

LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

GIFT OF

Columbia Univ.

Accession

102358

Class

7254
G 779



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
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN THE

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, AGENTS

66 FIFTH AVENUE

1902

PRINTED AT OXFORD
ENGLAND
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

*Gift
Columbia
University*

PK 23

G 82

1902

MAIN

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 Bartholomae, 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. 229-243), 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 Māzandarānī in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the Bangālī 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, از *Raz*, ܪܝܫ *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 praecrit, 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 1873 Trumpp in his *Grammar of the Pāṣṭō or Language of the Afjḥāns compared with the Īrānian 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 Īrānian 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 *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vykṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varōša* : Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšah* 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 *-ēr-*, 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. Anz.*, 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 *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, with Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhi (also called Ārṣa and Jaina Prākrit), and Śāurasēnī, the principal Prākrit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍeya, while the lower Prākrits used in literature, Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, and others form Mārkaṇḍeya's *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāisācī. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prākritis or literary dialects of the period. Pāisācī together with Cūlikāpāisācī seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prākrit-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 Prākrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēṇadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prākrit 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 Prākrit (or Apabhraṁśa) 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, *Pali 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 Mahāvīra 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 Apabhraṁśas or folk-dialects of the Prākritis. 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 Śāurasēnī-Apabhraṁśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṁśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māgadhī-Apabhraṁśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sīnhalese 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, Kaśmīrī, Uṛiyā, Bangālī, Bihārī, Hindī, Panjābī, Sindhī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī, Sinhalese and its older form Eḷu, Mālādivē, 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 Pahlavī, 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 Pāmīr, Caspian, and Central districts, Afyān, Balūcī, Kurdish, and Ossetish. The Pāmīr dialects include Wāxī, Šīyṇī, Sariqolī, Rōšānī, Tājikī, Sanglicī, Minjānī or Mungī, Yidyah, and Yaḡnōbī (Geiger, *Grundr. der iran. Phil.*, i. b. 290-291). Caspian dialects are Samnānī, Māzandarānī, Lāhijānī, Gilakī, Tālīšī, and Tāt (Geiger, 346-348). The Central dialects embrace Gabrī, Šīrāzī, Bahbahānī, Sivēndī, Yazdī, Zafrāhī, Kašahī, Vōnīšūnī, Kuhrudī, Nāyīnī, 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). Balūcī, the most primitive of all the New Iranian dialects, has two divisions, Northern and Southern (or Makrānī), which diverge considerably. The greater portion of Balūcī literature is in the Northern vernacular, but the Makrānī is the more primitive speech. North Balūcī is divided into Layārī in the North and Marrī in the South, while Southern Balūcī comprises Eastern and Western sub-dialects (Geiger, 232). The chief divisions of Kurdish are Lūrī, Kirmānšāhī, Gūrānī, Mukrī, 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 praecliticae*, 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 Prakrit, 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 Jainaprakrit*, 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 Pali-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 Gaudīan 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 Kaśmīrī phonology, *JRASBe.*, lxv. 280-305, lxvi. 180-184; Kellogg, *Grammar of the Hindi Language*, Allahabad, 1876; Trumpp, *Grammar of the Sindhī 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 Pahlavī I relied mainly on the *Manuel de Pehlevi* of de Harlez, Paris, 1880; Spiegel's *Grammatik der Huzvâresch-Sprache*, Vienna, 1856; the edition of the Frahang-ī 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 Pāmīr, Central, and Caspian dialects, Afyān, Balūcī, 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 Afyān, by Trumpp's *Grammar of the Paštō*, London, 1873, Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, Paris, 1888-1890, and Geiger, *Abh. M. Ac. der Wiss., I. Cl.*, xx. 169-222; for Balūcī, 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: *m* instead of *ṃ*, *ś* instead of *ṣ*, and *ṣ* for *ṣ*, also *r̥*, *r̥h*, *l̥* for cerebral *r*, *rh*, and *l* (*ḷ*). In Middle and New Indian I write *ē*, *ō* before single consonants, but *e*, *o* before consonant-groups; for Sindhī I add, according to the system of Trumpp and the Royal Asiatic Society, *ḡ*, *ḵ*, *ḷ*, *Ḹ*, '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, \bar{a} , $\bar{ā}$ have been added according to Geiger's usage, although I here transcribe his \bar{m} , \bar{n} by m . Iranian: I transpose the functions of \check{c} and c , and of \check{j} and j , to harmonize with the Indian system, so that c, j denote palatals, and \check{c}, \check{j} affricatae; for Afγān q I write a , in Balūci i instead of $ī$, in North Balūci kh, ch, th, ph instead of $k^c, \check{c}^c, t^c, p^c$, and in Ossetish $a, i, c, ch, j, \check{c}, \check{ch}, \check{j}$ instead of Hübschmann's $\bar{a}, \bar{i}, t\check{s}, th\check{s}, d\check{z}, ts, ths, dz$. 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 $\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\nu$: Boeotian $\acute{\iota}\acute{o}\nu$; Attic $\delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$: Tarentine $\delta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$; 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 :

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

LOUIS H. GRAY.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afy.	= Afyān.	N.	= North.
Apab.	= Apabhraṃśa.	Nāip.	= Nāipālī.
Ardhamāg.	= Ardhamāgadhī.	Nat.	= Natanzī.
Ass.	= Assamese.	Nāy.	= Nāyīnī.
Av.	= Avesta.	nom. prop.	= nomen proprium.
Āvant.	= Āvantī.	O. H. Germ.	= Old High German.
Bahb.	= Bahbahānī.	Oss.	= Ossetish.
Bal.	= Balūcī.	Pāiś.	= Pāiśācī.
Bang.	= Bangālī.	Panj.	= Panjābī.
Bulg.	= Bulgarian.	Pāz.	= Pāzand.
Dig.	= Digorish.	Pers.	= Persian.
E.	= East.	Phl.	= Pahlavī.
Eng.	= English.	Prāk.	= Prākrit.
Gab.	= Gabrī.	Rōś.	= Rōśānī.
GAv.	= Gāθā-Avesta.	Śāk.	= Śākārī.
Gīl.	= Gīlakī.	Samn.	= Samnānī.
Gk.	= Greek.	Sangl.	= Sanglīcī.
Guj.	= Gujarātī.	Sarq.	= Sariqolī.
Gyp.	= Gypsy.	Śāur.	= Śāurasēnī.
Ind.	= Indian.	Śīyn.	= Śīynī.
Kaf.	= Kafirī.	Siñh.	= Siñhalese.
Kāś.	= Kāśānī.	Śīr.	= Śīrāzī.
Kāśm.	= Kāśmīrī.	Sīv.	= Sīvēndī.
Kuhr.	= Kuhrūdī.	Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Kurd.	= Kurdish.	Span.	= Spanish.
Lat.	= Latin.	Tag.	= Tagaurish.
lexicog.	= lexicographical.	Tāl.	= Tālīsh.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	Uṛ.	= Uṛiyā.
Māg.	= Māgadhī.	Vōn.	= Vōniśūnī.
Māhār.	= Māhārāṣṭrī.	W.	= West.
Mar.	= Marāṭhī.	Yaṅn.	= Yaṅnōbī.
Māz.	= Māzandarānī.	YAv.	= Younger Avesta.
Med.	= Median.	Yidg.	= Yidgī.
Minj.	= Minjānī.	Zaf.	= Zafrabī.
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 Aṃā 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*, or to *ū̄*, *ī̄* 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*, *ḷ*). Even the Old Indian has lost Indo-Germanic *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ṝ̄*, and the Avesta has lost these sounds with Indo-Germanic *r̄*, *ṝ̄* 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

ʀ, 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 *ʀ*, 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. *bharāi*, Pāli *bharati*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *papī*, Uṛ. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. \sqrt{pak} , \sqrt{pik} 'ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, Gyp. *pakō*.

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

$$a > i.$$

§ 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 Sindhī 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. √*pak*, √*pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *aṅgāra* 'coal,' Prāk., Jāina Prāk. *iṅgāla*, Guj. *iṅgār*, *iṅgōl*, Mar. *iṅgāl*, *iṅgōl*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' *yatra* 'where,' Apab. Prāk. *jīdhā*, *jetthu*, *jattu*, Pāli *yatthā*, *yatra*, Sindhī *jiti*. Skt. *dyūtakara* 'gambler,' Śāk. and Māg. Prāk. *jūḍiala*. Skt. *tamasa* 'darkness,' Prāk. *tama*, Pāli *timisa*. Skt. *pañjara* 'cage,' Māg. Prāk. *pañjalaa*, Pāli *pañjara*, Ur. *piṁjira*, Hindī *piṁjar*, Sindhī *piṁir*. Skt. *kṣamā*, 'patience,' Prāk., Pāli *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Hindī *chimā*, *chamā*, Panj. *khimā*, Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*. Skt. *varkara* 'goat,' Ur., Bang., Hindī *bakarā*, Panj. *bakkarā*, Sindhī *bakirō*, Guj. *bakarō*, Mar. *bōkar*, Gyp. *bakro*. Skt. **prathara* 'first,' Hindī *pahalā*, *pahil*, Panj. *pahil*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pahir(y)ōm*. Skt. *prahara* 'watch,' Prāk. *pahara*, Panj. *pahir*, other New Ind. dialects *pahar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *atarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ataš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Šiy. *yaš*, Sarq. *yuš*, 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. *ḡayar*, Kurd. *jar̄k*, Dig. Oss. *igar*. Av. *sata* 'hundred,' New Pers. *sad*, Afγ. *sal*, *sil*, Kurd. *sad*, Oss. *sada*. Av. *pairi* 'around,' Old Pers. *pariy*, Phl., New Pers. *par*, Bal. *pir* (cf. Siūh. *piri*). Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Šiy. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Gab. *jan*, Kuhr. *žan*, *jīn*, Zaf. *žan*, Afγ. *jinaī*, *jūnaī*, 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 Sindhī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, so *a* becomes *u* most often of all in Uṛiya and Bangālī.

Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paṭhuma*, *puḷhuma*, *puḷhama*, *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*. Skt. *pyṭhaktva* 'peculiarity,' Jāina Prāk. *puhutta*. Skt. *manuṣa* 'man,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhaulī) *munisa*, *manusa*. Skt. *pañcaviṃśati* 'twenty-five,' Pāli *pañṇuṃsati*. Skt. *karkaṭika* 'cucumber,' Uṛ. *kāṃkurī*, Bang. *kāṃkur*, Hindī *kakarī*. Skt. *mudgara* 'club,' Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Uṛ. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugur*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muṅṅirō*, 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. *gran*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Phl. *x^vaṭai* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiy., Sarq. *quḏā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šavad*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuthā*, Kurd. *ciān*, Oss. *caim*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiy. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *sufōr*, 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. *√x^van* 'call,' Phl.

x^vanʔanö, New Pers. *x^vāndan*, Wāxī *kandam*, Šīy. *šandam*, Sarq. *šāndam*, Bal. *vānag*, N. Bal. *vānaγ*, Kurd. *x^vāndin*, *xūndin*, Oss. *xund*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, *tišnak(ih)*, New Pers. *tiš*, Šīy. *tašna(gī)*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Gab. *tašna*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*.

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. *samṛddhi* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *sāmiddhi*, Pāli *samidhi*. Skt. *sarṣapa* 'mustard,' Jaina Prāk. *sāsava*, Pāli *sāsapa*. Skt. *sparśana* '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*), Kaśm. *vūč*, Uṛ. *bāchurī*, Bang. *vācchā*, *bāccā*, E. Hindī *bāch*, Hindī *bacharā*, *bacharā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bācō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūm*. Skt. *khatvā* 'bedstead,' Prāk. *khatṭā*, Uṛ. *khāṭa*, Bang. *khāṭ(alā)*, Hindī *khāṭ*, Panj. *khatt*, Sindhī *khut*, Guj., Mar. *khāt*. Skt., Pāli *kacchapa* 'tortoise,' Uṛ. *kachima*, Bang. *kāchima*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kachūm*. Skt. *calana* 'course,' Uṛ. *cālibā*, Braj *cālanāwūm*, Hindī *calanā*, Mar. *cālaṇēm*. Skt. *satya* 'true,' Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Uṛ., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāme*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,'

Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, U_r. *naṅgalā*, Bang. *nēṁtā*, Hindī *naṅgā*, E. Panj. *naṅgā*, W. Panj. *nāṅgā*, Sindhī *naṅgō*, Guj. *nāguṁ*, Mar. *naṅgā*, *naggā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakha* 'finger-nail,' Phl., New Pers. *nāxun*, Afy. *nūk*, Bal. *nākun*, *nāhun*, Kurd. *nainuk*. Skt. *parut* 'last year,' New Pers. *pār*, Wāxī *pard*, Sarq. *parvus*, Afy. *parōs*, Bal. *pārī*, N. Bal. *phārī*, Dig. Oss. *fara*, Tag. *faron*. Av. *hazaṁra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Wāxī *hazūr*, Sarq. *hazōr*, Afy. *zar*, Kurd. *hazār*. Av. *taṁra* 'dark,' Phl., New Pers. *tār*, Minj. *tarāvi*, Afy. *tōr*, Dig. Oss. *thalīnga*, Tag. *thaling*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl. *varf*, Afy. *vāvra*. Av. *marəta* 'man,' Old Pers. *martiya*, Phl. *marṭ*, New Pers. *mard*, Gab. *mārd*, Sīv. *mīrd*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mīr*, *mēr*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Wāxī, Sang. *lav*, Gab. *lāv*. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Wāxī *sur(i)*, Gab. *sarṭ*, 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. *pašcaṭ* 'afterward,' Old Pers. *pasā*, Phl. *pas(īn)*, New Pers. *pas*, Kuhr. *pas*, *paš*, Kāš. *pac*, Bal. *paš*, Kurd. *pašva*, *pāšī*, Dig. Oss. *fastaga*, Tag. *fastay*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xusrū*, *xusū*, Wāxī, Šiy. *xas*, Kāš. *xasrū*, Afy. *x^vāša*, Bal. *vassō*, *vassī*, *vassē*, Kurd. *xosī*, *xassu*, *xusrū*.

a > ī.

§ 6. This change is a very rare one.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sarq. *γīn*, *žin*, 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. *vūč*, etc. (see § 5).

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

Šiy. *madāna*, Sarq. *mēd*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afy. *mlā*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mīdag*. New Pers. *namak* 'salt,' Šiy. Šīr. *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 Panjābī and Gujarātī 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 Siñhalese, or by the Marāṭhī *āi* developed from Indian *a* (the reverse of the Panjābī change of Old Indian *āi* to *a*).

Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, *accharia*, *acchaara*, *accharijja*, Pāli *accharia*, *acchēra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *acaraj*. Skt. *śayyā* 'bed,' Prāk. *sejjā*, Pāli *seyyā*, Hindī *sēj*, Mar. *śēj*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* 'thirteen,' Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kaśm. *truvāh*, U_r., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tērahaṃ*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*, Siñh. *teles*. Skt. *phalgu* 'empty,' Pāli *phcggu*. Skt. *sandhi* 'burglar's mine,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, U_r., Bang. *sindh*, E. Hindī *sēñh*, Hindī *sēñdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēñdhi*, Mult. *sandh*. Skt. *laharī* 'wave,' Hindī *lahar*, Panj. *lahir*, Guj. *lēhēr*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Hindī, Panj. *bahirā*, Guj. *bēhēr*, Siñh. *bihira*. Skt. *kapāṭa* 'door,' Pāli *kavāṭa*, U_r., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Bihār. *kēvār(ā)*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*.

Skt. *aṣṭi* 'eight,' Prāk., Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kaśm., U_r., Bihārī, Hindī *āṭh*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*, Siñh. *āṭa*. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Prāk., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj*, Kaśm. *mañz*, U_r. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *majhi*, *māñjh*, *mañh*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *mañjhi*, Mar. *mājh*, Siñh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*. Skt., Prāk. *jana* 'person,' Siñh. *dena*, *dana*.

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

bāimgan, Panj. *bāiṅam*, Mar. *bāimgan*. Skt. *saptacatvarimśat* 'forty-seven,' Kaśm. *satatājih*, Ur. *satecāliśa*, Bang. *śatcaliś*, Bihār., Hindī *sāimṭālis*, Panj. *saṁṭālī*, Sindhī *satētālih*, Guj. *sūḍṭālis*, Mar. *sattēcālīs*.

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. *dā* verbal prefix, Māz. *da*, Gil. *da*, *dū*, *dī*, Afγ. *da*, Kurd. *dē*, *da*, Oss. *d-*. Av. $\sqrt{\text{karəš}}$ 'drag,' Phl. *kašūtanō*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kēšan*, *kišan*. Old Pers. *martiya* 'man,' Kurd. *mīr*, *mēr*, etc. (see § 5). Av. *xšvašti* 'sixty,' New Pers. *šašt*, *šast*, Afγ. *špēta*, Kurd. *šašt*. Av. *taršti* 'flight,' Afγ. *tēšta*. Av. *x^vanhar* 'sister,' Phl., New Pers. *x^vāhar*. Wāxī *x^vui*, Sarq. *yax^v*, Sangl. *i^vva*, Minj. *yax^vva*, Afγ. *xōr*, Bal. *gvaḥār*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xūha*, Zaza *vai*, Oss. *xora*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, *hat*, Šiy. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaγn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Zaza *haišt*, Oss. *asth*.

$a > \ddot{o}$.

§ 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, Uriya, and Bangālī. The change of *a* to *o* is most common in Uriya and Bangālī, and in Sinhalese it often occurs near *l* developed from a cerebral or dental.

Skt. *badura* 'jujube tree,' Prāk. *vōra*, Pāli *badara*, Ur. *bara* (pron. *bōrō*), Bang. *baīr*, Hindī, Panj. *bāīr*, *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*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Ur., Bang., Bihār. *mōmch*, 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. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*, Kaśm. *kāh*, Uṛ., Bang. *ēgāra*, E. Hindī *ēgyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giāraṁ*, Sindhī *ikārahaṁ*, *yārahaṁ*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarū*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī*, *puha(v)vī*, Pāli *paṭhavī*, *pathavī*, Old Hindī *puhumi*, Siñh. *polava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maðu* 'mead,' Phl., New Pers. *mai*, Kurd. *mōt*, Oss. *mud*, *mid*. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Phl., New Pers. *ars*, Kāš. *asl*, Māz. *asr*, Afγ. *ōša*, Bal. *als*. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiy., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *pānz*, Minj. *panc*, Yidg. *pānš*, Samn. *punj*, Afγ. *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. *caṣṣu* 'eye,' Bang. *cōkh*, *cāukh*, etc. (see preceding §, **a**).

b. Iranian. Av. *pacata* 'cooked,' Phl. *puxtanō*, New Pers. *puxtān*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Gab. *paxtmūn*, Kāš. *patēn*, Māz. *paxta*, Afγ. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašaγ*, Kurd. *pātin*, Zaza *paujāna*, Oss. *fičun*.

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*, Elu *lakara*. Skt. *adhas* 'below,' Prāk. *hettha*, Pāli *hetthā*, Uṛ., Bang. *hētha*, Sindhī *hēthē*, Guj. *hēthē*, Mar. *hēt*. Skt. *avatrāṇa* 'rescue,' Uṛ. *bacāibā*, Bang. *bācān*, Hindī *baeāmnā*, Mar. *vacāvīṇēn*. Skt. *araṇya* 'forest,' Mahār. Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *araṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Old Hindī *raṇj*, Hindī *ran*,

Sindhī *riñ*, *riṇu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, Sinh. *raṇa*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Sinh. *māti*. Skt., Pāli *ataṣī* 'linseed,' Kaśm. *aliś*, Ur. *tīsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, Hindī *tisī*, *alsī*. Skt. *aśōka* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *asōa*, Pāli *aśōka*, 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*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiy. *angašt*, Sarq. *ungaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Afγ. *gūta*, Oss. *angursth*, cf. also New Pers. *anguštar* 'ring,' Kurd. *gustir*. Av. *asōnga* 'stone,' Old Pers. *aθqaina*, Phl., New Pers. *sang*. Av., Old Pers. *azdā* 'knowledge,' Afγ. *zda*. Av. *apqas* 'open,' Phl. *apāc*, *apāj*, Pāz. *awāž*, *awāz*, New Pers. *bāz*, Wāxī *vāz*, Sarq. *vūz*, Bal. *pac*, Kurd. *vāžī*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxam* 'of us,' Pāz. *ēmā*, New Pers. *mā*, Oss. *max*. Av. *apərənāyu* 'boy,' Phl. *apurnāyak*, New Pers. *burnā*, *barnā*, Afγ. *vōr*. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Māz. *samā*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ažmān*.

