*.

šm > *v(v)*.

§ 926. The assimilation of *šm* to *v(v)* is rare (cf. § 324).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Kurd. *cāv*, etc. (see preceding §).

šm > *sm*.

§ 927. The change of *šm* to *sm* is very rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *yušmākəm* 'of you,' Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *sma.r*, Tag. *sumax*.

šm > *š(š)*.

§ 928. The assimilation of *šm* to *š(š)* is very common.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Sīv., Zaf., Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, GIL. *ciš*, etc. (see § 925).

šm > *šm*.

§ 929. The softening of *šm* to *šm* occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cōšm*, etc. (see § 925).

šy > *c(c)*, *č(č)*.

§ 930. The assimilation of *šy* to *c(c)*, *č(č)*, is very rare (cf. § 424).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Waxī *cauam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *cian*, Oss. *čaun*.

šy > *š(š)*.

§ 931. The assimilation of *šy* to *š(š)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *šaiti* 'peace,' Old Pers. *šiyāti*, Phl. *sāf(t)h*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

šy > *š(š)*.

§ 932. The softening of *šy* to *š(š)* is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šiyn. *višafcam*, Sarq. *vašavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

zg > *žg*.

§ 933. The change of *zg* to *žg* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *maṣga* 'marrow,' Phl. *maṣg*, New Pers. *maγs*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māγsa*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *maγs*.

sd > *s(s)*.

§ 934. The assimilation of *sd* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṣda* 'near,' Phl. *naṣdīk*, New Pers. *naṣ-d(i)h*, Sarq. *nīzd*, Afy. *nīzdē*, *nīdē*, Bal. *naṣīk*, N. Bal. *naṣī(x)*, Kurd. *nīzīk*, *nēzīk*.

sr > *dr*.

§ 935. The change of *sr* to *dr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *ṣrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *ṣrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *zarāh*, *sirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *sirā*.

sv > *zm*.

§ 936. The change of *sv* to *zm* is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hiṣva* 'tongue,' Phl. *(h)uṣvān*, *ṣvān*, New Pers. *ṣabān*, *ṣubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šīyn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *aṣmān*, Oss. *auṣzag*.

zb > *žb*.

§ 937. The change of *zb* to *žb* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hiṣva* 'tongue,' Afy. *žiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

šd > *s(s)*.

§ 938. The assimilation of *šd* to *s(s)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *dušdah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *dušd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *dus*.

šd > *sd*.

§ 939. The change of *šd* to *sd* is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *dušdah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *dušd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīšda* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mušd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

hn > ṅh.

§ 940. The metathesis of *hn* to *ṅh* is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vaṅhi*, Sindhi *bāhi*.

hn > n(n).

§ 941. The assimilation of *hn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciṅha*, *cindhā*, Naip. *ciṁnu*, Ur., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cin*, *cinaha*, Hindi *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhi *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *ciṁha*.

hn > ndh.

§ 942. The change of *hn* to *ndh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindhā*, *ciṅha*, etc. (see preceding §).

hn > h(h).

§ 943. The assimilation of *hn* to *h(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhi *bāhi*, etc. (see § 940).

hm > m(m).

§ 944. The assimilation of *hm* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. *bamhaṇa*, (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhi *bāmbhaṇu*, Sinh. *bamba*.

hm > mb.

§ 945. The change of *hm* to *mb* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sinh. *bamba*, etc. (see preceding §).

hm > *mbh*.

§ 946. The change of *hm* to *mbh* is rare (cf. § 449).

a. Indian. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Sindhi *ḅāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

hy > *j(j)*.

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prak. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *ḡujhō*, Guj. *guj*, Mar. *gūj*.

hy > *(j)jh*.

§ 948. The assimilation of *hy* to *(j)jh* is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nahyati* 'binds,' Prak. *najjha*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prak. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhi *ḡujhō*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *(b)bh*.

§ 949. The assimilation of *hv* to *(b)bh* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prak. *jibbha*, *jīha*, Pali *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *ṣeo*, other New Ind. dialects *jibh*, excepting Sindhi *jibh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pali *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prak. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindi *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

hv > *v(v)*.

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Sinh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *h(h)*.

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prak. *jīha*, *jibbha*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prak. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindi *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

Syncope of hv.

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kāsm. *ṣṣo*, Maladive *dū*, etc. (see § 949).

Anusvāra and Anunāsika.