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* 'arcea-nut,' Prāk. *poppphala* < **pūgphala*, Guj. *pōphal*, Mar. *pōphal*. Skt. *jāgarati* 'watches,' Prāk. *jaggarī*, Pāli *jaggati*, Ur. *jāganā*, Bang. *jāgitē*, Sindhī *jāgaṇu*, Guj. *jāgaruñ*, Mar. *jāgaṇēm*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*. Bihārī *dubara*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ṛabalō*, Guj.

dubal(a), Mar. *dubal*. Skt. *cāmara* ‘fly-whisk,’ Prāk., Pāli *cāmara*, Bang. *camrā*, Hindī *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. *yazatanəm* ‘of the angels,’ Phl. *yaztān*, *yazdān*, New Pers. *yazdān* ‘God.’ Av. *paθana* ‘broad,’ Phl. *pahn(āi)*, Afγ. *plān*, Bal. *patan*, Kurd. *pān*, Oss. *fathan*. Av. *axšaēna* ‘blue,’ Phl., New Pers. *xāšīn*, Afγ. *šīn* but fem. *šna*, Kurd. (*ha*)*šīn*, Oss. *axsinag*. Av. *nəmah* ‘homage,’ Phl. *namāc*, Pāz. *namāš*, New Pers. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmunj*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nīmī(š)*, *namūš*, *namēš*. Av. *vīsaiti* ‘twenty,’ Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Afγ. *vīšt*, 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 Hindī. In Ur. and Bang. on the other hand final *a* is often pronounced.

Skt. *mudgara* ‘club,’ Prāk., Pāli *moggara*, Ur. *mōgarā*, Bang. *mugura*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *muñirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*. Skt. *satya* ‘true,’ Prāk., Pāli *sacca*, Ur., Bang. *sacā*, Braj *sāme*, Hindī *sac*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacō*, Guj., Mar. *sac*. Skt. *trayōdaśa* ‘thirteen,’ Prāk. *tēraha*, Pāli *tēdasa*, *tērasa*, *tēlasa*, Kāśm. *truvāh*, Ur., Bang. *tēraha*, Bihārī, Hindī *tērah*, W. Hindī *tērā*, Panj. *tērām*, Sindhī *tērahām*, 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*, Afγ. *lārɣa*, Kurd., Oss. *darg*. Old Pers. *tigra* ‘sharp,’ Phl. *tēj*, Pāz. *tēš*,

New Pers. *tāz*, Wāxī *tiz*, Sarq. *taiz*, Kurd. *tīz*(ī). Av. *sarōda* 'year,' Phl., New Pers. *sāl*, Dig. Oss. *sarda*, 'Tag. *sarl*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum* 'tenth,' New Pers. *dah* 'ten,' Wāxī *das*. *las*, Šiy. *δās*, *lās*, Sarq. *das*, Sangl., Yaγn. *das*, Afγ. *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 Hindī 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 Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' colloquial Hindī *asnān*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' colloquial Hindī *asthān*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' colloquial Hindī *astrī* or *istrī* (see below, § 36).

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

b. Iranian. Av. *brvaṭ* 'brow,' Phl. *brū*, New Pers. *abrū*, Wāxī *varao*, Šiy. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Gab. *burā*, Afγ. *vrūja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burā*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *stārə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Afγ. *stōrai*, Bal. *astār*, *istār*, Kurd. *istirk*, Oss. *stali*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, New Pers. *birādar*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiy. *vrod*, *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Afγ. *vrōr*, Bal. *brat*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*.

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

§ 15. Indo-Iranian \bar{a} is generally retained unchanged both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects of all periods.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhi *vāghu*.

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

Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pāi*, Wāxī *pūδ*, Šiy. *pād*, Sangl. *pud*, Gīl. *pō*, Tāt *pā*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*. Av. *gātu* 'place,' Old Pers. *gāθu*, Phl. *gās*, New Pers. *gāh*, Afγ. *γālai*. Av. *ahmāka* 'ours,' Old Pers. *amāxum* 'of us,' New Pers., Kurd. *mā*, Oss. *max*.

$\bar{a} > a$.

§ 16. The shortening of an original \bar{a} 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 \bar{a} under the conditions just described there are numerous instances of sporadic shortening of original \bar{a} .

a. Indian. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *vāgh*. Skt. *mārgasira* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasira*, Pāli *māgasira*, *maggasira*. Skt. *upasthāpitva* 'having established,' Gāthā *upasthapitva*. Skt. *dēvalaya* 'temple,' Ur. *dēula*, Bang., Hindī *dēval*, Panj. *dēvalā*, Sindhī *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēūl*. Skt. *mārga* 'road,' Apab. Prāk. *maggu*, Pāli *magga*, Hindī *mag*, *māmgā*, Sindhī *māgu*, other New Ind. dialects *māg*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahan̄ga*, Nāip. *mahan̄gō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahan̄gā*, Panj. *mahin̄gā*, Sindhī *mahan̄gō*, Guj. *mōm̄ghon̄*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāi*, Pāli *khādati*, Nāip. *khāibōm̄*, Kaśm. *khyun*, Ur. *khānā*, Bang. *khāitē*, Sindhī *khāinu*, Guj. *khāvum̄*, Mar. *khānēim̄*, Siinh. *kanavā*, Gyp. *cha*. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Māhār. Prāk. *bhāginējja*, Pāli *bhāginēyya*, Siinh. *bāhānā*, *bānā*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Ur., Bang. *gām*, Hindī *gāmv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gā(m)u*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gāmv*, Siinh. *gāmi*, Gyp. *gav*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargās*, New Pers. *kargas*. Av. *yāna* 'path,' New Pers. *yān*, Afγ. *yūn*.

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

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

§ 17. The change of \bar{a} to \check{i} occurs very rarely.

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

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

§ 18. The change of \bar{a} to \check{u} 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 \bar{a} is changed to \bar{u} before *m* and *n*, as \bar{e} is changed to \bar{i} under the same circumstances (see § 89).

a. Indian. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Ur. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpas*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj. *kapah*, Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*, Siñh. *kapu*. Skt. *sāsnā* 'paunch,' Prak. *suṅhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zānu* 'knee,' Phl. *zānūk*, New Pers. *zānū*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Judaeo-Pers. *zūnī*, *zānī*, Afγ. *zangum*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*. Av. *rāna* 'thigh,' Phl., New Pers. *rān*, Šīγ. *rūn*, Afγ. *vrūn*. Phl. *yāmak*, *jāmak* 'robe,' New Pers. *jāmah*, Nāy. *yūmu*, Kurd. *yūma*. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, Šīγ. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safur*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Afγ. *čalōr*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *tarsaiti* 'fears,' Old Pers. *tarsatiy*, Phl. *tarsūtanō*, New Pers. *tarsān* 'cowardly,' Bal. *trusag*, N. Bal. *tursaγ*, 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,' Prāk. *metta*, Pāli *matta*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Mar. *ṭhēvaṇēṇ*. Skt. *āśā* 'hope,' Mahār. Prāk. *āsā*, Ass. *ēsā*, *āsā*. Skt. *rātrī* 'night,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāi*, Pāli *ratti*, UṚ., Bang., Bihār. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Sinh. *rā*, *rāya*. Skt., Pāli *ālōka* 'appearance,' Sinh. *cliya*, *alu*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *tēv* 'strength,' beside *tāv*. Phl. *vācār* 'market-place,' New Pers. *bāzār*, Gab. *vijār*, Kāš. *bōzōr*, *vōjōr*. Kurd. *bāzēr*, 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. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *vā*, Tāt *vār*, Afy. *vo*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *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. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Wāxī *yapak*, *yupk*, Minj. *yaoγa*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yaγn. *ap*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *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. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī

nung, Māz. *nūn*, Gil. *nōm*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*.

Aphaeresis of ā.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' New Pers. *ātaš*, *taš*, *atiš*, Šiγ. *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., Prāk., Pāli *chāyā* 'shadow,' Hindī *chām(v)*, *chāmh*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāūm*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāmy*. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhī *nimr*, Guj. *nimdd*, Mar. *nīd*. Skt. *dūrvā* 'grass,' Pāli *dubbā*, Uṛ., Bang. *dūba*, Hindī *dūb*.

Anaptyxis of ā.

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

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

i = i.

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

a. Skt. *iva* 'as,' Prāk. *via*, Pāli *iva*. Skt. *vidyut* 'lightning,' Prāk., Pāli *viḷju*, Uṛ. *bijuli*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bijali*, Sindhī *vījūm*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bijalī*, *vīj*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pīdar*, Kāš. *paṛ*, Šiγ., Sarq. *pid*. Av. *ciṭ* 'what,' Old Pers. *ciy*, Pāz., New Pers. *cih*, Afγ. *ca*, Kurd. *cī*, *ca*, *cē*, Dig. Oss. *ci*, *či*, Tag. *či*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*.

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 Prākrit-Sprachen*, § 115.

a. Indian. Skt. *haridrā* 'turmeric,' Prāk. *haladdā*, *haladdī*, Pāli *haliddā*, also Kaśm. *līdir*, *līdar*, U_r. *haldī*, Bang. *haluda*, Bihārī, Hindī *haldī*, Panj. *haldhī*, Guj. *halad*, Mar. *haladdā*. Skt. *iti* 'thus,' Prāk. *tī*, *ia*, Pāli *iti*. Skt. *sīthila* 'loose,' Prāk. *sadhila*, *siḍhila*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Ass. *ḍhil*, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, U_r. *ḍhīla*, Bang. *ḍhīla*, *ḍhala*, Bihārī *ḍhīlā*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhirō*, Sindhī *ḍharō*, *ḍhirō*, *ḍhīlō*, Guj. *ḍhīluṅ*, Mar. *sadhāl*, *ḍhīlā*. Skt., Pāli *kāṭhina* 'difficult,' U_r., Bang., Hindī *kāṭhin*, Panj. *kāṭhan*, Sindhī *kaṭanu*, Guj. *kāṭhan*, Mar. *kaḍhīṅ*. Skt. *garbhīṅī* 'pregnant,' Prāk. *gabbhīṅī*, Pāli *gab-bhīṅī*, Bang. *gābhīṅa* (vulg. *gabna*), Hindī *gābhīn*, Panj. *garabhan*, Sindhī *gābhīṅī*, Guj., Mar. *gābhan*. Skt. *divasa* 'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Śāur. *divasa*, Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divasa*, Old Sinh. *divasa*, Sinh. *davasa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Tāl. *zumistān*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiy. *zimj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afγ. *zimai*, Kurd. *zavistān*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afγ. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, Oss. *sisth*. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Wāxī *zik*, Šiy. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afγ. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, *zumān*, Oss. *avzag*.

i > *ā*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchā*, U_r. *ākhu*, *ākha*, *īkha*, Bang. *āku*, Hindī *īkh*, *ūkh*, Guj., Mar. *ūs*, Sinh. *iṅgu*, *uk*.

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 Uriya and Bangālī.

Skt. *rājila* 'lizard,' Pāli *rājula*. Skt. *iṣu* 'arrow,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *usu*. Skt., Pāli *bindu* 'drop,' U_r., Bang. *bindī*, Hindī, Panj. *bānd*, *bind*, Sindhī *bānd*, *būmrō*, *bīmṛī*, Guj. *bānd*, *vindu*, Mar. *bindī*, *bānd*, Sinh. *poḍa*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' U_r. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*. Skt. *tintiḍī* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēmteli*, Nāip. *titri*, U_r. *tēmtulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(n)tul*. Skt. *ikṣu* '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. *mužah* 'eyelash,' beside *mižah*, Gab. *mujang*, Kāš. *maja*, *muja*, *maža*, Bal. *micāc*, N. Bal. *mišāš*, Kurd. *mižānk*, *mižī*. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *špuš*, etc. (see § 25). Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Tāl. *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 *ā* developed from *a* (see § 5). The phenomenon occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Gāthā *sīṃha*, Kāsm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sīṃgh*, *sīṃh*, *siṃgh*, Panj. *siṃgh*, other New Indian dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jībbhā*, Pāli *jihvā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kāsm. *zēo*, Sindhī *jībh*, Sinh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, other New Indian dialects *jībh*. Skt. *āupaśivi*, nom. prop., Pāli *upasīva*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prāk. *vīsaī*, Pāli *vīsaṃ*, *vīsaṭi*, Kāsm. *vuh*, Bang. *bīśa*, Hindī *bīs*, Panj. *bīh*, Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,'

Prāk. *bahiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāṃṇī*, *bhaiṃṇī*, Bang. *bhaiṃ*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāimh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucīhr*, New Pers. *huzīr*, *hujīr*, *xujīr*. Av. *vicinōiθ* 'gathered,' Phl. *cītanō*, New Pers. *cīdan*, Bal. *cinag*, N. Bal. *chinag*, Kurd. *cinin*. Skt. *kapiṅjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapiṅjar*, N. Bal. *khavinjar*. Av. *ištya* 'brick,' Phl., New Pers. *xišt*, Bal. *išt*, *it*. Old Pers. *cišciy* 'something,' New Pers. *cīz*, Kurd. *tišt*.

i > ā.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Uṛ. *ākhu*, *īkha*, *ūkha*, Hindī *īkh*, *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 Gujarātī 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. *ṇeddā*, *ṇiddā*. Skt. *kirāṭa* 'hypocrite,' Pāli *kēraṭika*, *kēraṭiya*. Skt. *dvibhāga* 'two-fold,' Pāli *dvēbhāga*. Skt. *tintiḍi* 'tamarind,' Ass. *tēntēli*, Uṛ. *tēntulī*, *tēmtulī*, Bang. *tē(m)tul*, etc. (see § 27). Skt. *sindūra* 'vermilion,' Prāk. *sendūra*, Pāli *sindūra*, Ass. *sendur*, *sindur*, Bang. *sindur*, Bihārī *sēnur*, Hindī *sēndūr*, Sindhī *sindhuru*, Guj. *sindūr*, Mar. *sēndūr*.

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

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,' Prāk., Pāli *dāni*(*ni*).

[b. Iranian. Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, 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. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' New Pers. *zaryūn*, Afγ. *zarγūn*.

Apocope of i.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *dr̥ṣṭi* 'sight,' Prāk., Pāli *dit̥ṭhi*, Hindī *d̥ṭhi*, *d̥ṭh*, *d̥ṭh*, Panj. *ḍiṭṭh*, Sindhī *ḍiṭi*, Mar. *d̥ṭh*. Skt. *vyakti* 'person,' Hindī *bikat*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Afγ. *lar*, Kurd. *žīr*, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Sindhī *istrī*, Eḷu *itiri*, Sinh. *istrī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spačta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *söbō*, Kāš. *asbēd*, Kuhr. *asbē*, Sarq. *spaid*, Yidg. *spī*, Afy. *spīn*, *spēra*, Kurd. *ispī*, *spī*. Skt. *ṣṛgāla* 'jackal,' Phl., New Pers. *šayāl*, Šiy., Sarq. *iškāl*, Afy. *caγāl*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Afy. *γaγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*, but Dig. *iγosun* 'to hear,' Tag. *qūsin*. Skt. *aṅga* 'limb,' Dig. Oss. *ion*, Tag. *on*. [Hübsehmann 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*.]

$\bar{i} = \bar{i}$.

§ 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 Hindī often writes *iy* for \bar{i} (Skt. *jīva* 'life,' Old Hindī *jiyava*). 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 *maʔrūf* ('known [to the Arabs]' = Arabic sounds) vowels \bar{i} , \bar{u} . The Judæo-Persian and the Balūcī, like the Indian pronunciation of New Persian, maintain clearly the original distinction between the *majhūl* and the *maʔrūf* vowels.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīvita* 'life,' Prāk. *jīvia*, Pāli *jīvita*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīha(rā)*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *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. *parīkṣā* 'test,' Bang. *parakha*, *parakhāi*, Hindī *parakhānā*, *parakhāiyā*, Panj. *parakhavūn*, *parakhanār*, Sindhī *pārakhia*, *parkhaṇu*, Mar. *parakhaṇēm*, *pārakhī*.

$\bar{i} > i$.

§ 37. The shortening of \bar{i} is naturally the most common change to which \bar{i} 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*, *tikkiṇa*, New Indian dialects *tikh*, except Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *tikh*. Skt. *īśvara* 'lord,' Prāk. *īsara*, Pāli *issara*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*. Skt. *alika* 'false,' Prāk. *alia*, Pāli *alika*. Skt. *dvitīya* 'second,' Prāk. *duia*, U_r. *dusra*, Old Hindī *dūjā*, Hindī *dūsarā*, Panj. *dū(j)ā*, Sindhī *bījō*, *bīō*, Guj. *bījō*, Mar. *dusarā*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, U_r. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gāhirā*. Skt. *kīla* 'pin,' Pāli *k(h)īla*, U_r. *kilā*, Hindī *killā*, Panj. *kill*, Sindhī *kilī*, Mar. *killā*. Skt. *kīṭa* 'worm,' U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kīḍā*, Sindhī *kīḷō*, Guj. *kīḷō*, Mar. *kīḍā*, *kīḷ*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(m)s*, Sinh. *iha*, *isa*, *his*, *sis*. Skt. *kīrti* 'fame,' Prāk., Pāli *kitti* Sinh. *kit*.

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

$\bar{i} > u$.

§ 38. The change of \bar{i} to *u* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jīra* 'cummin-seed,' Sinh. *duru*. Skt. *pravāsīn* 'sojourner,' Prāk. *parvāsū*.

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

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

§ 39. The change of \bar{i} to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *tiraścīna* 'going sideways,' Pāli *tiracchāna* 'animal.'

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

§ 40. The change from \bar{i} to \check{e} 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. *kīḍṣa* 'what kind?' Prāk. *kēriśa*, Apab. Prāk. *kēlu*, Sindhī *kēharō*, *kēru*. Skt. *nīḍa* 'nest,' Prāk. *neḍḍa*, *nīḍa*, Pāli *niḍḍha*, *nīḷa*. Skt. *gr̥hītṵā* 'having taken,' Pāli *gahetvā*. Skt. *krīḍa* 'sport,' Pāli *khēla*, Hindī *khelnā*, Gyp. \sqrt{khel} 'to dance.' Skt. *bhīma* 'fearful,' Sinh. *bem*.

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

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

§ 41. The change of \bar{i} to \check{o} is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

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

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zinjīr* 'chain,' Wāxī *zanzīr*, Šiy. *zinzīr*, Sarq. *zanzair*, Bal. *zamzīl*, Kurd. *zanjōr*, *zanjīr*.

Apocope of \bar{i} .

§ 42. The apocope of final \bar{i} occurs in several New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *garbhīṅī* 'pregnant,' Hindī *gābhīn*, 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,' Prāk. *chupaī*, Pāli *chupati*, U_r, Bang. *chumi*, Old Hindī *chuh*, Hindī *chā*, Panj. *chāh*, Sindhī *chuh*, Guj. *chā*, *chō*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Sindhī *purusu*, Gyp. *poša*, cf. also Siinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *frimāha*.

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

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,' Prāk. *puṇu*, *pana* (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions), Pāli *pana*. Skt. *sphurati* 'flashes,' Pāli *pharati*. Skt. *suruṅga* 'mine,' Pāli *suruṅga*, U_r. *suḷaṅga*, Bihārī, Hindī *suramṅ*, Sindhī *siriṅgh*, Mar. *suramṅ*. Skt. *karbura* 'variegated,' Hindī *kabarā*, *kābar*, Panj. *kabrā*, Sindhī *kūbirō*, Guj. *kābar*, Mar. *kabarā*. Skt. *durbala* 'weak,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍūbirō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj. *dubal(ā)*, Mar. *dubal*.

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. *uštur*, Wāxī *ūštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, Kurd. *haštir*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Phl., New Pers. *dum(b)*, Sarq. *ḍüm(bā)*, Afy. *lam*, Bal. *dīm*, Kurd. *dāv*, *dunk*, Dig. Oss. *dumag*, Tag. *dimag*.

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,' Prāk. *purisa*, *paūrisa*, Pāli

purisa, cf. also Sinh. *pirimiyā*, Maladive *frimīha*, etc. (see § 43). Skt. *kuṭumba* 'family,' Pāli *kuṭimba*. Skt. *undura*, *undara* 'rat,' Pāli *undura*, E. New Ind. dialects *indūr*, Mar. *undīr*. Skt. *vālukā* 'sand,' Pāli *vālukā*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *bālī*, Hindī *bālū*, Sindhī *vārī*, Guj. *bālu*, Mar. *vāhuyā*. Skt. *stuti* 'praise,' Prāk. *thui*, Pāli *thuti*, Sinh. *tiyu*, *tivu*, *tuti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, New Pers. *pūr*, *pusar*, *pisar*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pār*, Samn. *pār*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Kurd. *pisir*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *fırth*. Av. *tusən* 'they evacuated,' Phl. *tuhik* 'empty,' New Pers. *tihī*, Gab. *tohī*, Judaeo-Pers. *tuha*, Bal. *tusag*, N. Bal. *thusay*. Av. *buna* 'foundation,' Phl., New Pers. *bun*, Wāxī *bön*, 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. *bhānumatī* 'jugglery,' Mar. *bhānāmatī*.

u > ī.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šīr. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *duma* 'tail,' Bal. *dīm*, 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,' Prāk. *ūsava*, Pāli *ussava*. Skt. *kula* 'family,' Prāk., Pāli *kula*, Uṛ. *kulā*, Sindhī *kuru*, *kulu*, Guj. *kul*, Mar. *kāl*, *kul*. Skt. *muṣala* 'pestle,' Prāk. *mūsala*, Pāli *musala*, Bang. *mūsal*, Hindī *mūsal*. Skt. *pura* 'town,' Prāk., Pāli *pura*, Bihār. *pūr*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *sa-*

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

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

u > ě.

§ 49. The change of *u* to *ě* is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *p(h)uṣṣhusa* 'lung,' Prāk. *phupphusa*, Pāli *phapphāsa*, Uṛ. *phaṃsaphaṃsa*, *phāṃphāṃsi*, Bang. *phēṃparā*, *phōṃpasā*, Hindi *phēpharā*, *phēpharā*, Sindhī *phiphīru*, Mar. *phōpīs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiy. *zafcam*, Sarq. *zavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šut(a)*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šudā*, Kurd. *ēan*, Zaza *šē*, Oss. *ēaun*.

u > ō.

§ 50. The change of *u* to *ō* is very rare in the Indian dialects. In the Iranian dialects the confusion between the *majhūl* and the *ma'raḥf* vowels must be borne in mind. Somewhat akin to the change of *u* to *ō* is the change of *u* to *ö* in Wāxī and to *ü* in Sariqolī, while the other New Persian dialects usually retain original *u* unchanged.

a. Indian. Skt. *muktā* 'pearl,' Prāk. *mottā*, Pāli *muttā*, Uṛ. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *matī*, Hindi, Panj., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *mōti*. Skt. *ulākhala* 'mortar,' Prāk. *ōhala*, *okkhala*, *u(l)ūhala*, Uṛ. *ukhalī*, Mar. *ukhal*. Skt. *ulkā* 'torch,' Prāk. *ukkā*, Pāli *okkā*. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ass. *kuṭh*, Nāip. *kōr*, Uṛ. *kōdha*, Bang. *kōth*, E. Hindi, Hindi, Guj. *kōdh* (cf. Skt. *kuṣṭhin* 'leper,' Hindi *kōrī*), Mar. *kōd*. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōdāl*, Sindhī *kōrarī*, Guj. *kōdārō*, Sinh. *udalu*, *udalla*. Skt. *pustaka*

‘book,’ Prāk. *potthaa*, Pāli *potthaka*, New Ind. dialects *pōthā*, *pōthī*, Sinh. *pota*.

b. Iranian. Av. *uši* ‘understanding,’ Phl. (*h*)ōš, New Pers. *hōš*, *hūš*. Av. *uśah* ‘dawn,’ Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *puθra* ‘son,’ Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Sarq. *pōč*, etc. (see § 45). Av. *suxra* ‘red,’ Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, etc. (see § 47). Skt. *yuga* ‘yoke,’ New Pers. *juγ*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiy. *yuγ*, 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. \surd *bih*, Ur., Bang. *basē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *baīsē*, Sindhī *bihē*, Mar. *baisē*, *vašē*. Skt., Pāli *udumbara* ‘fig-tree,’ Ur. *ḍumurī*, Bang. *ḍumur*. Skt. *upadhyāya* ‘teacher,’ Prāk. *uajjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *upairi* ‘above,’ Old Pers. *upariy*, Phl. *apar*, Pāz. *awar*, New Pers. (*a*)*bar*, Wāxī, Sarq. *var*, Afγ. *prē*, Bal. *par*, *gvar*, N. Bal. *phar*, Kurd. *bar*, Dig. Oss. *vol*, Tag. *ol*. Av. *uštra* ‘camel,’ Phl. *uštr*, New Pers. *ustur*, *šutur*, Wāxī *uštūr*, Šiy. *štur*, Bal. *huštar*, *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. *dhā(d)ā*, *dhī(d)ā*, Pāli *dhītā*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *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. *daiśhu-paiti*).

Apocope of u.

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

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *taru* 'tree,' Bihārī *tar(u)*. Skt. *bāhu* 'arm,' Apab. *bāhā*, Pāli *bāhu*, Uṛ., Bang. *bāha*, Hindī, Panj. *bānh*, Sindhī *bānh*, Guj. *bānhi*, Mar. *bānhi*, *bāhā*, *bāhu*.

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. *siturg*, *suturg*, Yidg. *ustūr*, Afy. *star*, Bal. *istūr*, Kurd. *ustūr*, Dig. Oss. *sthur*, Tag. *sthir*. Av. *starō* 'star,' Sangl. *usturak*, etc. (see § 14). Av. *spiś* '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. *nyūla*. Skt. *ḍṛṣṭha* 'seen,' Kaśm. *dyuṣṭhu*.

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

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

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, Uṛ. *bhūma*, Bang. *bhām*, Hindī, Panj. *bhām*, *bhāūm*, *bhām*, Sindhī *bhū(i)m*, Guj. *bhū(y)*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Siñh. *bima*.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāni* 'earth,' Phl., New Pers. *bām*. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Phl., New Pers. *dūr*, Gab. *dīr*, Māz. *dīr*, Gil. *dūr*, Wāxī *dīr*, Šiγ., Sarq. *dar*, Yidg. *lūro*, Afy. *līri*, Kurd. *dūr*.

$\bar{u} > a$.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *dukāla* 'silken robe,' Prāk. *dualla*, *duūla*, Jāina Prāk. *dugulla*, Pāli *dukāla*. Skt. *bhrūmukha* 'eyebrow,' Jāina Prāk. *bhamuka*, 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. *sthīr*. Skt. *nānam* 'now,' Av. *nārem*, Phl., New Pers. *nān*, Šiy. *nur*, Sarq. *nūr*, Afy. *nan*, Bal. *nān*.

$\bar{u} > i$.

§ 58. The change of \bar{u} to i is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' U_r. *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*)*iru*.

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

$\bar{u} > u$.

§ 59. The shortening of \bar{u} 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 \bar{u} is always written u .

a. Indian. Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol* (but *mūlāi* 'radically'), U_r. *mūla*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*. Skt. *tūrya* 'musical instrument,' Prāk. *tūra*, Jāina Prāk. *tuḍiya*, Pāli *turiya*, U_r. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *turam*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt.

śālūka 'root of the water-lily,' Pāli *sālūka*. Skt. *cūrṇa* 'dust,' Prāk., Pāli *cūrṇa*, Kāśm. *cūr*, U_r. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, also U_r., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cūnā*, *cūnī*, Sindhī *cunu*, Guj. *cunō*, Mar. *cunā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuwā*, Kāśm. *khukh*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(n)ām*, Sindhī *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuwō*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Prāk., Pāli *dhūma*, Ass. *dhōmā*, Nāip. *dhuām*, Kāśm. *duh*, U_r. *dhūmā*, Bang. *dhuyām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhū(n)ām*, Sindhī *dhūmhām*, Guj., Mar. *dhūm*, Siinh. *dum*, Gyp. *thuv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, *buḡ*, Wāxī *buc*, *būc*, Šīy., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *vuza*. Av. *gūḡa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gāh*, Kāš. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šīy. *γaθ*, Yaγn. *γūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Skt. *nūnam* 'now,' Av. *nūrəm*, Šīy. *nūr*, Sarq. *nūr*; etc. (see § 57). Av. *kū* 'where,' Pāz. *ku*, New Pers. *kujā*, Minj. *ko*, Afy. *kām*, Bal. *kū*, N. Bal. *khū*, Kurd. *ku*, Oss. *khu(d)*.

[Final *ū* is often shortened to *u* in the New Indian dialects. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, U_r. *bahu*, Bang. *baü*, Hindī *bahā*, Panj. *bōhū*, Sindhī *vahū*, Guj. *vahu*, Mar. *vahū* (yet in most of these dialects the word is actually pronounced *boh(ü)*.)]

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. *bahurāpa* 'juggler,' Mar. *bhōrapī*, *b(h)ōrīp*.

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *dūra* 'far,' Gab. *dūr*, Māz. *dūr*, Wāxī *ḡūr*, Afy. *līrī*, *liri*, etc. (see § 56). Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Phl. *dūt*, New Pers. *dūd*, Wāxī *ḡūt*, Šīy. *ḡud*, Sarq. *ḡūt*, Afy. *lā*, Bal. *dūt*, *dīt*, N. Bal. *dīθ*, Kurd. *dū*. New Pers. *būdand* 'they were,' Tāt *bīrūd*. Kurd. *barīk* 'pocket' beside *barūk*.

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

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

a. Indian. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇēura*, *nēura*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Uṛ. *nōpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūwō*, Guj., Mar. *nōpūr*. Skt. *pūrva* 'former,' Prāk. *puvva*, Śāur. Prāk. *purava*, New Ind. dialects *pūrba*, except Hindī *pūrab*, Sindhī *pūrbu*, Sinh. *pera*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Kāš., Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcīn*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšīn*, *ščšīn*, 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*, Uṛ. *tāmbōla*, Guj. *tāmbūl*, Mar. *tāmbūl*, cf. also Bang. *tāmbulī* 'betel-seller,' Hindī *tāmbōlī*, Panj. *tāmbōlī*, Guj. *tāmbōlī*, Mar. *tāmbōlī*.

$\bar{u} > yah$.

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

b. Iranian. New Pers. *zālū* 'leech,' Šiy., Sarq. *zālyah*, Afγ. *žavara*, Bal. *zarāγ*, Kurd. *zalū(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. *ūnavīsaī*, Kāsm. *kunavuh*, Uṛ. *unāśa*, Bang. *ūnīś*, Bihārī *ōnaīs*, *vanaīs*, Hindī *unīs*, Panj. *unnīh*.

$r = \check{r}$.

§ 66. Indo-Iranian \check{r} , which is represented by *r* in Old Indian, by *ərə* in Avestan, and by *ar* in Old Persian, has been changed in

the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects to \check{a} , \check{i} , \check{u} , \check{o} , 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 Apabhraṃśa Prākṛit r often remains.

a. Indian. Skt. *sukṛta* 'well done,' Apab. Prāk. *sukṛdu*, *suki(d)u*. Skt. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, Bang. *tinakā*, *tilakā*, Hindī *tinakā*, Panj. *tiṇ*, Sindhī *tīlī*, Mar. *tan*, Siñh. *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. *gr̥ha* 'house' (also *gēha*), Prāk. *gēha*, Apab. Prāk. *gharu*, Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, Kaśm. *gahar*, *gar*, Old Hindī *gēha*, New Ind. dialects *ghar*, excepting Mar. *gēh*, Siñh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kycl*.

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 *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *zərədaya* '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. *sar̥t*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sür(̄)*, Afy. *sōr̄*, 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. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Pāli *vaddha*, *viddha*, *buddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kāsm. *bor*, *boḍ*, U_r., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *buddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaddā*, W. Panj. *baddā*, Sindhī *vuḍō*, Guj. *vaḍō*, Gyp. *baro*, but Skt. *vṛddha* 'old,' U_r. *būr̥hā*, *būḥi*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būḍhā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *ḅudhō*, *ḅudhō*, Guj. *burhō*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*, Śāur. Prāk. *vasaha*, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *gṛha* 'house,' Pāli *gaha*, *ghara*, *gēha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Nāip. *māntō*, Kāsm. *miē*, U_r., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindī, Panj. *maṭṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Sindhī *miṭi*, Guj. *maṭṭi*, *mitti*, *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *mua*, Māg. Prāk. *madē*, U_r. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muia*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muwūn*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Sinh. *maḷa*, Gyp. *mulo*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *ṛḍaku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *pilang*, *palang*, Afγ. *ṛrāng*.

ṛ > ra.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛkṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *vracha* (inscriptions of Girnar), *rukha*, *riccha*, *rikha*, Pāli *rukha*, U_r. *rūkha*, Hindī *brich*, Mar. *rūkh*, Sinh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*. [According to Pischel § 320 Prāk. *rukha* (and its New Ind. derivatives) is derived from Skt. *rukṣa*, not *vṛkṣa*.]

ṛ > ir.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛtvij* 'brahmanical priest,' Pāli *iritvija*. Skt. *vṛṣa* 'Taurus' (in the Zodiac), Pāli *vusa*, Sindhī *virkhu*.

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

ṛ > i.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Prak. (Shālbāzgarhi inscriptions), *kita*, Māg. Prak. *kadē*, Māhār. Prak. *kaya*, Pāis. Prak. *kata*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śak. Prak. *kala*, Apab. Prak. *kidu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Bihārī *kaḷ*, *kāḷ*, *kayal*, Old Hindi *kūya*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *kṛpaṇa* 'wretched,' Apab. Prak. *kivaṇu*. Skt. *mṛga* 'deer,' Pāli *miga*, *maga* (cf. Skt. *mṛdavaṅka* 'having a deer-sign, moon,' Prak. *miamka*). Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prak. *isi*, *risi*, Pāli *isi*, Siñh. *rusi*, Gyp. *rašāy*. Skt. *gr̥dhra* 'vulture,' Śaur. Prak. *giddha*, Pāli *giddha*, *gijjha*, *gaddha*, Bang. *gidh*, Bihārī *gīdh*, *gidhvā*, Hindī *giddh*, *gīdh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gījh*, Guj., Mar. *gidharh*, *gīd(h)*. Skt. *ghṛta* 'melted butter,' Prak. *ghaya*, Pāli *ghata*, Ur. *ghia*, Bang. *ghi*, Hindī, Panj. *ghī*, *ghiu*, Sindhī *gihu*, Guj., Mar. *ghī*, Gyp. *khil*, Anglo-Ind. *ghee*. Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prak. *siṅga*, *saṅga*, Pāli *siṅga*, Ur. *śiṅgā*, Bang. *śiṅg*, Hindī *siṅg*, Panj. *siṅg*, Sindhī *sinu*, Guj., Mar. *śiṅg*, Gyp. *šing*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prak. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prak. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hiām*, Sindhī *himānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. *(y)ilo*. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' Prak. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Jaina Prak., Pāli *piṭṭhi*, Ur. *pītha*, *pīthi*, Bang., Hindī *pīth*, Panj. *piṭth*, *puṭth*, Sindhī *puṭhī*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāth*, *puṭhā*, Siñh. *piṭa*, Gyp. *pūsto*. Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prak. *taṇhā*, Pāli *taṇhā*, *tiṇhā*, *tasiṇū*, Hindī *tirakkhā*, *tinakhā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *ṭih*, *ṭihā*, Mar. *tahān*.

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šiyn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tašai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thun*, Kurd. *tī*. Av. *zərōdaya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Bal. *zirdē*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *arōša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Kurd. *vir*, *hirš*, *hirc*, etc. (see § 67). Av. *gərəpta* 'seized,' New Pers. *giriftah*, Māz. *gītah*, Kāš. *gīaft*, Bal. *gipta*.

r > *ri*.

§ 72. The change of *r* to *ri* occurs only initially, and only in semitatsamas or tatsamas in the New Indian dialects. The phenomenon is not infrequent in Hindī and Panjābī; Sindhī and

Gujarāṭī show fewer examples of it, and it is very uncommon in Uṛiya, Bangālī, and Marāṭhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṛd̥hā* 'prosperity,' Prāk. *riddhi*, *iddhi*, Pāli *iddhi*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Prāk. *rikkha*, *riccha*, Pāli *ikka*, *accha*, *is(s)a*, Uṛ. (rare) *richa*, Bibārī *rīch*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *gṛhastha* 'householder,' Hindī *grihastha*, Panj. *g(a)risatī*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha*.

ṛ > ur.

§ 73. The change of *ṛ* to *ur* is frequent only in Pahlavī 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. *pursī-tanō*, New Pers. *pursīdan*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pörsam*, Afγ. *pušt*, Kurd. *pīrsin*, Dig. Oss. *farsun*, Tag. *farsin*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afγ. *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. *ṛṥhivī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puḍhavī*, *puhuvī*, *puhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *paṭhavī*, *puthuvī*, *puthavī*, Old Hindī *puhumī*. Skt. *mṛṇāla* 'lotus-fibre,' Prāk. *muṇāla*, Pāli *mulāla*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *u(d)ā*, *riā*, Pāli *utu*, Sindhī *ruti*, Guj. *rut(u)*. Mar. *rutū*. Skt. *ṛṣṭī* 'rain,' Prāk. *vuṭṭhī*, *vitṭhī*, Pāli *vuṭṭhi*. Skt. *ṛddha* 'old,' Uṛ. *bārḥā*, *būḍī*, Bang. *buḍā*, Hindī *buddhā*, *būḍhā*, Panj. *budhā*, Sindhī *budhō*, *būḍhō*, Guj. *burhō* (cf. § 68).

b. Iranian. Av. *parṣti* 'back,' Phl., New Pers. *pušt*, Wāxī *part*, Māz. *pašt*, N. Bal. *phut*, Kurd. *pīšt*, Zaza *pašt*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Pāz. *kunom*, New Pers. *kunad*, Gil. *kudan*, *karidan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiy. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanay*, 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. *kərta* 'done,' Bal. *kut*, N. Bal. *khuθa*. Av. *varəḍka* 'kidney,' Phl. *gurtak*, New Pers. *gurdah*, Wāxī *valk*, Bal. *guttiγ*. Av. *fratərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsūtanō*, 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 Wāxī, e. g. Av. *karšta* 'ploughed,' Wāxī *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. *vr̥kṣa* 'tree,' Prāk. *rukha*, *rikkha*, *riccha*, *vracha*, Pāli *rukha*, U_r. *rūkha*, Mar. *rūkh*, Siñh. *ruk*, *rik*, Gyp. *ruk*, etc. (see § 69).

$r > \bar{a}$.

§ 76. The change of r to \bar{a} is excessively rare.

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

$r > \bar{i}$.

§ 77. The change of r to \bar{i} is found very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha* 'back,' U_r. *pīṭha*, *piṭhi*, Bang., Hindi *pīṭh*, etc. (see § 71).

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

$r > \check{e}$.

§ 78. The change of r to \check{e} is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gr̥ha* 'house' beside *gēha*, Prāk. *gēha*, Pāli *gēha*, *ghara*, *gaha*, Old Hindī *gēha*, Mar. *gēh*, Siñh. *gē*, *geya*, Gyp. *kher*, *kyel*, etc. (see § 67).

b. Iranian. Av. *varəša* 'forest,' Phl. *vēšak*, New Pers. *bēšak*, Kāš. *vīša*, Māz., Tāl. *vīšē*, Kurd. *vīša*.