§ 953. In the Middle Indian dialects the anusvāra, a purely nasal sound, has been almost entirely lost, and has vanished altogether in the New Indian dialects. On the other hand the anunāsika, or nasalization of a vowel sound, became more and more frequent during the Middle and New Indian periods, until it now completely supersedes the anusvāra. Anunāsika may stand before *h* or *s*, and is interchangeable with the class-nasal in all vargas in the New Indian dialects. Final anusvāra becomes anunāsika in the transition from Middle to New Indian, and such an anunāsika is retained unchanged after long vowels in Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, although they elide it after a short vowel. In the other New Indian dialects final anunāsika is lost under all circumstances. Avestan *ṛ* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *śha*, Hindi, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. *siṃgh*). Skt., Prāk. *hamsa* 'goose,' E. Hindi *hāms*, *hans*. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṅkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikri*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindi *śiṅkar*, *śikar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindi *śikar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *saṅghal*, Mar. *sāṅkhal*, *sākhal*, *sikri*. Skt. *kuṅcikā* 'key,' Kāsm. *kuṅz*, Ur. *kuṅct*, *kuṅjhā*, *kuji*, Bang. *kūṅjī*, *kūjī*, Hindi, Panj. *kūṅjī*, Sindhī *kūṅjī*, Guj. *kuṅct*, Mar. *kūṅjī*. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāṃr*, Bang. *ṣāṃr*, E. Hindi, Hindi *sāṃr*, Panj. *sāṃḷh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāṃh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṃḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṃd(h)*, Ur., Bang. *kāṃdh*, Bihārī *kāṃdhā*, *kāṃdā*, Hindi *kāṃdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kāṃh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *kāṃdō*, Mar. *kāṃdā*, Simh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

kāmpat, *kāmpat*, Pali *kāmpati*, Ass. *kāmp*, Kāśm. *kam(p)*, Hindi *kāmp*, Panj. *kāmb*, Sindhi *kāmb*, Guj., Mar. *kāmp*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dānīm*, *dāni*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahiīm*, E. Hindi, Hindi *dahi*, Panj. *dahiīm*, Sindhi *ḍahiīm*, Guj., Mar. *dahiīm*.

Visarga.

§ 954. The Old Indian visarga is entirely lost in the Middle and New Indian dialects. In the few instances in which *ḥ* appears in script in New Indian it is employed under learned influence, and is not pronounced.

a. Indian. Skt. *duḥkha* 'misery,' Hindi *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antaḥkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindi *antaḥkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindi *niḥśvās* (pron. *nivśās*), *nivśās*.

Metathesis.

§ 955. Metathesis occurs very frequently in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, especially when one of the consonants involved is a liquid or a sibilant. Although transposition of individual consonants is the more usual case, instances of the metathesis of entire syllables are not lacking.

a. Indian. Skt. *hrada* 'sea,' Jaina Prāk. *draha*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *daha*. Skt. *ālāna* 'elephant's tie-post,' Prāk. *āṇāla*. Skt. *laghuka* 'light,' Prāk. *halua*, *lahua*, Pali *lahuka*, U_r, Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindi *haluk*, Hindi *halakā*, Sindhi *halkō*, Guj. *halakum*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pali *kaṣaṭa*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pali *gadrabha*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadaha*, U_r. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindi *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhi *garahu*, Guj. *gadheḍō*, Mar. *gadhav*. Skt. *kṣepaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, U_r. *phingibā*, *pa-kāibā*, Hindi, Panj. *phēmknā*, Sindhi *phakaṇu*, Guj. *phēmknā*, Mar. *phēmknēm*. Skt. *vruḍati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buddaṭ*, U_r, Bang. *buḍ*, Hindi *būḍ*, Sindhi *buḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside U_r, Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbaṇā*, Sindhi *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *dubaṇu*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihat*, Kāsm. *prāv*, Uṛ. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindi, Hindi *puhir*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēraṅ*, *pehraṅ* 'shirt.' Skt. *viḍala* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindi, Hindi *bilar*, Guj. *bilaḍi*. Skt. *śamudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *śamudda*, *śamudra*, Pāli *śamudda*, Siṃh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇūra*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhi *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Siṃh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, *sēna*, Siṃh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *picumanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *puṇimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *surra* 'red,' Old Pers. *šurra*, Phl. *surr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *širah*, Siv. *sir*, Yazdi *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxi *sōkr*, Šiy. *sirah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *sühr*, Kurd. *sör*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *vafr*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxi *tax(š)*, Šiy. *tašna*, Sarq. *tür(š)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunt*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *bašl*, New Pers. *balx*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afy. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. *asr*, (*h*)*istir*. Av. *karana* 'boundary,' Phl. *kanār*, New Pers. *karān*, *kanār*, Oss. *kharon*. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazg*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afy. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*. Av. *vitasti* 'span,' Phl. *vitast*, New Pers. *bidast*, *gidast*, Afy. *vlišť*, *vlišť*, *lvlišť*. Skt. *liḥṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liška*, Tag. *lišk*. Av. *šsu* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špūn*. Av. *srva* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *srur*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srunbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *savr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ'a*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *pulr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pīr*, Waxi *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusay*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *fīrth*. Av. *acra* 'cloud,' Oss. *aru*.