$r > \ddot{o}$.

§ 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*, *mūśā*, Pāli *musā* (in like manner Skt. *mṛṣavādin* 'lying,' Prāk. *mōsavāa*, *mūśavāa*, Pāli *musāvādin*).

ṛ > al.

§ 80. In the Indian dialects *ṛ* becomes *al* apparently only in the Māgadhī Prākrit. 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*, Hindī *kar(i)*. Skt. *dhṛta* 'held,' Prāk. *dharia*, Māg. Prāk. *dhalidē*, Bihārī *dhārl*, *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 Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *jāmātrka* 'son-in-law,' Prāk. *jāmāua*, Sindhī *jāṭrō*. Skt. *mātrka* 'maternal uncle,' Prāk. *māua*, Sindhī *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. *tṛṇa* 'grass,' Apab. Prāk. *tṛṇu*, *taṇu*, *tiṇu*, etc. (see § 66). Skt. *grha* 'house,' Pāli *ghara*, *gaha*, *gēha*, etc. (see § 67). Skt. *mṛttikā* 'earth,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *maṭṭī*, *māṭī*, *miṭṭī*, etc. (see § 68). Skt. *vṛnta* 'stem of a flower,' Prāk. *vinta*, *venta*, *vonta*, Pāli *vanta*. Skt. *ṛṣi* 'sage,' Prāk. *isi*, *risi*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *pṛṣṭha* 'back,' Prāk. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *puṭṭh*, Guj. *piṭh*, *puṭh*, Mar. *pāṭh*, *puṭha*, etc. (see § 71).

Skt. *tr̥ṣṇā* 'thirst,' Pāli *tiṇhā*, *taṇhā*, *tasiṇā*, etc. (see § 71). Skt. *mṛṣā* 'falsely,' Prāk. *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. *paršti* 'back' > *a*, *i*, *u*, *ī*.

ṝ.

§ 83. Indo-Iranian *ṝ*, arising from Indo-Germanic *ṝ*, *ṝ̄*, stands in Indian in ablaut with *ṛ*, *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 *ṝ* 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 *ṝ*.

a.-b. Indo-Iranian. Skt. *tīrtha* 'across,' Prāk. *tittha*, *tūha*, Pāli *tittha*; Wāxī *tūrt*. Skt. *ūrmi* 'wave'; Av. *varəmi*, Sarq. *varm*, Bal. *gvarm*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *dīraha*, *dīha*, *diggha*, Pāli *dīgha*, Sindhī *ḍriḡhō*; Av. *darəya*, Old Pers. *darga*, New Pers. *dirāz*, Afγ. *lārya*, Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirīž*, Zaza *darg*, Oss. *dary*.

ḷ.

§ 84. Indo-Germanic *ḷ* 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. *klṛta* 'done,' Prāk. *kilitta*, Pāli *kappita*.

$\bar{e} = \bar{e}$.

§ 85. Indo-Iranian \bar{e} 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*, Kaśm. *day*, Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēu*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *dcl*. Skt. *prēma* 'love,' Prāk. *pemma*, Pāli *pēma*, New Indian dialects *p(r)ēm*.

b. Iranian. The confusion in New Persian of the *majhūl* \bar{e} with the *ma}rūf* \bar{i} has been noted above, § 35. The Caspian dialects also show this confusion, while the Judaeo-Persian, in common with several other Eastern Persian dialects, preserves carefully the distinction between \bar{e} and \bar{i} .

Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šiy. *dīv*, Sarq. *δēv*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jēr*, Sāmm. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zēr*. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēf*, New Pers. *bēd*, Pamir dialects *vid*, Gab. *vīd*. Sīv. *vī*, Zaf., Kāš. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Nat. *vīd*, Afy. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī(h)*.

$\bar{e} > a$.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *mleccha* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *mīlicchu*, Pāli *mīlakkhu*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ekādasa*,

ekārasa, Kaśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, Guj. *agiār*, Mar. *akarā*.

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

$\bar{e} > i$.

§ 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,' Prāk. *vianā*, *vēanā*, Pāli *vēdanā*. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *diara*, *dēvara*, Pāli *dēvara*, Ur. *dēyura*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, *dēyar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēur*, *dēr*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dēyar*. Skt. *ekādaśa* 'eleven,' Hindī *igārah*, *gyārah*, Sindhī *ikārahām*, *yārahām*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prativēśaka* 'neighbouring,' Pāli *paṭivissaka*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēza* 'garden,' Old Pers. *παρά]δεισος*, Phl. *diz*, New Pers. *diz*, *diž*, *dēz*. Phl. *mēhmān* 'guest,' New Pers. *mēhmān*, *mihmān*, Afy. *mēlma*, Kurd. *mēvān*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'good,' Phl. *nēv(ak)*, New Pers. *nēk(ō)*, *nikō*. Av. *axšaēna* 'green,' Phl., New Pers. *xašīn*, 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 *kāyūra*.

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

§ 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,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāiś. Prāk.

mēkha, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mīmh*, *mēmh*, Panj. *mīmh*, *mīham*, Sindhī *mīmhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēna* 'nose,' Phl. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Sāmn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *vīnī*, Kurd. *bēn*, *bivīl*, E. Kurd. *baval*. Av. *axšaēna* 'blue,' Phl., New Pers. *axšīn*, Yidg. *axšīn*, Afγ. *xīn*, *šīn*, Kurd. (*ha*)*sīn*, etc. (see § 87). Av. *daēman* 'glance,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andīmānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šīr., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dūm*, Afγ. *lēma*, Bal. *dēm*, N. Bal. *dē(m)v*, Kurd. *dēm*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, 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. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī, Šīγ. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yaγn. *īx*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *īx*. Av. *haētū* 'bridge,' Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*.

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

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

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭana* 'crown,' Pāli *vēṭhana*, Siṃh. *voṭunu*, New Siṃh. *oṭunna*.

$\bar{e} > ai$.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^vāi*, New Pers. *x^vai*, Wāxī *xīl*, Sarq. *xaiḍ*, Afγ. *x^valē*, Bal. *hēd*, N. Bal. *hēḍ*, Kurd. *xā*, *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,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kaśm. *akh*, U₂, Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *čk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikiḍō*, *hēkiḍō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. *ēk*, *yēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēva* 'one,' Old Pers. *aira*, Phl. *ēv(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *yak*, Vōn. *yav*, *ikī*, Kuhr. *y*, *ī*, *ik*, Wāxī *ī(v)*, Šīγ. *yīv*,

yi, yu, yū, Sarq. *iv, ī*, Sangl. *vak*, Minj. *yao*, Afy. *yav*, Bal. *ēyōk*, Kurd. *īkī*, Dig. Oss. *yau*, Tag. *yu*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' Pāz. *yah*, New Pers., Wāxī, Šiγ. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, etc. (see § 89).

Aphaeresis of ē.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *ēraṇḍa* 'castor-oil tree,' Hindī *rēmḍī*.

Apocope of ē.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *talē* 'beneath,' U_r. *tal(ē)*, Hindī *talē*, Guj., Mar. *tal, tal̄*. Skt. *saṅgē* 'with,' U_r. *saṅgē*, Hindī, Panj. *saṅn*, Sindhī *sāṅ*, Guj. *saṅn*, Mar. *saṅgēṅ*.

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. Prāk. *paccharī*, U_r. *pachē, pāchu*, Bang. *pichē, pacchē*, Hindī *pāchē, pīchē, pāchū*, Panj. *pichē, pichōṅ*, Sindhī *pōē, puāṅ*, Guj. *pachē, pachī, pachō*.

āi = āi.

§ 95. Indo-Iranian *āi* has been lost in the Indo-Iranian dialects. The few cases in the Iranian dialects in which *āi* is apparently retained show in reality a change of *āi* 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*.]

āi > āi.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *sāinya* 'soldier,' Prāk. *saṅna, senna*, Pāli *sēniya*.

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

§ 97. The change of $\bar{a}i$ to \bar{i} is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhāirya* 'firmness,' Prāk. *dhīra*, *dhijja*, U_r., Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *dhīr*.

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

§ 98. The change of $\bar{a}i$ to \check{e} is the normal one to which $\bar{a}i$ is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects, where it is found very frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāila* 'hill,' Prāk., Pāli *sēla*. Skt. *kāivarta* 'fisherman,' Prāk., Pāli *kēvaṭṭa*, Hindī *kēvaṭ*. Skt. *tāila* 'oil,' Prāk., Pāli *tella*, New Ind. dialects *tēl*. Skt. *gāirika* 'red chalk,' Pāli *gērika*, U_r. *gēru*, Hindī *gērū*, Guj. *gēru*, Mar. *gērū*.

$\bar{o} = \bar{o}$.

§ 99. Indo-Iranian \bar{o} is in general preserved unchanged in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects. In Assamese \bar{o} , although it is retained in the script, is pronounced \check{u} . The New Persian presents the same confusion of the *majhūl* \bar{o} and the *maʒrūf* \bar{u} which has already been observed in the case of \bar{e} and \bar{i} (see §§ 35, 85). The Judæo-Persian, like the majority of the East Iranian dialects, observes carefully the distinction between \bar{o} and \bar{u} (cf. § 85).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhōjana* 'food,' Prāk. *bhōṇa*, Pāli *bhōjana*. Skt. *yōktra* 'yoke,' Pāli *yotta*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *jōt*, Sindhī *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*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Wāxī *rau*, Afγ. *rvaj*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *yūš*, *γiš*, Šīγ. *γūš*, Sarq. *γaul* (*au* of secondary development), Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tāg. *qūs*. Av. *baoidi* 'perfume,' Phl. *bōd*, *bōi*, New Pers. *bō(i)*, Wāxī *vūl*, Sarq. *bao*, Yaγn. *vūd*,

Bal. *bōd*, N. Bal. *bōδ*, *bōz*, Oss. *bud*. Av. *raoδa* 'face,' Phl. *rōd*, New Pers. *rō(i)*, Judaeo-Pers. *rōi*.

$\bar{o} > au$.

§ 100. The change of \bar{o} to *au* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *saokəntavant* 'sulphurous,' Pāz. *sawagand*, New Pers. *saugand*.

$\bar{o} > a$.

§ 101. The change of \bar{o} 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. *ghēnhu*, Nāip. *gahūn*, Ur. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūn*, Hindī *gō(ñ)hūn*, *gēhūn*, *ghēūn*, Panj. *ghēūn*, Sindhī *gēhūn*, Guj. *ghaūn*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Phl. *sōxtanō*, *sōcinī-tanō*, New Pers. *sōxtan*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. \surd *sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, 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*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šiy. *šaun*, 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*.

$\bar{o} > i$.

§ 102. The change of \bar{o} to *i* is excessively rare.

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

$\bar{o} > u$.

§ 103. The change of \bar{o} 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 \bar{o} to *u* in the New Indian dialects occurs more frequently in the West than in the East, although

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

Skt. *rōcati* 'shines,' Prāk. *ruccai*, Māg. Prāk. *lōadi*, Pāli *ruccati*, *rōcati*. Skt. *jyōtsnā* 'moon-lit night,' Prāk. *jōmhā*, Pāli *jūmhā*. Skt. *ōjas* 'strength,' Jaina Prāk. *uya*, Pāli *ōja*. Skt. *lōṭyām* 'in a small water-pot,' E. New Ind. dialects *lōṭiyā*, W. New Ind. dialects *luṭiyā*. Skt., Pāli *lōhakāra* 'blacksmith,' Sindhī *luharu*.

Here too may be considered the Kaśmīrī *ō*, *ū* arising from *ō* through the umlaut of a following *ī*, e. g. Kaśm. *brōr* 'tom-cat,' fem. *brōr* (written *brārū*); Skt. *vr̥ddha* 'large,' Kaśm. *bodḍ* (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*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak*, N. Bal. *khōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūwī*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Kāš., Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Yidg. *muryah*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šīr., Bahb. *guš*, etc. (see § 99). New Pers. *gōšah* 'corner,' Kurd. *gūž*, *gūša*, Bohtanī *kuši*.

ō > *ī*.

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

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

Phl. *mō(d)*, *mōī* 'hair,' New Pers. *mōī*, Gab. *mīd*, Sīv., Bahb., Nāy., Māz. *mī*, Gīl., Tāl. *mū*, other Caspian dialects *mū̄*, Bal. *mūd*, *mīd*, N. Bal. *mīd*. New Pers. *tōlah* 'puppy,' Sīv. *tīlū*.

ō > *ū̄*.

§ 105. In Pāzand and New Persian Indo-Iranian *ō* becomes *ū̄* regularly before *m* or *n* (compare the analogous change in these dialects of *ē* to *ī* before nasals, § 89). In Afγān *ō* becomes *ū̄* 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*, Pāz., New Pers. *hūm*, Afy. *ōma*. Av. *saocayāhi* 'shalt burn,' Māz., Gīl. $\sqrt{sūj}$, 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*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, *darōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōγan*, New Pers. *rōγan*, 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*, Simh. *rehe*, *rē*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Ass. *ghēmhu*, Hindī *gēhuṁ*, *ghēuṁ*, *gō(ṁ)huṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Sindhī *gēhuṁ*, etc. (see § 101). Skt. *cōra* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects *cōr*, excepting Kaśm. *čūr*, Simh. *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{u} (see § 105).

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Afy. *γvaiγ*, 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. *nāvīyā* 'fleet' (?), Phl. *nāvīcak*, *nāvītak*, New Pers. *nāv*. [The New Pers. *nāv* is, however, to be compared rather with the Av. gen. sg. **nāvō*.]

āu > *ai*.

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

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

āu > *u*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *kāukṣēyaka* 'sword,' Prāk. *kukkhēaa*. Skt. *dāuvārika* 'porter,' Prāk. *duvāria*, Pāli *dōvārika*. Skt. *cāurya* 'theft,' Prāk. *cōria*, Nāip. *cōrī*, Ur. *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 *sūrihāī*.

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. *kōmūi*, Pāli *kōmudī*, Gyp. *comut* 'moon.' Skt. *yāuvana* 'youth,' Prāk. *joavana*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jobhanu*. Skt. *āupamya* 'analogy,' Pāli *ōpamma*. Skt. *gāura* 'pale,' Pāli *gōra*, New Ind. dialects *gōrā*. Skt. *jhāulika* 'pouch,' Ur., Bang. *jhūli*, *jhuli*, *jhōli*, Hindī *jhōli*, Guj., Mar. *jhōlī*.

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. *kahāi*, *kahēi*, Pāli *kathēti*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kah*, Guj. *kēh*, Simh. *kīyanavā*. Skt. *ēka* 'one,' Prāk. *ekka*, Pāli *ēka*, Kaśm. *akh*, U_r., Bang. *ēka*, W. Bang. *ak*, Bihārī *yak*, *ēk*, Old Hindī *ik(k)*, Hindī *ēk*, Panj. *ik*, Sindhī *hiku*, (*h*)*ēku*, *hikidō*, *hēkidō*, Guj. *ēk*, *āik*, Mar. (*y*)*ēk*, Gyp. *yek*, *yekh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'hill,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kāfīn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpak* N. Bal. *khofay*, Kurd. *kāūh*. Av. *kərənaoiti* 'makes,' Old Pers. *kunavāhy*, Phl. *karzanō*, New Pers. *kardan*, Wāxī *čaram*, Šiγn. *kinam*, Sarq. *kanam*, Bal. *kanag*, N. Bal. *khanag*, 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 Balūci *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(n)jā*, *kubjā*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kūbā*, Sindhī *kuḷō*, Guj. *kubaṛō*, Mar. *kubaḍā*, *khub*. Skt. *kāsa* 'cough,' Māhār. Prāk. *khāsa*, Pāli *kāsa*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *khāmsī*, *khāmsnā*. Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Prāk. *kū(v)a*, Pāli *kūpa*, Kaśm. *khuh*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Hindī *kuām*, Panj. *khūhā*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Hindī *kōṛ*, Guj. *khōlō*. Skt. *sukumāra* 'youth,' Prāk. *sūmāla*, *sukumāla*, Pāli *sukhumāla*, *sukumāra*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kafa* 'foam,' Phl., New Pers. *kaf*, Wāxī *xuf*, Sarq. *xaf*, Bal. *kaf*, Kurd. *kaf*, Dig. Oss. *xaf(a)*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *kahrkāsa* 'vulture,' Phl. *kahrkās*, *kargas*, New Pers. *kargas*, Bal. *kargaz*, N. Bal. *khargaz*, Oss. *kharkh*. Av. *ahmākəm* 'of us,' Old Pers. *amāxam*, New Pers. *mā*, Kāš. (*h*)*ōmō*, *hāmā*, Oss. *max*. GAv. *xšmāka* 'yours,' YAv. *yušmāka*, Pāz., New Pers. *šumā*, Bal. *šavā*, Dig. Oss. *smax*, Tag. *sumax*. Av. *niyāka*

'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afγ. *nīka*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*, 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,' Sinh. *girā*, *giravā*, *kira*. Skt. *marakata* 'emerald,' Prāk. *maragaya*. Skt. *sakala* 'whole,' Māhār. Prāk. *sayala*, Pāli *sakala*, Bang. *sagun*, Bihārī *sagar*, Hindī *sagun*, *sagrā*, Panj. *sagrā*, Sindhī *sagunū*, Guj. *saglō*, Mar. *sagla*, Sinh. *siyalu*. Skt. *kāka* 'crow,' Prāk. *kāa*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kāg*, Sindhī *kāṅgu*, Mar. *kāg*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ka* 'who?' New Pers. *kīh*, Wāxī *kui*, *koi*, Šīyn. *kai*, Sarq. *coi*, Bal. *kē*, N. Bal. *khai*, Tūr Kurd. *gō*, Dig. Oss. *kha*, Tag. *cī*, Kamuntī *khī*. Av. *yākuro* 'liver,' Phl. *jakar*, *yakar*, New Pers. *jigar*, Bal. *jagar*, N. Bal. *juγar*, Kurd. *jark*, Oss. *igar*. Av. *sukuruna* 'poreupine,' Phl. *sukur*, New Pers. *sugur(nah)*, Gab. *sīxur*, Afγ. *škōṅ*, *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. *kīāh*, etc. (see § 114). Av. *kata* 'house' Kāš., Kuhr. *kīyah*, Nat. *kīah*, 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,' Sindhī *gōṭhēcō*.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *kata* 'house,' Phl. *katak*, New Pers. *kad(ah)*, Zaf. *kī*, Kāš. *kīyah*, Vön. *kē*, Kuhr. *kīyah*, Nat. *kiah*, Wāxī *kat*, Šīγn. *ēvd*, Sarq. *cēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*. Av. *kərəta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārṭ*, New Pers. *kārd*, N. Afy. *cārah*, Bal. *kārd(a)*, N. Bal. *khārea*, Kurd. *kīr(d)*, Oss. *khard*. New Pers. *kaiik* 'flea,' Kurd. *kēc*, *kac*. Av. *ka* 'who?' Sarq. *coi*, Tag. Oss. *cī*, etc. (see § 116). Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Phl. *sūcan*, Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Gab. *sajan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sič*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sūcīn*, N. Bal. *sišin*, *šišan*, *šišīn*, *sēšin*, Kurd. *šūžin*.

$k > t$.

§ 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,' Uṛ. *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. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalupikā*, *jalūka* (due in this example to dissimilation).

$k > bh$.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *śīkara* 'spray,' Prāk. *sī(h)ara*, *sībhara*, Pāli *śīkara*. [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*, Hindī *nāriyal*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Guj. *nāriyal*, Mar. *nāral*. Skt. *ākāra*

'figure,' Prāk. *āgāra*, Māhār. *āyāra*, *ākāra*, Pāli *ākāra*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Ur. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Siñh. *kovullā*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. (*u*)*daka* 'water,' Jaina Prāk. *daga*, Pāli *daka*, *ōka*, Siñh. *daga*, *daya*, *diya*. Skt. *cakōra* 'sort of bird,' Elu *siyuru*, Siñh. *siyuru*, *sivru*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *māṭikān* '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*, Hindī *nēval*, Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Siñh. *kovullā*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Skt. *vikāsatē* 'appears,' Phl. *gukās* 'witness,' Pāz. *guvāh*, *guvāi*, New Pers. *guvā(h)*. Skt. *vikarōti* 'transposes,' Phl. *gukarūtanō*, 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*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*.

k > š.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *sāka* 'needle,' N. Bal. *sišīn*, *šišān*, *šišīn*, *sēšīn*, 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. *sirihā*. Skt. *nikāśa* 'touchstone,' Prāk. *nihasa*, Jaina Prāk. *nihasa*, *nighasa*,

Pāli *nikasa*. Skt. *sr̥janākāra* 'creator,' Sindhī *sr̥janahāru*. Skt. *ākāśa* 'sky,' Prāk. *āyāsa*, Pāli *ākāsa*, Sinh. *ahasa*, *āsa*.

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

k > *z*, *ž*.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *sūka* 'needle,' Pāz. *sūzan*, *sōzan*, New Pers. *sōzan*, Zaf., Kāš. *sōzō*, Kurd. *šūžin*, etc. (see § 118).

Aphaeresis of k.

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

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuddāla* 'hoe,' Uṛ. *kōrā*, Bang. *kōḍal*, Sindhī *kōrarī*, 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,' Prāk. *ōasa*, *avayāsa*, Pāli *ōkāsa*, *avakāsa*. Skt. *nakula* 'mongoose,' Uṛ., Bang., Panj. *nēul*, Sindhī *nōru*, Guj. *nōliyu*, etc. (see § 123). Skt. *nārikēla* 'cocoanut,' Bang. *nārēl*, Panj. *narēlu*, *nalēru*, Sindhī *nārēlu*, *nāiru*, Mar. *nāraḷ*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk. *kōila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, etc. (see § 122). Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, 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. *baḍaka* 'servant,' Phl. *bandak*, New Pers. *bandah*. Phl. *cārak* 'means,' Pāz. *cāra*, New Pers. *cārah*, Afy. *cāra*, *čara*. Av. *span* 'dog,' Med. *σπάκα*, Gab. *sabū*, *savū*,

Kāš. *aspā*, *asbā*, Samn. *asba*, Tāl. *sipā*, Afγ. *spai*, etc. (see § 123).
Skt. *navaka* 'lad,' New Pers. *navah*, Kurd. *lāv*, *lō*, *lau(k)*. Phl. *xānak* 'house,' New Pers. *xānah*, Kurd. *xānī*, Mukrī *xānū*.

Epenthesis of k.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *miθaoxta* 'lie,' Phl. *mīṭōkxt*, 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. *lihaī*, Pāli *likhati*, Kāśm. *lekh*, Hindī *likhnā*, Guj. *lakhavun*, Mar. *lihiñēñ*, Siñh. *liyanavā*. Skt. *khara* 'donkey,' Prāk., Pāli *khara*. Skt. *khādati* 'eats,' Prāk. *khāī*, Pāli *khādati*, Ur. *khāībā*, Bang. *khāītē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāñā*, Sindhī *khāñnu*, Guj. *khāvun*, Mar. *khāñēñ*, Siñh. *kanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Phl., New Pers. *xar*, Wāxī *xur*, Šiyn. *har*, Sarq. *car*, *sar*, Sangl. *xar*, Minj. *xara*, Yidg. *xuruh*, Afγ. *xar*, N. Bal. *khar*, *xar*, Kurd. *k(i)ar*, Zaza *xar*, Oss. *xarag*. Av. *naxa* 'nail,' Phl. *nāxān*, New Pers. *nāxun*, Afγ. *nūk*, Bal. *nakun*, *nāhun*, N. Bal. *nāxun*, Kurd. *nainuk*, Oss. *nix*. Av. *aēxa* 'ice,' New Pers. *yax*, Wāxī *yix*, Šiyn. *yax*, Yidg. *yux*, Yaγn. *ix*, Dig. Oss. *yax*, Tag. *ix*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Afγ. *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. *khala* 'indeed,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *ku*, lit. Prāk. *khu*, Pāli *khō*, *khalu*. 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,' Prāk. *rēha*, Pāli *rēkha*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, *rēkh*, Mar. *rēgh*. Skt. *śrīmkhala* 'chain,' Prāk. *saṁkala*, *saṁkhalā*, *siṁkhalā*, Pāli *saṁkhalā*, Kaśm. *hāmhala*, Uṛ. *sāṁkala*, *sāṁkara*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, Panj., Sindhī *saṁghar*, Guj. *sāṁkaḷ*, Mar. *sā(ṁ)kaḷ*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *śākhā* 'twig,' Phl. *šāk*, New Pers. *šāx*, *šāγ*.

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,' Prāk. *sahi*, Pāli *sakhi*, Sindhī *sahī*. Skt. *mukha* 'face,' Prāk. *muha*, Pāli *mukha*, Bihārī *mu(ṁ)h*, Hindī *mumh*, Panj. *mūmhu*, *muhum*, Sindhī *mumhuni*, *mukhu*, Simh. *muva*, Gyp. *muy*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xara* 'donkey,' Šiγn. *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. *arəša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yurš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *virç*, *hirc*, *hirš*, Zaza *xēc*, Oss. *ars*. Gk. *ᾠόν* 'egg,' Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuc*, Afy. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha}ik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*. Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yüing*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmag*, N. Bal. *hāmaγ*, 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*, Ur. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, Bihārī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddō*, Sindhī *garāhu*, Guj. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *juaḷu*, Pāli *yugala*, Ur. *jugala*, Bang., Hindī, Panj., Guj. *jugal*, Mar. *julā*, *jūl*, *juval*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garmapada*, Phl., New Pers. *garm*, Šiyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *γārma*, Bal., Kurd. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γarm*, Tag. *qarm*. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gō*, *gav*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yaγn. *gova*, Afy. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Skt. *bhōga* 'joint,' Bal. *bōg*, N. Bal. *bōγ*.

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 *g* initially for Indo-Iranian *g* (Digaurish *γ*).

a. Indian. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Prāk. *ṇaara*, Māhār. Prāk. *naṇara*, Pāiś. Prāk. *nakara*, New Ind. dialects *nāir*, *nēr*, Siñh. *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*, Siñh. *kurulla*. Skt. *ga(m)bhīra* 'deep,' Prāk. *gahira*, Pāli *ga(m)bhīra*, Ur. *gahira*, Hindī *gahirā*, *gaharā*, Sindhī *gahirō*, Siñh. *gūmburu*, *kumburu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Tag. Oss. *qarm*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiγn. *γūž*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, 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 Afγān, and in Digaurish Ossetish Indo-Iranian *g* becomes *γ* also initially.

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

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Šiγn. *yuγ*, Sarq. *yūγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiγn.

γūž, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaiγ*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *gaṣa* 'thief,' Afγ. *γal*. Av. *mərəya* 'bird,' Phl. *mury*, *murv*, New Pers. *mury*, Māz. *mary*, Afγ. *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. Prāk. *jaya*, Sindhī *jaṅu*, *jaṅatu*. Skt. *nagara* 'city,' Māhār. Prāk. *nayara*, Siñh. *niyari*, *nuvara*, etc. (see § 141). Skt. *nāga* 'snake,' Prāk., Pāli *nāga*, Siñh. *nayā*, *nā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *zairi-gaona* 'having a golden colour,' Phl. *zarīngūn*, New Pers. *zargūn*, Afγ. *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,' Siñh. *nuvara*, *niyari*, etc. (see § 141).

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

g > ž.

§ 145. The change of *g* to *ž* is excessively rare, although it is sometimes found initially in sporadic words in Šīynī and Sariqolī.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāu* 'cow,' Šīy. *zāv*, Sarq. *žao*, etc. (see § 140). Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Sarq. *žürm*, *gürm*, etc. (see § 140).

g > h.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *bhāginēya* 'sister's son,' Pāli *bhāgiṇeḷja*, 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. *bhāgadhēya* 'share,' Prāk. *bhāadēha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bhāya*, Pāli *bhāga*. Skt. *sygāla* 'jackal,' Prāk. *siāla*, Pāli *sigāla*, Uṛ. *śiāla*, *ścāla*, Bang. *siāl*, Sinh. *hivalā*. Skt. *āgata* 'arrived,' Māg. Prāk. *āade*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'two-fold,' Prāk. *duṇa*, Pāli *ḍiguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahiṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhaiṇī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī *bahīn*, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāiṇh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, *bhāiṇ*. Skt. *yugala* 'pair,' Apab. Prāk. *jualu*, Mar. *juḷā*, *jūḷ*, *jūval*, etc. (see § 140).

b. Iranian. Av. *draoṇa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *durōγ*, Māz. *darū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afγ. *darōγ*, Bal. *d(a)rōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*, Kurd. *darūv*, *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*, Hindī *ghaḷā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḷī*, Gyp. *khōrō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *māēya* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *mēγ*, Dig. Oss. *mēya*, Tag. *mīγ*.

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. *daγa* 'conflagration,' Phl. *dāγ*, New Pers. *dāγ*, Bal. *dāg*, N. Bal. *dāγ*, Kurd. *duk*.

gh > *kh*.

§ 150. The change of *gh* to *kh* occurs regularly in Pāisācī Prākṛit.

a. Indian. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Pāis. Prāk. *mēkha*, Pāli *mēgha*, Hindī *mēñh*, *mīñh*, Panj. *mīñh*, *mīhanī*, Sindhī *mīñhu*.

gh > *g*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *ghōṭaka* 'horse,' Prāk. *ghōḍaa*, Pāli *ghōṭaka*, New Ind. dialects *ghōra*, but Kāśm. *gur^u*, Gyp. *garō*. Skt. *vighatātē* 'perishes,' Pāli *vighatēti*, Ur., Bang. *bigaḍa*, Hindī, Panj. *bigaḍ*, Sindhī *bigiḍ*, Guj. *bagad*, Mar. *bighad*.

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,' Prāk., Pāli *lahu*, Sinh. *lahu*, *luhu*. Skt. *araghaṭṭa* 'well-wheel,' Hindī, Panj. (*a*)*rahaṭ*, Sindhī *ar(a)tu*, Guj. *rēmṭ*, Mar. *rahaṭ*. Skt. *mēgha* 'cloud,' Prāk. *mēha*, Hindī *mēñh*, *mīñh*, Panj. *mīñh*, *mīhanī*, Sindhī *mīñhu*, etc. (see § 150).

b. Iranian. Av. **baya-stāna* 'abode of God,' Old Pers. τὸ Βαγίστανον ὄρος, Pāz. *bay*, New Pers. *bahistūn*, *bahistān*, *bīstūn*.

Syncope of gh.

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

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

ɾ, ṅ

§ 154. Of the Middle and New Indian dialects the Sindhī, Assamese, and Nāipālī alone have retained *ɾ, ṅ*, pronounced *ɾg* and *ṅj*. In the rest of the New Indian and in all the Iranian dialects *ɾ* and *ṅ* have been lost. The Sindhī *ɾ* and *ṅ* 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 Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *catvāri* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāri*, *caūro*, Pāli *catu*, U_r., Bang. *cāri*, Kāśm. *čōr*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*. Skt. *nīcē* 'beneath,' U_r., Bang. *nīca*, Hindī *nīcā*, Panj. *nīcōm*, Sindhī, Guj. *nīcē*, Mar. *nīc*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Phl., New Pers. *cašm*, Gab. *cam*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr. *caš*, Samn., Māz. *cas*, Gīl. *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. *carra* 'wheel,' Phl. *carx*, New Pers. *carx*, *cahr*, Kāš. *cōrā*, *cīr*, Dig. Oss. *calx*. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Old Pers. *ciθ^ra*, Phl. *citrē*, *cihr(ak)*, New Pers. *cihr(ah)*, Afγ. *čīra*, *sīra*, 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, Kafīrī, and East Bangālī. In early tadbhavas, *dēšajas*, 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,' Kāsm. *čōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Kaf. *māč* 'man,' Sindhī *mācu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl., New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiγn. *čavor*, *čavar*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafir*, Yidg. *čir*, Afγ. *čalōr*, Bal. *cār*, N. Bal. *cyār*, Kurd. (Sihna) *cavār*, Dig. Oss. *čuphphar*, Tag. *čiphphar*. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Šiγn. *čēm*, Sarq. *čam*, Dig. Oss. *časta*, Tag. *časth*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afγ. *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 Balūci.

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 *z* (see § 167).

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

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Phl. *sōcēm*, Pāz. *sōzēt*, New Pers. *sōzam*, Gab. *sajan*, Māz., Gīl. *√sūj*, Sarq. *sauz*, Afγ. *sējal*, *svaǰavul*, *sēzal*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Dig. Oss. *sōǰun*, Tag. *sūjin*. Av. *haca + ačairi* 'from beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Šir. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central

dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīr*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *raocaŋ* 'spoke,' Phl. *vāc(ak)* 'voice,' New Pers. *vāž*, *bāj*, Gab. *vivaŋi*, Zaf. *vāž*, Kāš. *vōj*, Vön. *bōjū*, Kuhr. *bavōjī*, Nāy. *āvāj*.

c > ĵ.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *frasaocayāhi* 'burnest,' Afy. *sĉĵal*, *svaĵ-avul*, *sĉzal*, Dig. Oss. *sōĵun*, Tag. *sāĵin*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *raocah* 'day,' Old Pers. *raucah*, Phl. *rōc(ih)*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Sīv. *rōšā*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afy. *rvaĵ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*.

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,' Ur. *thañt*, *thōmt*, Bang. *thōmt*, *cōmt*, Hindī *thōmth*, *cōmc*, Guj. *cāmc*, Mar. *cōmc*.

c > t.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *cikitsā* 'cure,' Jāina Prāk. *tēgicchā*, Pāli *tikicchā*.

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

c > th, θ.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *cañcu* 'beak,' Ur. *thañt*, *thōmt*, 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 Siñhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *ācārya* 'teacher,' Māhār. Prāk. *āyariya*, Pāli *ācāriya*, Siñh. *ādurā*, Maladive *eduru*. Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Prāk. *mucaī*, Māhār. Prāk. *muyaī*, Pāli *muñcati*, Siñh. *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. Prāk. *āyariya*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mucanti* 'they release,' Māhār. Prāk. *muyaī*, etc. (see preceding §).

c > s.

§ 165. In Assamese and West Hindī *c* is always pronounced *s*. The Siñhalese 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,' Prāk., Pāli *cakka*, Ass. *cāk* (pron. *sāk*), Ur. *cak*, E. Hindī *cāk*, W. Hindī *cakkī* (pron. *sakkī*), Panj. *cakk*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāk*, Siñh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *pacati* 'cooks,' Pāli *pacati*, New Ind. dialects \sqrt{pac} , Siñh. *pāsavanavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ciθra* 'appearance,' Afy. *sīra*, *čīra* (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*, *z(i)*, Wāxī, Sarq. *z*, Afy. *ǰ*, Bal. *ac*, *aš*, Kurd. *až*, *ž(a)*. Phl. *nācuk* 'tender,' New Pers. *nāzūk*, Kuhr. *naštar*. Phl. *(h)ēc* 'ever,' Pāz. *hēc(i)*, New Pers. *(h)ēc*, *hēc*, Kāš. *ēc*. Av. *raocah*

'day,' Siv. *rōšā*, N. Bal. *rōš*, etc. (see § 159). Phl. *cōp* 'wood,' New Pers. *cōb*, Šir. *cūγ*, Wāxī *šōkk*, Sarq. *xaib*, Kurd. *cō*, Amarlu *šiv*.

c > z.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *tacaiti* 'runs,' Phl. *tācēt*, *tāzēt*, New Pers. *tāzad*, Wāxī *tōcam*, Sarq. *tašam*, Afγ. *tašal*, Bal. *tacag*, N. Bal. *thašay*, Dig. Oss. *thajin*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' New Pers. *rōz*, etc. (see § 159). Av. *sacaiti* 'follows,' Phl. *sāxtanō*, New Pers. *sāzad*, Kāš. *basōj*, Judaeo-Pers. *sāzad*.

c > ž.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *huciθra* 'beautiful,' Phl. *hucihr*, New Pers. *hujir*, *xujir*, *hužir*. Av. *raucah* 'day,' Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Kurd. *rūž*, *rōž*, *rō*, etc. (see § 159). Old Pers. *καπίθη* 'measure for wheat,' Phl. *kapīc*, New Pers. *hazīž*, *kavīz*.

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,' Prāk., Pāli *cōra*, New Ind. dialects and Gyp. *cōr*, Sinh. *hora*, *hera*.

c > c̣.

§ 170. The change of *c* to *c̣* is found occasionally in the North Balūcī.

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. *vaṇa*, *vacana*, Pāli *vacana*, Sindhī *vacanu*. Skt. *sūcī* 'needle,' Prāk. *sūi*, Pāli *sūcī*, U_r., Bang. *sūcī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sūi*, Guj. *sōy*, Mar. *suī*, 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. √*chay* 'go' (?), U_r. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē* 'to conceal,' *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā* 'to print, to squeeze,' *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā* 'to bury,' Sindhī *chāpaṇu*, *cāpaṇu* 'to shampoo,' *ṭapaḍaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *chāpaṇēm*, *cāpaṇēm*, *ṭap*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Indian (*first*)*chop*, *shampoo*.

ch > *c*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. √*chay* 'go' (?), Bang. *cāpitē*, *chāpitē*, Hindī *cāmpānā*, *chāpanā*, Sindhī *cāpaṇu*, *chāpaṇu*, Mar. *cāpaṇēm*, *chāpaṇēm*, etc. (see preceding §).

ch > *ṭ*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. √*chay* 'go' (?), U_r. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, *tōpanā*, *tōpanā*, Sindhī *ṭapaḍaṇu*, *ṭhapaṇu*, Mar. *ṭap*, *ṭhapaṇu*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *ṭh*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. √*chay* 'go' (?), Hindī *ṭhapanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *tō*

panā, tōpanā, Sindhī *ṭhapanu, ṭapuḷanu*, Mar. *ṭhapakā, ṭāp*, etc. (see § 172).

ch > *t*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *√chap* 'go,' Hindī *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. *pr̥chati* 'asks,' Prāk. *pucchaī*, Pāli *pucchati*, Uṛ. *pūchanā, pacāra*, Bang. *puchitē*, Hindī *pūchanā*, Panj. *pucch*, Sindhī *puchanu*, Guj. *puchavun̄*, Mar. *pusaṇēn̄*.

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*, Hindī *chām̄(v), chānh, chāōm̄*, Panj. *cā(ū)m̄*, Sindhī *chām̄(v)*, Guj. *cāmy* : Av. *asaya*, Phl. *sāyak*, New Pers. *sāyah*, Bal. *sāig*, N. Bal. *sāi*, Kurd. *sī*.

j = *j̄*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *jan̄gha* 'leg,' Prāk., Pāli *jan̄gha*, Nāip. *jān̄*, Bang. *jāngī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *jānḡh*, Panj. *jānḡh*, Sindhī *jan̄gh*, *jan̄gh*, Guj., Mar. *jan̄ghā, jānḡh*, Gyp. *cang*. Skt. *bhrātr̥jāya* 'brother's wife,' Uṛ., Bang. *bhāūja*, Hindī *bhārij, bhāvaj, bhāujī, bhōjāī*, Sindhī *bhōjāī*, Mar. *bhāvajāī*. Skt. *bhrātr̥ja* 'nephew,' Hindī, Panj., Guj. *bhatijā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan, yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *žanikō*, Šīyn. *yin*, Sarq. *γin, žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Afy. *jinaī, jūnaī, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žin*, Zaza *jan*. Av. *jainti* 'kills,' Old Pers. *ajanam*, Phl. *zanēt*, New Pers.

zanad, Zaf. *bažint*, Kāš. *jidan*, Kuhr. *jindamūn*, Šiyn. *zīnam*, Sarq. *zanam*, Afγ. *žanam*, Bal. *janag*, Kurd. *zanin*. Old Pers. *bāji* 'tribute,' New Pers. *bāj*, *bāz*, *bāž*. 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,' Šiyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γin*, *žin*, etc. (see preceding §).

$j > c$.