Assimilation of syllables.

§ 956. The assimilation of syllables is found occasionally both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāirañjana* nom. prop., Pali *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nivānavat*, Bihārī, Hindi *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍināvē*, Sindhi *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afy. *nūnas*, *nūlas*, Dig. Oss. *naudas*, Tag. *nudas*. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Phl. *ānīnak* (read *ālīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *ayīnah*, Bal. *ādēn(k)*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Dissimilation of syllables.

§ 957. Dissimilation of syllables is found occasionally, although the phenomenon is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kakkōla* 'bdellium,' Pali *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*. Skt. *jalūkika* 'leech,' Pali *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadrughna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pali *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pali *kipillika*, *pipīlika*.

Loss of syllables.

§ 958. The loss of entire syllables is found quite frequently both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *astamayana* 'sunset,' Prāk. *atthamaṇa*. Skt. *avaṭa* 'ditch,' Prāk. *aḍa*, Sinh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādīvi* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvi*. Skt. *dēvakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaṭula*, *dēvakula*, Uṛ. *dēula*, Bang., Hindi *dēvaḷ*, Panj. *dēvala*, Sindhi *dēvīḷi*, Guj. *dēvaḷ*, Mar. *dēul*. Skt. *dvādasa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pali *dvādasa*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindi *bārah*, W. Hindi *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhi *bārahām*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *sīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *sīdhila*, *sadhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pali *sīthila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.

ḍhil, Naip. *ḍhilō*, Uṛ. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhil*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindi *ḍhal*, Hindi *ḍhilā*, Panj. *ḍhilla*, Sindhi *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhilum*, Mar. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhil*, *saḍhaḷ*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prak. *visat*, Pali *visati*, *visa*, Kaśm. *vuḥ*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindi *bis*, Panj., Sindhi *viḥ*, Guj., Mar. *vis*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prak. *anurūva*, Pali *anurūpa*, Sinh. *nuru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paitidāna* 'mouth-veil,' Pahl. *padām*, New Pers. *panōm*, *panām*. Av. *θrisata* 'thirty,' Phl. *sih*, Pāz., New Pers. *sī*, Afy. *dērē*. Av. *antarō* 'within,' Old Pers. *qtar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. **duvitiyām kāram* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daḥḡar*, Pāz. *dadigar*, New Pers. *ḍigar*, *dadigar*, N. Bal. *thi(h)*, Kurd. *dūtar*, *dūtra*. Av. *hisu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)isāva*, Phl. *(h)usvān*, *svān*, *savān*, New Pers. *sabān*, *subān*, Gab. *isvān*, Waxī *sik*, Šīyn. *sav*, Sarq. *siv*, Afy. *ḡiba*, Kurd. *asmān*, Tag. Oss. *awsag*. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angūst*, Siv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingart*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*.

Contraction.

§ 959. Contraction of vowels frequently results from the syncope of an intervocalic consonant in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In the latter group there was no objection to hiatus, although *y* or, more rarely, *v* was occasionally inserted to prevent the contact of two vowels (see §§ 122, 123, 137, 138, 143, 144, 164, 183, 184, 229, 232, 242, 256, 260, 270, 272, 292, 307, and consult §§ 341-348, 379-394). Hiatus in the New Indian dialects is not as frequent as in Middle Indian. The Middle and New Iranian dialects afford comparatively few examples of vowel-contraction.

The principal contractions in the New Indian dialects are as follows :

$\check{a} + \check{a} > \bar{a}$; $a + \check{i} > \bar{a}i$; $a + \check{u} > \bar{a}u$; $\check{i} + \check{i} > \bar{i}$; $i + a > \bar{e}$; $\check{u} + \check{u} > \bar{u}$;

u + a > ō, but *ā + ī*, *ā + ū*, *ū + a*, *ū + ī*, and *ē* or *ō* + long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pali *cammakāra*, U_r. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindi, Panj. *camār*, Sindhi *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cāmhar*. Skt. *bhagini* 'sister,' Prak. *bahini*, *bhatni*, Pali *bhagini*, U_r. *bhaṇi*, *bhatni*, Bang. *batn*, Hindi *bahin*, Panj. *bhaiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhi *bheṇu*, Guj. *bēhen*, Mar. *bahin*, *bhaiṇ*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prak. *caūttha*, *caūtṭha*, *cottha*, U_r. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindi, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhi, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumthā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prak. *viana*, Hindi *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prak. *rāūla*, *rāaula*, *lāūla*, Pali *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāūr*, Hindi *rāūl*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prak. *ṇāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prak. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāṣ*, other New Indian dialects *nāi*. Skt. *nikāṣa* 'near,' Māg. Prak. *niāḍa*, Pali *nikāṣa*, Bihārī *niyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prak. *duṇa*, Pali *diguṇa*, Hindi, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhi *ḍuṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prak. *suamḍha*, Pali *sugandha*, Hindi, Panj. *sāumḍhā*. Skt., Pali *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindi *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhi *ruaṇu*, Guj. *rōvum*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prak., Pali *kōila*, U_r. *kōyila*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prak. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēnhu*, Naip. *gahūm*, U_r. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindi *gō(m)hūm*, *gēmhūm*, *ghēūm*, Panj. *ghēūm*, Sindhi *gēhūm*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dašn*. Old Pers. *naiḍa* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(ih)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *asēr*, Pāz. *ašēr*, New Pers. *sēr*, Siv. *šī*, Zaf. *šēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *sēr*, Kurd. *siv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *vīš*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. **dātabara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word דַּתְבָּר , Dan. iii. 2), Phl. *dātvar*, *dātbar*, *dāvar*, New Pers. *dāvar*.

Epenthesis of vowels.

§ 960. The insertion of vowels in a consonant-group to obviate a succession of consonants is extremely frequent both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects. The phenomenon occurs somewhat more often in the latter system of dialects on account of their tendency toward assimilation rather than retention of consonant-groups (see § 460). In the Middle and New Indian dialects the vowel most commonly inserted to break up a consonant-group is *a*. Epenthetic *i*, which is comparatively rare, is found chiefly in Panjabi and Sindhi, while epenthetic *u* seems to be hardly found except in the eastern dialects (cf. §§ 3, 4). The three vowels *a*, *i*, and *u* are all used in the Middle and New Iranian dialects. Of these *a* is generally preferred, but if the consonant-group contains a sibilant, *i* is regularly inserted, while *u* is employed when the group includes a labial sound. The usage is, however, very capricious, and it seems scarcely possible to lay down exact rules.

The epenthesis of long vowels occurs with extreme rarity in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Prak., Pali *khagga*, Ur. *khamḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindi *kharag*, *khag*, *khāṁḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhi *khanō*, Guj. *khārum*, Mar. *khāmā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pali *daddu*, Hindi *dād*, Sindhi *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prak. *suṛja*, *sūria*, Pali *sūriya*, Hindi, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhi *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Sinh. (*h*)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prak. *ṇhānu*, Pāś. Prak. *sanāna*, Pali *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindi *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūṇā*, Guj., Mar. *nahān*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prak. *simbha*, Pali *silūsuma*, *sēṁha*, Sinh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prak. *aggi*, Pali (*ag*)*gini*, *aggi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindi *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhi *aḡi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prak. *salāhā*, Pali *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindi, Panj., Sindhi *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prak. *rayana*, Śaur. Prak. *radāna*, Pali, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindi *ratan*, Sindhi *ratanu*, *ratnu*, Sinh. *ruvan*. Skt. *māyati* 'withers,' Prak. *milāi*, Pali *milāyati*,