§ 180. The change of the media *j* to the tenuis *c* is regular in Pāisācī Prākṛit 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,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājā*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, except Siñh. *rada*, Maladive *radung*, Gyp. *ray*. Skt. *vrajati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *vaccāi*, Pāli *vajati*. Skt. *kambōja* 'Cambodia,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Dhauli) *kambōca*.

$j > jh$.

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

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *jaṅgala* 'wild,' Old Hindī *jaṅgar*, New Ind. dialects *jaṅgalī*, except Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhī *jhaṅgalī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *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 Siñhalese.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jihā*, *jibbhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zōō*, New Ind. dialects *jibh* (Sindhī *jibh*), Siñh. *diva*, Maladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *jugupsati*

'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchāi*, *du(g)uñchāi*, *jhunāi*, *juucchāi*, Pāli *jīucchati*. Skt. *tējas* 'glory,' Prāk. *tēu*, Māhār. Prāk. *tēya*, Pāli *tēja*, Sinh. *teda*.

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(āk)*, *jan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *yan*, *jan*, *jin*, *zan*, 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. *rāāñō*, Śāk. Prāk. *lāvāñō* (cf. also § 180). [See now Pischel, §§ 399–400.]

j > z.

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

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

b. Iranian. Av. *javaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jivāhy*, Phl. *zivas-tanō*, New Pers. *zistan*, Kāš. *vazandō*, *jija*, Afγ. *zvand(ān)*,

Kurd. *zīn*, *zīin*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, etc. (see § 178). Kurd. *vējār* 'this time,' Bohtanī *vōzār*. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafīr*, New Pers. *zarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afy. *zavar*, Bal. *juhl*, N. Bal. *jahl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$j > \check{z}$.

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

b. Iranian. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *žan*, *jan*, *jin*, *yan*, Samn. *žanikō*, Sarq. *žin*, *γīn*, Minj. *žinga*, Kurd. *žin*, etc. (see § 178). Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Afy. *žvand(ūn)*, Kurd. *žīin*, *zīn*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *jafra* 'deep,' New Pers. *zarf*, Afy. *zavar*, Kurd. *žōr*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *drājah* 'length,' Phl., Bal. *drāj*, N. Bal. *drāž*, Kurd. *dirīž*.

Syncope 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. *rāū*, New Ind. dialects *rāū*, *rāv*, etc. (see § 180). Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viana*, Hindī *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,' Jaina Prāk. *jalla*.

jh > *z*.

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

a. Indian. Ass. *jāl* 'pungency' (pron. *zal*), 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. *trutati* 'comes apart,' Prāk. *tuttaṛ*, *tōḍaṛ*, U_r. *tōḍanā*, Bang. *tōḍāitē*, Sindhī *tōḍanu*, Guj. *tuṭavun̄*, *tōḍavun̄*, Mar. *tuṭaṇēm̄*, *tōḍanēm̄*. Skt. *kapāta* 'door,' Prāk. *kapāṭa*, U_r., Bang. *kabāṭa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavāḍ*. Skt. *√c(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 *r* and this *r* itself may further develop into *r*. No distinction is here made between *ḍ* and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṭavī* 'forest,' Apab. Prāk. *aḍaṛ*, Pāli *aṭavī*. Skt. *bhaṭa* 'soldier,' Prāk. *bhaḍa*, Apab. *bhaḍu*, Pāli *bhaṭa*. Skt. *ghaṭa* 'jar,' Prāk. *ghaḍa*, Pāli *ghaṭa*, Hindī *ghaḍā*, other New Ind. dialects *ghaḍī*. Skt. *kṛṭa* 'worm,' Prāk. *kṛḍa*, Pāli *kṛṭa*, U_r., Bang., Hindī *kṛḍā*, Sindhī *kṛḍō*, Guj. *kṛḍō*, Mar. *kṛḍ*, *kṛḍā*, Gyp. *kirī*. Skt., Pāli *kaṭāha* 'pan,' U_r. *karaṛ*, *kahrāṛ*, *kaḍhēi*, Bang. *kaḍ(āi)*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kaḍāhṛ*, Guj. *kaḍhā*, *kaḍhāi*, 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,' Prāk. *saḍhā*. Skt. *śakaṭikā*

'cart,' Prāk. *sayadhā*, Śāur. Prāk. *saadhā*, Pāli *sakaṭa*. Skt. *kāiṭabha* 'name of a demon,' Prāk. *kēdhava*. Skt. *akṣapāta* 'arena,' E. Hindī *akhārḥ*, Hindī *akhārā*, Mar. *akhāḍā*.

$\ddot{t} > t$.

§ 194. The decerebralization of Indian \ddot{t} to t occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭumbaka* 'house-holder,' Pāli. Prāk. *kutumbaka*, *kuṭumbaka*, Pāli *kuṭumbaka*, *kuṭimbaka*.

$\ddot{t} > p$.

§ 195. The change of \ddot{t} to p is excessively rare.

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

$\ddot{t} > r$.

§ 196. The change of \ddot{t} to r (cf. § 192) is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Ur. *karāi*, *kahrāi*, *kaḍhēi*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēta* 'servant,' Panj. *cērā*, *cēlā*, etc. (see following §).

$\ddot{t} > l$.

§ 197. The change of \ddot{t} to l is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sphaṭika* 'crystal,' Prāk. *phalika*, *phaḍiḥa*, *phaḍia*, Pāli *phalika*. Skt. *karkaṭaka* 'crab,' Jāina Prāk. *kakkaḍa*, Pāli *kakkaṭaka*, Sinh. *kakuluvā*, *kakuluvū*. Skt. *kaṭāha* 'pan,' Sinh. *kulāva*, etc. (see § 192). Skt. *cēta* 'servant,' Prāk. *cēḍa*, Pāli *cēṭaka*, Ur., Bang. *cēlā*, Hindī *cēlā*, *cēḍā*, Panj. *cēlā*, *cērā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cēlō*, Mar. *cēlā*.

$\ddot{t} > \underline{l}$.

§ 198. The change of \ddot{t} to \underline{l} occurs especially in Sinhalese, where l and \underline{l} are used indiscriminately, although the Maladive distinguishes sharply between l and \underline{l} .

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭa* 'peak,' Prāk. *kūḍa*, Pāli *kūṭa*, Sinh. *kulu*. Skt. *sphōṭati* 'bursts forth,' Prāk. *phuṭṭai*, *phuḍai*, Pāli

phuṭati, Hindī *phūṭ*, Panj. *phutt*, other New Ind. dialects *phuṭ*, except Siindh. *polanavā*.

ṭh = th.

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

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

ṭh > t.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Pāli *kuṭhāri*, Uṛ. *kuṭārī*, *kuhrari*, *kuṭāḍī*, Bang. *kuṛhād*, *kuṛhāḍī*, Bihārī, Hindī *kulhāri*, *kuhāḍā*, Panj. *kuhāḍā*, *kuṛhārā*, *kuḥāḍā*, Siindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, Mar. *kurhāi*, *kurhār*.

ṭh > ḍ.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Pāli *pīṭha*, Bang. *pimḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Siindhī *pēḍahī*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, Mar. *pāṭ*. Skt. *paṭhana* 'reading,' Uṛ. *paḍhībā*, Bang. *paḍhitē*, Hindī, Panj. *paḍhanā*, Siindhī *paḍhaṇu*, Guj. *paḍhavuṇi*, Mar. *paḍhanēm*.

ṭh > ḍh.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *pīṭha* 'pedestal,' Prāk. *pīḍha*, *pēḍha*, Hindī, Panj. *pīḍhā*, Guj. *pēḍhī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kuṭhāri* 'axe,' Prāk. *kuḍhāra*, Bang. *kuṛhīḍ*, *kuṛhāḍī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' Prāk. *paḍhāi*, Pāli *paṭhati*, Ass. √ *parh*, Bang. *par*, New Ind. dialects *paḍh*, *parh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*.

ʈh > r̥h, rh.

§ 203. The change of *ʈh* to *r̥h*, *rh*, is especially characteristic of the Eastern dialects, while the Western dialects, as noted in the preceding paragraph, tend to the change of *ʈh* to *ḍh*.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭhāri* 'axe,' Bang. *kuṛhād*, *kuṛhādī*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *paṭhati* 'reads,' New Ind. dialects *parh*, *paḍh*, E. New Ind. dialects also *parh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ʈh > ll.

§ 204. The change of *ʈh* to *ll* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aṅkōṭha*, *aṅkōl(l)a* 'name of a tree,' Prāk. *aṅkolla*, Pāli *aṅkōla*, Guj., Mar. *aṅkōl*.

ʈh > lh.

§ 205. The change of *ʈh* to *lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kulhārī*, *kuhādī*, Panj. *kulhādā*, *kuṁlhārā*, *kuhādā*, etc. (see § 200). Skt. *kūṭhara* 'sugar-mill,' Māg. Prāk. *kuḍhalē*, Bihārī *kōlhū*.

ʈh > h.

§ 206. The change of *ʈh* to *h* is one of extreme rarity in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭhāri* 'axe,' Bihārī, Hindī *kuhādā*, *kulhārī*, Panj. *kuhādā*, *kulhādā*, *kuṁlhārā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kuhārō*, etc. (see § 200).

ʈh > hr.

§ 207. The change of *ʈh* to *hr* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kūṭhāri* 'axe,' Uṛ. *kuhrāri*, *kuṭādī*, *kuṭārī*, etc. (see § 200).

ḍ = ḍ.

§ 208. Indian *ḍ* is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

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

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

§ 209. The change of \check{d} to \check{t} occurs regularly in the Pāisāci Prākṛit.

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

$\check{d} > d$.

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

a. Indian. Skt. $\sqrt{\text{dāp}}$ 'to collect,' Uṛ. *dabibā*, Bang. *dābana*, Hindī *dābanā*, *dabāv*, *dabēl*, Panj. *dabbaṇā*, Sindhī *dabaṇu*, Guj. *dābavun̄*, Mar. *dabaṇēn̄*.

$\check{d} > \check{r}$, 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. *dādīma*, *dālīma*, Prāk. *ḍālīma*, Pāli *dālīma*, Hindī *dārīm*, Sindhī *ḍārḥūn̄*. Skt. *krīḍati* 'plays,' Prāk. *kīlāi*, Apab. Prāk. *kīladi*, Pāli *kīḷati*. Skt. *ṣōḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Jāina Prāk. *sōḷasa*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōraha*, Kaśm. *surāh*, Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōrahān̄*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*.

$\check{d} > l$.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *pīḍana* 'pressure,' Mar. *pīlanēm*, etc. (see § 208). Skt. *uḷupa* 'boat,' Pāli *uḷumpa*, etc. (see § 211). Skt. *krōḍaka* 'lap,' Apab. Prāk. *kōlaiū*, Guj. *kōlō*. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *solaha*, Jaina Prāk. *solasa*, Pāli *sōlasa*, Panj. *sōlan*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, 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. *mūḍha* 'fool,' New Ind. dialects (except Bang., Mar.) *mūrhu*.

ḍh > r.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *mūḍhatva* 'folly,' Prāk. *mūḍhattaṇa*, Hindī *mūrahapan*, Panj. *mūrahapanā*.

ḍh > l, lh.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *udvōḍha* 'bridegroom,' Bang. *dulīn*, *dulāi*, Hindī *dulhā*. Skt. *udūḍhā* 'bride,' Hindī *dulhīn*, Guj. *dulāhī*.

ḍh > ḷ, lḥ.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *dṛḍha* 'firm,' Prāk. *daḍha*, Pāli *dalha*, Sinh. *dala*.

ṇ > n.

§ 218. The change of *ṇ* to *n* is not frequent in the Indian dialects, excepting in the Pāīśācī Prākṛit, where it occurs regularly.

a. Indian. Skt. *guṇaganayukta* 'equipped with a host of virtues,' Pāīś. Prāk. *gunaganajutta*. Skt. *brāhmaṇa* 'Brahman,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *l(r)amana*, lit. Prāk. *bāmhaṇa*, Māhār. Prāk. *bambhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*.

ṇ > ḷ, ḹ.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *vāṇija* 'merchant,' Prāk. *vāṇi(j)a*, Siñh. *velāindā*, *veṇāinda*.

$t = t$.

§ 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., Prāk., Pāli *tuṇḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōm̐th*, *ṭhōr*, Hindī, Panj. *tōmḍ*, Guj. *duṇḍ*, Mar. *tōmḍā*, *tuṇḍ*, *tund*, *dōmḍ*. Skt. *jyōti* 'light,' Pāli *jōti*, Hindī *jōt(i)*, Panj. *jōtanā*, Sindhī *jōt(i)*, Guj. *jōt*. Skt. *ṛtu* 'season,' Prāk. *udu* (Śāur. and Māg.), *uu*, *riu*, Pāli *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*, Šiγn. *tana*, Afγ. *tan*, Oss. *thanag*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Gab. *tašna*, Wāxī *tax(i)*, Šiγn. *tašna*, Sarq. *tür(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, 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*, Šiγn. *ēd*, Sarq. *ēd*, Minj. *kai*, Yidg. *kyē*, Yaγn. *kat*. Av., Old Pers. *brātar* 'brother,' Phl. *brātar*, *brāt*, New Pers. *birādar*, Kāš. *barāi*, *barō*, Gil. *brār*, Wāxī *vrūt*, Šiγn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurd*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yaγn. *virāt*, Afγ. *vrōr*, Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāθ*, Kurd. *barā*, *virād*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaj*.

$t > g$.

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

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

Gab. *taš*, Šiyn. *yāē*, Sarq. *yuē*, 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 *ciṭṭitu* 'let him stand,' inscriptions of Dhaulī), Pāli *tiṭṭhati*, *ṭhāti*, U_r. *cidā*, *thāē*, Hindī, Panj. *thē*, Sindhī *thiē*, Guj. *thāy*, Mar. *thēṇēm*.

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

t > ṭ.

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

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *tilaka* 'sectarial mark,' U_r., Bang. *ṭīka*, Hindī *ṭikā*, Panj. *ṭikkā*, Sindhī *ṭikō*, Guj. *ṭilu*, *ṭilī*, *ṭilō*, Mar. *ṭikā*, *ṭilā*. Skt. *prati* 'toward,' Prāk. *paṭi*, *paḍi*, Pāli *paṭi*. Skt. *tāmra* 'copper,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Ass. *tām*, Kāśm. *trām*, U_r., Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmbā*, *tāmā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbu*, *trāmbuṃ*, Mar. *tāmbēm*, Simh. *tāmbara*.

t > ṭh.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *tunḍa* 'snout,' Bihārī *ṭhōṃṭh*, *ṭhōr*, etc. (see § 220). Skt. *vṛtti* 'business,' Prāk. *vattī*, Sindhī *vaṭhi*.

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. *paḍai*, Pāli *patati*, U_r. *paḍikā*, Bang. *paḍaṇā*, Hindī *paṛanā*, Sindhī *pavaṇu*, Guj. *paḍavūṃ*, Mar. *paḍaṇēm*, *paṛaṇēm*, Gyp. ✓ *per*. Skt. *patākā* 'banner,' Prāk. *paḍāyā*, Jāina Prāk. *paḍāgā*, Pāli *patākā*. Skt. *takṣan* 'carpenter,' Sindhī *ḍakhaṇu*.

$t > th, \theta$.

§ 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 Balūcī and Ossetish.

a. Indian. Skt. *tr̥pyati* 'rejoices,' Prāk. *thippiāi*. Skt. *āpāta* 'path,' Pāli *āpātha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tāpayeiti* 'warms,' Phl. *tāftanō*, New Pers. *tābad*, Gab. *tō*, Kāš. *tōvān*, Wāxī *θavam*, Šīyn. *tabam*, Sarq. *θavam*, Afy. *taba*, Bal. *tap*, N. Bal. *thap*, *thaf*, Kurd. *tāv*, Dig. Oss. *thaft*, Tag. *thavin*. Av. *tərəsaiti* 'fears,' Phl. *tarsītanō*, New Pers. *tarsūdan*, Afy. *tarhēdal*, Bal. *tursay*, *trusay*, 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. Prāk. *tattō*, Śāur. Prāk. *tadō*, Apab. Prāk. *daü*, Pāli *tatō*. Skt. *tāvat* 'so long,' Śāur. Prāk. *dāva*, Pāli *tāva*. Skt. *gata* 'gone,' Śāur., Māg. Prāk. *gaḍē*, Pāis. Prāk. *gata*, Apab. Prāk. *gaḍu*, Pāli *gata*, Simh. *giya*, Gyp. *gelo*. Skt. *kṛta* 'done,' Māg. Prāk. *kadē*, *kaḍē*, Ardhamāg., Avant., Śākārī Prāk. *kala*, Pāis. Prāk. *kata*, Apab. Prāk. *kiḍu*, Pāli *kata*, *kaṭa*, Old Hindī *kīya*, Bihārī *kaḍl*, *kāil*, *kayal*, Sindhī *kiō*. Skt. *uta* 'or,' Prāk. *ua*, Pāli *uda*. Skt. *tē* 'of thee,' Prāk. *dē*, *tē*.

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

vēt, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Sīv. *vī*, Zaf. *vē*, Vōn. *vīd*, Kuhr. *vēt*, Afy. *vala*, Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *vī*, *bī*. Av. *tava* 'of thee,' New Pers. *tū*, Afy. *ta*, Kurd. *tu*, Dig. Oss. *du*, Tag. *dī*.

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. Hindī, Hindī, Guj. *kāyar*, Mar. *kāvarā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab., Sīv. *māya*, Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mā*, Tāt *mōi*, Šīyn. *mad*, Minj. *māyā*. Av., Old Pers. *pitar* 'father,' Phl. *piṭ(ar)*, New Pers. *pidar*, Gab. *par*, Kāš. *pai*, Nāy. *pī*, *payi*, Šīyn. *pad*, Sarq. *pit*, Afy. *plār*, Bal. *pit*, N. Bal. *phis*, *phiθ*, Dig. Oss. *fida*, Tag. *fid*.

t > r.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *saptati* 'seventy,' Prāk., Pāli *sattari*, Nāip. *sattari*, Kāsm. *satat*, Uṛ. *sattōri*, Bang., Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *sattar*, Sindhī *satari*, Guj. *siṭer*, 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 *kāil*, *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*, Siñh. *av(u)va*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Pāli *mātar*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māmu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Eḷu *mava*, Siñh. *mar(u)*, *mā*.

t > s.

§ 233. The change of *t* to *s* is excessively rare, excepting in Siñhalese and North Balūcī.

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

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

t > h.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *tuccha* 'empty,' Prāk. *c(h)uccha*, Pāli *tuccha*, Siñh. *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,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūt̥tha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāuḍha*, Bang. *cāuḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāunthā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *saa*, *saya*, Pāli. Prāk. *sata*, Pāli *sata*, Kaśm. *hath*, Uṛ. *śac*, Bang.

śaya, Bihārī *sāu*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*. Skt. *pitar* 'father,' Prāk. *piā*, Pāli *pitar*, Hindī *piu*, Panj. *piū*, Sindhī *piu*, Sinh. *piya*. Skt. *mātar* 'mother,' Prāk. *māā*, Hindī *mā(ī)*, *māū*, Panj. *māū*, *māūm*, *māūu*, *mā(ī)*, Sindhī *māū*, Sinh. *mā*, *mar(u)*, etc. (see § 232).

b. Iranian. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Kāš. *māi*, *mōya*, Vōn. *mōa*, Māz. *mār*, *mār*; Gil. *māar*, *mōr*, Tāl. *mū*, Tāt *mōi*, etc. (see § 229). Skt. *jūta* 'swift,' Phl. *zūt*, New Pers. *zūd*, Māz. *zī*, Tāl., Tāt *zū*, Bal. *zūt*, *zīt*, N. Bal. *zīθ*, Kurd. *zū*. 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. *ōša*, Bal. *als*, Kurd. (*h*)*isttir*, *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*, *māthā*, Hindī *mathanā*, *mahanā*, *maṭhā*, Sindhī *mathaṇu*, Guj. *mathavum*, *maṭhō*, Mar. *ma(n)thaṇēm*, *māthan*. Skt. *yūtha* 'herd,' Māhār. Prāk. *jūha*, Pāli *yūtha*, Hindī *jūth*, *jathā*, Panj. *jūh*, Guj. *jathō*, Mar. *jathaṇēm*.