Hindi *milnā*, Sindhi *milanū*. Skt. *klēṣa* 'trouble,' Hindi *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kaḷēs*, Sindhi *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *stri* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthi*, *thi*, Gāthā *istrī*, Uṛ. *tiri*, vulgar Uṛ. *tiḷa*, colloquial Hindi *istrī*, *astrī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhi *tiriyā*, *istrī*, Elu *itiri*, Simh. *istrī*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaranū*, Bihārī *sumiran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxi *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōy*, Kurd. *rūn*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Phl. *sak*, *sag*, New Pers. *sag*, Gab. *sabā*, *savā*, Kāš. *asbā*, *aspā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afy. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiyn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afy. *rūn*, Bal. *rōšanī*, Kurd. *rōn*, *rūn*, *ruhnaī*, *rūnā(h)i*. Av. *spāda* 'army,' Phl. *spāh*, New Pers. *sipāh*, Dig. Oss. *afsād*, Tag. *afsād*, cf. Anglo-Ind. *sepoy*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *taoxman* 'seed,' Old Pers. *taumā*, Phl. *toxm*, New Pers. *tuxm*, Gab. *tūm*, Nāy. *tum*, Wāxi *taym*, Šiyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxi *šunj*, Šiyn. *šauṇ*, Sarq. *xāun*, Bal. *sarēn*. Av. *xraosōit* 'should scream,' Phl. *xrōs* 'cock,' New Pers. *xurōs*, Gab. *urus*, Bal. *kurus*, *krōs*, Kurd. *korōs*. Av. *θrayō* 'three,' Pāz. *sē*, New Pers. *sih*, Tāt *se*, Wāxi *trui*, Šiyn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yayn. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *broat* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxi *varao*, Šiyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoya* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōy*, New Pers. *darōy*, *durōy*, Māz. *darā*, *durū*, Tāl. *dā*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōy*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōy*. Av. *mərəbyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *maṭ-paitifrasa* 'with response,' Phl. *pātfrās*, Pāz. *pādafrāh*, New Pers. *pādāfarah*, *pādāfarah*.

Final Syllables.

§ 961. During the transition from the Old Indo-Iranian dialects to the New, original final syllables have been almost completely lost. Final single consonants of the Old Indo-Iranian dialects have thus disappeared for the most part, and the same fate has met the old short final vowels, while long final vowels have either been shortened or else lost altogether. Complete discussion of these problems, however, belongs rather to inflection than to phonology, but numerous examples of reduction and loss in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects of final syllables existing in the Old Indo-Iranian languages may be gathered from almost every page of this work.

Sandhi.

§ 962. The elaborate system of sandhi found in Sanskrit, and the less artificial conditions observable both in Avestan and Old Persian, ceased to exist in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects, although certain traces are still found in Middle Indian (Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, §§ 156-175, 353, Childers, *JRAS.*, N.S. xi. (1879), 99-121, Müller, *Pāli-Gramm.*, 59-64, Frankfurter, *Handb. of Pāli*, 21-25) and possibly in the Pāmīr dialects of the New Iranian (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b, 307-308). In the New Indian dialects, however, as in the Middle and New Iranian dialects (excepting the Pāmīr group) sandhi is concerned entirely with word-composition. It does not, therefore, strictly form part of a discussion of the comparative phonology of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

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B. Iranian.

(O.P.= Old Persian, which is cited in the Index only when no Avesta equivalent is found.)

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CORRIGENDA

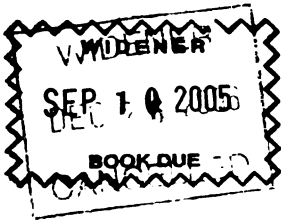
- § 2, l. 10, § 5, l. 45, § 458, l. 12-13, § 879, l. 10 omit Old Pers. *as(p)a*.
 4, l. 12 for *manuša* read *mānuša*.
 4, l. 14 for *karkaṭika* read *karkaṭikā*.
 4, l. 24 for *vanā* read *vana*.
 5, l. 46 for *paṣcaṭ* read *pascaṭ*.
 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā*.
 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *prāku* read *prākū*.
 71, l. 8 for *mṛḍaraka* read *mṛḍarāka*.
 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣarādin* read *mṛṣārādin*.
 82, l. 20 for *mṛttika* read *mṛttikā*.
 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue.'
 91, l. 2 for *x^raēda* read *x^raēdā*.
 115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka*.
 133, l. 3 for *rekha* read *rēkhā*.
 167, l. 5, § 168, l. 5 for *raucah* read *raocah*.
 184, l. 5 for *rājānah* read *rājānaḥ*.
 207, heading, l. 1 for *hr* read *hr̥*.
 329, l. 19 for *vapsa* read *vapsā*.
 337, l. 2, § 378, l. 2 for *chāya* read *chāyā*.
 339, l. 7 for *dēvalaya* read *dēvālaya*.
 342, l. 11-12 omit Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *mañṇiyam*.
 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaspa* read *vāspa*.
 374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.
 395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śīrsa*, *śīrsa* read *śīrṣa*.
 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement.'
 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *šavaiti* read *šavāite*.
 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm*.
 459, l. 5 for *jya* read *jyā*.
 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā*.
 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.
 486, l. 4 for *kṣiyate* read *kṣiyatē*.
 495, l. 5 for *dogdhum* read *dōgdhum*.
 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.
 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā*.
 Read throughout *Āvanti*, *Waxī* for *Avantikā*, *Waxī*.



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