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. *gūs*, Wāxī *gū*, *gī*, Šiyn. *γaθ*, Yaγn. *γūt(ah)*, Afy. *γul*, N. Bal. *gīθ*, Kurd. *gū*. Av. *fraθanjayeiti* 'harnesses,' New Pers. *tanjīdan*, Bal. *tajēnag*, Dig. Oss. *ithinjun*, Tag. *thinjin*.

th > ṭh.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Prāk. *paḍhama*, Pāli *paṭhama*, Ass. *pōnar*, Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihir(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhalum*, Mar. *pahilā*, Siñh. *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*, Pāli *sithila*, *saṭhila*, Uṛ. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīlā*, Hindī *dhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhilō*, *ḍhirō*, Guj. *ḍhūlum*, Mar. *ḍhilā*. Skt. *mēṭhi* 'post,' Prāk. *mēḍhi*, Mar. *mēḍhī*, *mēḍhā*.

th > t.

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

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

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

th > ḍh.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *atha* 'thus,' Śāur., Pāis. Prāk. *adha*, Pāli *atha*. Skt. *tathā* 'so,' Śāur. Prāk. *tadhā*, Pāli *tathā*. Skt. *vyathayati* 'trembles,' Pāli *vēdhati*.

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*, Pāli *ratha*, Siñh. *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. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Afy. *γul*, etc. (see § 237).

th > *l̄*.

§ 244. The change of *th* to *l̄* 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,' Prāk. *ahavā*, Apab. *ahavāi*, inscriptions of Girnar, Dhauli, and Khālsi *ahō*, Pāli *athavā*. Skt. *ratha* 'cart,' Apab. Prāk. *rahu*, etc. (see § 242). Skt. *kathana* 'speech,' Prāk. *kahaṇa*, Pāli *kathana*, Uṛ. *kahibā*, Bang. *kahitē*, Hindī *kahanā*, Panj. *kahinā*, Sindhī *kahanu*, Guj. *kēhavuṇ*. Skt. *prathama* 'first,' Nāip. *pahilō*, Bihārī *pahil*, *pahēl*, Hindī, Panj. *pahilā*, Sindhī *paharyōm*, *pihīr(y)ōm*, *paherya*, Guj. *pēhēlō*, *pēhaluṇ*, Mar. *pahilā*, etc. (see § 238). Skt. *gāthā* 'song,' Prāk. *gāhā*, Pāli *gāthā*, Old Hindī *gāhā*, Sindhī *gāi*. Skt. *pṛth(i)vī* 'earth,' Prāk. *puhavī*, *puhuwī*, *puḍhavī*, Pāli *pathavī*, *puthavī*, *puthuwī*, *paṭhavī*, Old Hindī *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. *gūθa* 'excrement,' Phl., New Pers. *gūh*, etc. (see § 237). Av. *gaēθanqm* 'of creatures,' Phl., New Pers. *gēhān*.

d = *d̄*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *dasa*, Śāur. Prāk. *daha*,

Pāli *dasa*, Kāśm. *daha*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *das*, Panj. *das*, *dah*, Sindhī *ḍah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahū*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Pāli *dasati*, Ur. *damkibā*, *damś*, Bang. *damś*, *ḍamś(ā)*, Hindī *damś(ak)*, *ḍāmīk*, Sindhī *ḍamgaṇu*, Mar. *damś*, *ḍāmcaṇēm*, *damkhaṇēm*, *ḍasaṇēm*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Prāk. *jai*, Jaina Prāk. *jati*, Pāli *yadi*, Hindī *jad*, *jē*, *jō*, Panj., Sindhī *jē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmankar*, Pāz. *andī-mānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Šir., Zaf., Kāš. *dīm*, Kuhr. *dīm*, *düm*, Afy. *lēma*. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Wāxī *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *dhanthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Oss. *dandag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šiyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pad*, Sangl. *puḍ*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yaṇ. *puda*, Afy. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, 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. *pāi*, 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. *nihuftan*, 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,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śāur. Prāk.

dhādā, dhādā, Pāli *dhītā, dhītara*, Ass. *ji*, Ur. *jhia*, Bang. *jhī*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu, dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*.

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

§ 251. The cerebralization of Indo-Iranian \bar{d} is found quite frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dahati* 'burns,' Prāk. *ḍahaī*, Pāli *ḍahati*, Hindī *ḍah, dāh*, Sindhī *ḍah*. Skt. **hṛdaka* 'heartly,' Māg. Prāk. *haḍakka*. Skt. *dūta* 'messenger,' Jāina Prāk. *ḍūya*, Pāli *dūta*. Skt. *daśati* 'bites,' Bang. *ḍamś(ā), damś*, Hindī *ḍānik, damś(ak)*, Sindhī *ḍamganu*, Mar. *ḍamcaṇēṁ, ḍasaṇēṁ, damkhaṇēṁ, damś*, etc. (see § 246). Skt. *pravāda* 'narrative,' Pāli *pavāda*, Hindī, Sindhī *pavār*, Guj. *pavād*, Mar. *pavādā*. Skt. *dōlā* 'swing,' Prāk. *ḍōlā*, Pāli *dōlā*, Bihārī *ḍōr, dōr*, Hindī *ḍōl(ā), ḍōlī, dōl(ā), dōlik*, Panj., Sindhī *ḍōlī*, Guj. *ḍōlī, ḍōlavuṁ*, Mar. *ḍōlā, ḍōlī, ḍōlā, dōlī*, Anglo-Ind. *dooly*.

$\bar{d} > t$.

§ 252. The change of the voiced \bar{d} to the voiceless *t* is regular in the Pāisācī Prākṛit, but elsewhere it is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *durgā* 'name of Parvatī,' Pāis. Prāk. *tukkā*. Skt. *pradēśa* 'district,' Pāis. Prāk. *patēsa*, Pāli *padēsa*. Skt. *yadi* 'if,' Jāina Prāk. *jati*, etc. (see § 246).

$\bar{d} > th$.

§ 253. The change of \bar{d} to *th* occurs very rarely in Ossetish.

b. Iranian. Av. *daḍaiti* 'gives,' Phl. *dātanō*, New Pers. *dādan*, Samn. *dam*, Māz. *hādīa*, Gil. *fandi*, Tāl. *diah*, Wāxī *radān*, Šīyn. *ḍiam*, Sarq. *ḍām*, Afy. *lal*, 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. *darəzqōš* 'hare, donkey').

$\bar{d} > \bar{d}h, \delta$.

§ 254. The aspirization of an original \bar{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. *duhitar* 'daughter,' Prāk. *dhī(y)ā*, Śāur. Prāk. *dhādā*, *dhādā*, Pāli *dhītā*, *dhītara*, Hindī, Panj. *dhī(yā)*, Sindhī *dhiu*, *dhiy*, Guj. *dhī(yā)*, etc. (see § 250). Skt. *dr̥m̐hita* 'firm,' Jāina Prāk. *dhanīya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *ðas*, *las*, Šīyn. *ðīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *ðēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yayn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *dadaiti* 'gives,' Wāxī *radān*, Šīyn. *diam*, Sarq. *dām*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *pādā* 'foot,' Wāxī *pūð*, Šīyn. *pād*, Sarq. *pað*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, etc. (see § 246). Av. *x^vaēda* 'sweat,' Phl. *x^vēdē*, *x^vaī*, New Pers. *x^vai*, Wāxī *xil*, Sarq. *xaið*, Afy. *x^valē*, Bal. *hēð*, 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. *nūvāzdahum*, Afy. *nūmas*, *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,' Prāk. *khāya*, Māhār. Prāk. *khāya*, Pāli *khayita*, Panj. *khādhā*, Guj. *khādhō*, Mar. *khāllā*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiaya*, *hīaa*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyām*, *hīām*, Sindhī *himūnu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (*y*)*ilō*. Skt. *ādśa* 'order,' Pāli *ādśa*, Old Bihārī *āyēsu*, *āēsu*, *āyasu*, *āisu*. Skt. *pāda* 'foot,' Prāk. *pāa*, Māhār. Prāk. *pāda*, Hindī *pā(m)v*, Panj. *pā(m)v*, *pāim*, Simh. *paya*, *piya*.

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

xān. Phl. *xadū(k)* 'saliva,' New Pers. *xayū*, *xadū*. New Pers. *bādām* 'almond,' Šiyn., Sarq. *vāyām*, Kurd. *bāhīw*, *baiv*.

d > r.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *tādṛśa* 'such,' Prāk. *tārisa*, Pāiś. Prāk. *tātisa*, Pāli *tādisa*. Skt. *ētādṛśa* 'such,' Māhār. Prāk. *ēyārisa*, *ēārisa*, Pāli *ērīsa*, *ēdisa*. Skt. *gadgada* 'stammering,' Prāk. *gaggara*. Skt. *ekadaśa* 'eleven,' Prāk. *ēāraha*, Pāli *ēkarasa*, *ēkadasa*, Kāśm. *kāh*, Ur., Bang. *ēgāra*, Bihārī *egyārah*, Hindi *igārah*, *gyārah*, Panj. *giārām*, Sindhī *ikārahaṇi*, *yārahaṇi*, 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. *pradīpta* 'kindled,' Prāk. *palīva*, *palitta*, Māhār. Prāk. *palīviya*, Jāina Prāk. *palitta*, Bihārī *palit*. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *dōhala*, *ḍōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, Pāli *dōhala*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Wāxī *las*, *ḍas*, Šiyn. *līs*, *ḍīs*, Yidg. *lus*, Afy. *las*, etc. (see § 254). Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Afy. *pal*, etc. (see § 246). Phl. *x^vatūi* 'God,' New Pers. *xudāi*, Šiyn., Sarq. *qudā*, Kurd. *xadē*, *xudē*, Mukrī *xola*. Av. *frazgaḍaiti* 'hastens forth,' Afy. *zyalī*.

d > l.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *dōhada*, *dōhala* 'longing of a pregnant woman,' Prāk. *ḍōhala*, *dōhaḍa*, *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. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *karalī*, *kayalī*, *kēlī*, Pāli *kadalī*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kayalā*, *kēlā*, Sindhī *kayalā*, *kēlā*, dimin. *kēviḍō*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, Siñh. *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. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Siñh. *kehel*, *kesel* (s by false analogy), etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *pādika* 'quarter,' U_r. *pāhī*, Bang. *pāī*, Hindī *pāī*, Anglo-Ind. *pie*.

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

Syncope of d.

§ 262. The syncope 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. *ṇāī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *kadalī* 'plantain,' Prāk. *kēlī*, *kayalī*, *karalī*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Sindhī *kēlā*, *kayalā*, Guj. *kēl*, *kēr*, Mar. *kēl*, etc. (see § 260). Skt. *khādana* 'meal,' Prāk. *khāṇa*, Pāli *khādana*, U_r. *khāibā*, Bang. *khārtē*, Hindī *khānā*, Panj. *khāṇā*, Sindhī *khāinu*, Guj. *khāvunī*, Mar. *khāṇēnī*. Skt. *śarad* 'autumn,' Prāk. *sarava*, Māhār. Prāk. *saraya*, Pāli *sarada*, Sindhī *sarati*.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nadāram* 'I have not,' Māz. *nārmah*, Gīl. *nāramah*, 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*, Pāli *pañcaśasa*, Kaśm. *pandāh*, Ur. *pandhar*, Bang. *pōnēra*, Bihārī *pandarāh*, Hindī *pañdrah*, Panj. *pañdarāñ*, Sindhī *pañdraham*, *pañdhrāñ*, Guj. *pañdar*, Mar. *pañdharā*.

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

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., Pāli *dhavala*, Ur., Bang. *dhālā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāwūrō*, Guj. *dhōlūñ*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *dhāvaka* 'washerman,' Ur., Bang. *dhōbā*, *dhōpā*, Hindī *dhōbō*. Skt. *kṣudhā* 'hunger,' Māhār. Prāk. *khuhā*, Pāli *khudā*, Hindī *khudhā*, Panj. *khudhīā*.

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

dh > ḍ.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhīṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Nāip. *dhūmtō*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, Sindhī *ḍīṭhu*.

dh > ḍh.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *dhṛṣṭa* 'bold,' Prāk. *ḍhīṭṭha*, *ḍhaṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *ḍhīth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *√dhakk* 'destroy,' Prāk. *ḍhakkā*, Ur. *ḍhakanā*, *dhāñkanā*, Bang. *ḍhakitō*, Hindī *ḍhakkā*, Panj. *ḍhakkā*, Sindhī *ḍhakaṇu*, *dhikō*, Guj. *ḍhāñkavūñ*, Mar. *dhāñkaṇēñ*.

dh > t.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *dhārayati* 'holds,' Prāk. *dharaṅ*, Pāli *dhārēti*, Sinh. *terenavā*, *daraṇava*, 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. *dharmā* 'virtue,' Prak., Pāli *dhamma*, Kāśm. *ḍaram*, Elu *ḍaham*, Siñh. *ḍam*. Skt. *dhattūra* 'thorn-apple,' Kāśm. *dattur*, Ur. *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 *madu*, Mar. *madhu*, Gyp. *mōl*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dhamati* 'blows,' Phl., New Pers. *dam*, Dig. Oss. *dumun*, Tag. *dimin*. Av. *baoiḍi* '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 *sannirunḍhati*, *sannirunḍhati*.

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*, Siñh. *miyuru*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō*, Judaeo-Pers. *bayōg*, Kurd. *bāk*. 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. *baoiḍi* '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. *tulādihāra* 'balance-holding,' Sinh. *tulavaru*.

dh > *h*.

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

a. Indian. Skt. *āṣadhi* 'drug,' Prāk. *ōsaha*, *ōsadha*, Pāli *ōsadhi*. Skt. *sādhu* 'good,' Prāk. *sāhu*, Pāli *sādhu*, Bihārī *sāh*, Sindhī *sāū*. Skt. *badhira* 'deaf,' Prāk. *bahira*, Pāli *badhira*, Uṛ. *bahirā*, Bang. *bahērā*, Hindī *bahirā*, Sindhī *bōrō*, *bōḷō*, Guj. *bchērō*, Mar. *bahirā*, Sinh. *bihiri*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pali *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēnhu*, Nāip. *gāhuṁ*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm*, Hindī *gō(n)huṁ*, *gēhuṁ*, *ghēuṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Sindhī *gēhuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*. Skt. *vadhū* 'bride,' Prāk. *vahū*, Pāli *vadhū*, Uṛ. *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,' Uṛ. *gama*, *gahama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Hindī *ghēuṁ*, *gēhuṁ*, *gō(n)huṁ*, Panj. *ghēuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūm*, Gyp. *giv*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *vidu*, *vidava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvah*, Kāš. *vā*, *vīgu*, *bivā*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *idaĵ*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *aḍairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jīr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaco-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., Pāli *nāman*, New Ind. dialects *nām(v)*, Gyp. *anav, nav*. Skt. *nāmāyati* 'bows,' Prāk. *nāmēi*, Pāli *nāmēti*, Uṛ. *nūnāi*, Bang. *nām, nuya*, Hindī *nā(v)*, Panj. *nivā*, Sindhī *nainvā*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṅhāṅu*, Pāli *sināna, nāhāna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāünā*, Guj. *nahāṅ*, Mar. *nahāṅ, nāhaṅēn*.

b. Iranian. Av. *naṃan* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Wāxī *nung*, Afγ. *nūm*, Bal. *nām*, Dig. Oss. *non*, Tag. *nom*. Av. *nairya* 'virile,' Phl. *nērōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīrō*, Šīyn. *nīr*, Sarq. *nīar*, Sangl. *narak*, Yidg. *nar*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak, nōk*, Pāz. *nō*, New Pers. *nō, nav*, Šīyn. *nau*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afγ. *nau, navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *jaini* 'woman,' Phl., New Pers. *zan*, Gab. *jan, yan(ūk)*, Sīv. *žin*, Zaf. *žan*, Kāš., Kuhr. *jan, jin, yan, žan*, Nāy. *yanah*, Samn. *žanikō*, Šīyn. *γin*, Sarq. *γīn, žin*, Minj. *žinga*, Afγ. *jinaī, jūnaī, jal*, Bal. *jan*, Kurd. *žin*, Zaza *jan*.

$n > \hat{n}$.

§ 276. The change of *n* to \hat{n} is confined to the Sindhī, which alone preserves *ṅ, ṅ̂*, pronounced *ṅg* and *n̂* respectively (see § 154).

a. Indian. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Prāk., Pāli *thana*, Uṛ., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *thān*, Panj. *thaṅ*, Sindhī *thaṅu, thaṅu*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*. Skt. *mānanā* 'respect,' Hindī *mannā*, Sindhī *maṅaṅu*.

$n > \eta$.

§ 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 Prākritis (*nō ṅaḥ 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. *ṅaī*, Pāli *nadī*, New Ind. dialects *nadī*, W. Bang. also *ladī*. Skt. *vacana* 'speech,' Prāk. *vacāṅa*, Māhār. Prāk. *vayaṅa*, Pāli *vacana*. Skt. *khanēt* 'should

dig,' Gāthā *khaṇṭt*. Skt. *dhēnu* 'cow,' Prāk. *dhēṇu*, Pāli *dhēnu*, Sindhī *dhēṇu*.

$n > b$.

§ 278. The change of *n* to *b* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *naḡna* '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*, Siv. *bān*, Kāš. *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. *nūiraṅjana* nom. prop., Pāli *nēraṅjara*. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *ṭhāṇa*, *thāna*, Apab. Prāk. *ṭhāṇu*, *ṭhāū*, Pāli *ṭhāna*, Nāip. *tharai*, Ur. *thāṇā*, *ṭhāṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *thā(n)v*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhāinā*, Panj. *ṭhāṇā*, *thānā*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Siṃh. *tāna*, *ṭāna*.

$n > l$.

§ 281. The change of *n* to *l* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects, and in Siṃhalese the change is regular. In the Iranian dialects, on the contrary, the development is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *ēla*, *ēla*. Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḍō*, Mar. *limb*. Skt. *navanīta* 'butter,' Pāli *navanīta*, *nōnīta*, Bang. *nanī*, Hindī *nōnī*, Mar. *lōṇī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nīla* 'blue,' Kāśm. *nyul*, Bang., Bihārī *līl*, *nīl*, Guj. *līl*. Skt. *vana* 'forest,' Prāk. *vaṇa*, Pāli *vana*, Siṃh. *val*, Maladive *valī*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nava* 'new,' Siṃh. *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*.

$n > \underline{l}$.

§ 282. The change of *n* to \underline{l} is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēnas* 'fault,' Pāli *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. *vēnīk*, *bēnīk*, Pāz. *vīnī*, New Pers. *bīnī*, Samn. *vīnī*, Māz. *vēnī*, Tāl. *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. Prāk. *ṭhāū*, *ṭhāṇu*, Bihārī *ṭhāū(n)*, *thā(n)v*, etc. (see § 280).

b. Iranian. Phl. *vārān* 'rain,' New Pers. *bārān*, Zaf. *vurō*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Nāy. *vārūn*, Kurd. *bārīn*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varīn*. Phl., Pāz., New Pers. *nān* 'bread,' Zaf. *nū*, Nāy. *nōu*, Central dialects *nān*, Bal. *nagan*, N. Bal. *naḡan*. New Pers. *tābistān* 'summer,' Sīv. *tavisā*. New Pers. *sā* 'manner,' *sān*. Phl., New Pers. *pasīn* 'hinder,' Kurd. *pašī*.

Prothesis of *n*.

§ 285. The prothesis of *n* is an excessively rare phenomenon.

b. Iranian. Phl. *ānīnak* 'mirror,' New Pers. *ānah*, Bal. *ādēnk*, (*h*)*ādēk*, N. Bal. *ādēn*, *āzīna*, Kurd. *nainak*, Dig. Oss. *aidana*.

Epenthesis of *n*.

§ 286. The epenthesis of *n* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hazawra* 'thousand,' Phl., New Pers. *hazār*, Afy. *zar*, Zaza *hanzār*.

$$p = p.$$

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

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'afterward,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē*, Kāśm. *pat(h)*, Ur. *pachē*, *pāchu*, Bang. *pāchā*, Hindī *pachē*, *pīchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puān*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Siñh. *pas(u)*. Skt. *pakva* 'ripe,' Apab. Prāk. *pakka*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kāśm. *pōp*, Ur. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pak*, *pik*, Mar. *pīk*, *pikā*. Skt. ✓ *chay* 'go' (?), Ur. *ṭipibā*, Bang. *chāpitē*, *cāpitē*, *ṭēpitē*, Hindī *chāpanā*, *cāmpānā*, *tōpanā*, *ṭōpanā*, *ṭīpanā*, *ṭhapanā*, Sindhī *chāpanū*, *cāpanū*, *ṭapanū*, *ṭhapanū*, Mar. *chāpanēm*, *cāpaṭa-ṇēm*, *ṭāp*, *ṭhapakā*, Anglo-Ind. (first) *chop*, *shampoo*. Skt., Pāli *jāpana* 'muttering,' Hindī *ja(n)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. *fustāga*, Tag. *fastag*. Av. *pāda* 'foot,' Phl. *pāi*, New Pers. *pā(i)*, Wāxī *pūd*, Šīyn. *pūd*, Sarq. *paδ*, Sangl. *puδ*, Minj. *palah*, Yidg. *pulluh*, Yaγn. *puda*, Afγ. *pal*, Bal. *pād*, N. Bal. *phād*, *phāz*, Zaza *pai*. Av. *āp* 'water,' Phl. *āp*, Pāz. *āw*, New Pers. *āb*, *āv*, Gab. *ō*, Sīv. *av*, *au*, Yazdī *vō*, Kāš. *ōv*, Nāy. *āō*, Nat. *au*, Samn. *ō*, Māz. *ō(v)*, Gil., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Wāxī *yupk*, *yapak*, Yidg. *yovγ*, Yaγn. *āp*, Afγ. *ōba*, Bal. *āp*, N. Bal. *āf*, Kurd. *āv*.

$$p > k.$$

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

a. Indian. Skt. *pīpīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *kipillika*, *pīpīlika* (by dissimilation).

$$p > p^h, f.$$

§ 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 Balūcī, although this dialect shows *ph* initially before vowels and *r*.

a. Indian. Skt. *parigha* 'bar,' Prāk. *phaliha*. Skt. *paruṣa* 'rough,' Pāli *pharusa*. Skt. *pāribhadra* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *phālihadda*, Pāli *phālibhadda*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppaha*, Bihārī *phūp(h)*, Old Hindī *puhupa*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Nāip. *phāmsō*, *pāsō*, Ur. *phās*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *phāms*, Panj. *phāhā*, Sindhī *phāsī*, *phāhī*, Guj., Mar. *phāms*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pacaiti* 'cooks,' Phl. *pazēt*, New Pers. *pazad*, Gab. *paxa*, Kāš. *patan*, Māz. *paxta*, Wāxī *pöcam*, Afy. *paxavul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Bayazid *pāthin*, Dig. Oss. *fičun*, Tag. *fičín*. 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. *thaf*. Av., Old Pers. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šap*, *šavāk*, New Pers. *šab*, Samn. *šō*, Māz. *šū*, Tāl. *šav*, Tāt *šū*, Šiyn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, Afy. *špa*, Bal. *šap*, N. Bal. *šaf*, Kurd. *šav*, 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*, Ur., Bang. *kabāḍa*, Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*. Skt. *api* 'also,' Prāk. *pi*, *avi*, Pāli (*a*)*pi*, Sindhī *bi*. Skt. *sthāpayati* 'establishes,' Prāk. *ṭhāvēi*, Pāli *ṭhāpēti*, Ur. *thuibā*, Bang. *thārtē*, Hindī, Panj. *thāpanā*, Guj. *thāpavum*, Mar. *thāpaṇēm*, Sinh. *tabanavā*. Skt. *parasvant* 'rhinoceros,' Pāli *balasata*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *kapōta* 'dove,' Phl. *kapōt(ar)*, New Pers. *kabātar*, Wāxī *kibit*, Sarq. *cabaud*, Yidg. *kuvū*, Afy. *kautar*,

kavntar, Bal. *kapōt*, *kōtar*, Kurd. *kavōk*. 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. *rapé*, 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. *āpīda* 'chaplet,' Prāk. *āmēla*, *āvēda*. 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*, Hindī, Panj. *kachūā*, Sindhī *kanēhū*. Skt. *sapādika* 'one and one fourth,' Prāk. *savāia*, U_r. *saūyāi*, Bang. *saiyā*, Hindī *savā*, W. Hindī *samā*, Panj. *savā(iā)*, Sindhī *savāi*, Guj *savā*, Mar. *savvā*.

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,' Hindī *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*, Kaśm. *pāph*, Siinh. *pavu*, other New Ind. dialects *pāp*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *uvajjhāa*,

ujjhā, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādha*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *kapāta* 'door,' Hindī, Panj., Mar. *kavād*, 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*, Oss. *vala*. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' Pāz. *law*, New Pers. *lab*, Gab. *lāv*, Bahb. *lau*, Zāf. *lō*, Kāš. *lav*, Vōn. *lōi*, Nay. *liyū*, Wāxī, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv*. Av. *āp* 'water,' New Pers. *āv*, *āb*, Siv. *av*, *au*, Kāš. *ōv*, Māz. *ōv*, *ō*, Gīl., Tāl., Tāt *ōv*, Yidg. *yovy*, Kurd. *āv*, etc. (see § 287). Av. *xšapan* 'night,' Phl. *šavāk*, *šap*, Tāl. *šav*. Minj *xšava*, Kurd. *šav*, Oss. *axšav*, etc. (see § 289). Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Gab. *rūvās*, Kurd. *rūvi*, etc. (see § 290). Skt. *kapiñjala* 'partridge,' Bal. *kapīnjar*, N. Bal. *khawīnjar*.

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,' Prāk. *ajjāutta*. Skt. *kāpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kaśm. *khuk*, Uṛ., Bang. *kā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kū(ñ)ān*, Sindhī *khāhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *kapittha* 'wood-apple tree,' Uṛ. *kaṛita*, 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,' Uṛ., 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. Oss. *xufa*, Tag. *xaf*. Av. *safu* 'hoof,' Afy. *sva*, Oss. *safthag*.

ph > *p*.

§ 296. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *ph* is excessively rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects, excepting in Balūcī, where intervocalic *ph* regularly becomes *p*, which North Balūcī has developed to *f*.

a. Indian. Skt. *phaḍiṅga* 'flying insect,' Pāli *paṭaṅga*. Skt. *phalgu* 'herb,' Pāli **phalgava* > *paggava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Old Pers. *kaufa*, Phl. *kōf(ak)*, New Pers. *kōh*, Kuhr. *kūfūn*, Tāt *kuf*, Afγ. *kvab*, Bal. *kōpag*, N. Bal. *kōfaγ*, Kurd. *kūh*. 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,' Afγ. *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*, Hindī *saharī*, Panj. *saūl*.

ph > *v*.

§ 299. The change of *ph* to *v* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *kaofa* 'mountain,' Kurd. *kūh*, but *kōvī* 'wild,' etc. (see § 296). Av. *safa* 'hoof,' Afγ. *sva*, etc. (see § 295).

ph > *h*.

§ 300. The change of *ph* to *h* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaphari* 'carp,' Prāk. *sahari*, *sabhari*, Hindī *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. *saül*, 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. *tafsciu*.

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. *ban̄dhacī*, Pāli *ban̄dhati*, Hindī *bāndh*, Panj. *bannh*, Sindhī *bāndh*. Skt. *budhyatē* 'knows,' Prāk. *bujjhaī*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kaśm. *san̄jhādi*, *bujhibā*, Ur., Bang. *būjhana*, Hindī *būjhanā*, Panj. *bujjhanā*, Sindhī *būjhanu*, Guj. *bujavun̄*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *śabara* 'barbarian,' Prāk. *sabara*, *samara*.

b. Iranian. Av. *baxšaiti* 'divides,' Phl. *baxtanō*, Pāz., New Pers. *baxšīdan*, Afγ. *bašal*, *baxal*, Bal. *bakšag*, N. Bal. *baškaγ*, Kurd. *baxšin*. Av. *bərəz* 'high,' Phl., New Pers. *burz*, Kurd. *barz*, Oss. *barzond*.

b > p.

- § 304. The change of the *b* to *p* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bādha* 'firm,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Dhaulī) *pādha*, Māhār. Prāk. *bādha*. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

b > bh.

- § 305. The aspirization of Indo-Iranian *b* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bṛhaspati* 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. *kaman̄dha*, *kayan̄dha*.

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. *kayam̐dha*, *kamam̐dha*.

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, Hindī reverses this, writing every *v* as *b*, Panjābī 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,' Śāur. Prāk. *bappa*, Pāli *bappa*, Kaśm. *bāha*, U_r, Bang. *bāpha*, *bhāpha*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *ḅāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *bandhyā* 'barren woman,' Prāk., Pāli *vaṃjjhā*, Bang. *bāṃjhā*, Sindhī *vāṃjh*, Marvarī *bāṃjhadī*, Guj. *vaṃjhaṃ*, Mar. *vāṃjh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *būza* 'goat,' Phl. *būj*, New Pers. *buz*, Wāxī *buc*, *būc*, Šīrn., Sarq. *vaz*, Sangl. *vuz*, Minj. *voza*, Yidg. *viza*, Afγ. *vuz*, Kurd. *bizin*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēvak*, *nēv*, New Pers. *nēk*, *nēv*.

Syncope of b.

§ 309. The syncope of an intervocalic *b* is very rare in the Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *pibati* 'drinks,' Prāk. *piāi*, Pāli *pibati*, Siūh. *bonavā*, caus. *povanavā*.

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. *dun*, *dumb*, Sarq. *δūm*, *δūmbā*, Afγ. *lam*, Kurd. *dūv*, *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,' Prāk. *paḍibhāti*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *bhūmi* 'earth,' Uṛ. *bhūma*, *bhūrīm*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūn*, *bhūin*, *bhūrīm*, Panj. *bhūn*, *bhūm*, *bhūrīm*, *bhōrīm*, Sindhī *bhū(i)n*, 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. *ābhā* 'glory' + *tāpa* 'heat,' New Pers. *āftāb* 'sun,' Šīγn., Sarq. *aftau*, Kurd. *ātaf*, So *axtāv*, *ataf*, *adav*, Boxtanī *tāv*.

bh > *ph*, *f*.

§ 313. The change of *bh* to *ph*, *f*, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *aiwirocayeiti* 'kindles,' Phl. *afrōxtanō*, New Pers. *afrōxtan*. Skt. *abhi* + *sāṇa* 'whetstone,' Phl. *afsān*, New Pers. *afsān*, *avsān*, *fasān*, Wāxī, Sarq. *pasān*. Skt. *ūrṇavābhi* 'spinning-wheel,' New Pers. *bāftan*, Gab. *vaftmūn*, Wāxī *vufum*, Sarq. *vāfam*, Afγ. *ōdal*, *ūdal*, Bal. *gvapag*, N. Bal. *gvafaγ*, Oss. *vafin*.

bh > *b*.

§ 314. The deaspirization of Indo-Iranian *bh* is by no means common.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bhañṇī*, *bahinī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Kaśm. *byaṇ*, Uṛ. *bhāuṇī*, *bhañṇī*, Bang. *bañ*, Hindī

bahin, Panj. *bhāiṇ*, *bāinh*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, Gyp. *phen*.

bh > *m*.

§ 315. The change of *bh* to *m* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṇḍubhi* 'drum,' Pāli *dindima*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *bharogā* 'bhang, hemp,' Av. *barōha*, Phl., New Pers. *mang*, *bang*. Skt. *nābhi* 'navel,' Av. *nāfah*, Phl. *nāf(ak)*, Afγ. *nū*, *nūm*, Bal. *nāpag*, *nāfag*, N. Bal. *nāfaγ*, Kurd. *nāv*.

bh > *mh*.

§ 316. The change of *bh* to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaṇati* 'speaks,' Prāk. *bhaṇai*, 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*, Uṛ., Bang. *hāṇḍi*, Bihārī *hāṇḍ*, *bhāṇḍ*, Hindī, Panj. *hōṇḍī*, Sindhī *hamḍī*, Guj. *hāṇḍī*, Mar. *hāṇḍī*. Skt. *labhati* 'takes,' Prāk. *lahaṛ*, Pāli *labhati*, Uṛ. *nē*, Bang. *laō*, Old Hindī *laha*, Hindī *lē*, Panj. *lahi*, *lāi*, Sindhī *lah*, Guj. *lē*, Mar. *nē*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *huvāṛ*, *bhavaṛ*, Pālis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Śāur. *hōdi*, *huvadi*, *havadi*, *bhōdi*, *bhuvadi*, *bhavadi*, Pāli *hōti*, *bhavati*, Uṛ. *hōibā*, *hēbā*, Bang. *hōitē*, Hindī *hōnā*, Panj. *hōṇā*, Sindhī *huaṇu*, Guj. *hōvun*, Mar. *hōṇēm*.

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. *manz*, Uṛ. *majhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Hindī *mājhi*, *manjhōlā*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *manjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Siñh. *mā(m)da*. Skt. *mṛta* 'dead,' Prāk. *maa*, *nua*, Māg. Prāk. *maḍē*, Uṛ. *malā*, Hindī *muā*, Panj. *muiā*, Sindhī *muō*, Guj. *muwūn*, Mar. *mēlēm*, Siñh. *maḷa*. Skt. *kṣamā* 'patience,' Prāk. *khamā* 'patience,' *chamā* 'earth,' Pāli *khamā*, Hindī *chimā*, Panj., Sindhī *khimā*, Guj. *khamā*, Mar. *khamañēn*. Skt. *grāma* 'village,' Prāk., Pāli *gāma*, Uṛ., Bang. *gān*, Hindī *gānv*, Sindhī *gāmu*, *gāū*, Guj. *gām*, Mar. *gānv*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maidyana* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*, Wāxī *malung*, Šiyn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *maḍān*, Afy. *manj*, Dig. Oss. *mēdag*, Tag. *mūdag*. Av. *mərōta* 'dead,' Phl. *marf* 'mortal,' New Pers. *mard*, Bal. *mar*, Kurd. *mir*. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *žimai*, Dig. Oss. *zumag*, Tag. *zimag*. Av. *nāman* 'name,' Old Pers. *nāman*, Phl., New Pers. *nām*, Māz. *nūm*, Gil. *nōm*, Wāxī *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,' Wāxī *nung*, etc. (see § 319). Skt. *āma* 'raw,' New Pers. *xām*, Wāxī *yūng*, Afy. *ōm*, *ūm*, Bal. *hāmāg*, N. Bal. *hāmāy*, 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*, Ur. *bhayēṣa*, Bang. *bhāiṃs*, Bihārī *mhāis*, *bhāiṃs*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāiṃs*, *mhāiṃs*, Panj. *majh*, Sindhī *manjḥ*, *māmhī*, Guj. *bhēiṃs*, *bhāiṃs*, *bhāiṃh*, Mar. *bhāiṃs*, *mhāis*. Skt., Pāli *manōrama* 'delightful,' Old Sinh. *manunarakā* '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. *ahivaṃṇu*, *ahivaṃṇu*. Skt. *yāmala* 'pair,' Jāina Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *yamala*. Skt. *mīmāiṃs* 'investigating,' Pāli *vivāiṃs*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, Ur. *āmalā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āülā*, Hindī, Panj. *āiṃvalā*, Sindhī *āiṃvirō*, Mar. *āiṃvalā*. Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sāiṃvar*, Hindī *sāiṃvalā*, W. Hindī *sāiṃvraii*, Panj. *sāiṃvalā*, Sindhī *sāiṃvalu*, *sāiṃviru*, Mar. *sāiṃvalā*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' Bihārī *gōsāmī*, Mar. *gōsāvī*, other New Ind. dialects *gōsāiṃ*, Anglo-Ind. *gosain*.

b. Iranian. Av. *daēman* 'face,' Phl. *andēmānkar*, Pāz. *andī-mānī*, New Pers. *dīm*, Sīv., Zaf., Kāš. *dim*, Kuhr. *dim*, *dīm*, Afγ. *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*, Afγ. *nmunj*, Bal. *navāš*, *namāš*, Kurd. *nīvēz*, *nvēž*, *nmēž*. Av. *naēma* 'half,' Phl. *nēm(ak)*, Pāz., New Pers. *nīm*, Afγ. *nīmai*, Bal. *nēmāg*, Kurd. *nīv*.

m > s.

§ 325. The change of *m* to *s* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk. *bhasala*, *bhasara*,

bhasana, *bhamara*, Apab. Prāk. *bhasahu*, Jāina Prāk. *bhasara*, Pāli *bhamara*, U_r. *bhaṇara*, Bang. *bhāmara*, Bihārī *bhāṇirā*, Hindī *bhaṇvar*, *bhāṇir*, Panj. *bhaṇur*, Sindhī *bhāṇiru*, Mar. *bhōṇir*. [So Hēmacandra falsely (see Pischel, § 251).]

m > ṁ.

§ 326. The change of *m* to *ṁ* is not infrequent in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāṁv*, Panj. *nāūm*, Sindhī *nāṁmūṁ*, Mar. *nāv*, Gyp. *anāv*, *nav*. Skt., Prāk. *bhūmi* 'earth,' Pāli *bhūmi*, *bhummi*, U_r. *bhūma*, *bhūm*, Bang. *bhūm*, Hindī *bhūṁ*, *bhūṁṁ*, *bhūṁ*, Panj. *bhūṁ*, *bhūṁṁ*, *bhōṁṁ*, *bhūṁ*, Sindhī *bhūṁṁ*, *bhū*, Guj. *bhū*, *bhuy*, *bhōy*, Mar. *bhūy*, Siṁh. *bima*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *rōman* 'hair of the body,' Bang. *rōṁā*, Bihārī *rōāṁ*, *rōvaṁ*, Hindī, Panj., *rōāṁ*, Sindhī *lūṁ*. Skt. *gōsvāmika* 'monk,' New Ind. dialects *gōsāṁ*, etc. (see § 324). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dhūma* 'smoke,' Ass. *dhōṁā*, Nāip. *dhūāṁ*, Kaśm. *duh*, Bang. *dhuyāṁ*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *dhūṁṁṁ*, *dhūāṁ*, Sindhī *duṁhāṁ*, Guj., Mar. *dhūṁ*, Siṁh. *dum*.

m > ṁv.

§ 327. The change of *m* to *ṁv* is found occasionally in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nāman* 'name,' Hindī *nāṁv*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kumāra* 'prince,' Prāk. *kumāra*, Māg. Prāk. *kumālē*, Pāli *kumāraka*, Bihārī *kūmar*, *kuar*, *kuvar*, Hindī *kūmvar*, Panj. *kaiivar*, Mar. *kuiivar*.

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*, *kahan*. Skt. *idāṁm* 'now,' Prāk. *daṁi*, *dāṁm*, Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions

hidālōkika 'temporal.' Skt., Pāli *nēmi* 'circumference,' U_r. *nia*, Bang. *nēō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *nēv*, Panj. *niūm*, Guj. *nēv*. Skt. *cāmara* 'ox-tail fan,' Prāk. *cāmara*, Pāli *cāmara*, U_r. *camāra*, Bang. *cāunir*, *camarā*, Hindī *cāurī*, *cāunrī*, Panj. *cāur*, Sindhī *cāuru*, Guj. *cāurī*, Mar. *cāurī*, *cāumrī*, *cāmar*, Anglo-Ind. *chowry*. Skt. *dhūma* 'smoke,' Nāip. *dhūm*, Hindī, Panj. *dhūm*, *dhūmān*, etc. (see § 326). Skt. *vāmana* 'dwarf,' Prāk., Pāli *vāmana*, Bang. *bāuniyā*, Hindī *banā*, *bāunā*, Panj. *bāunā*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *gaḍumava*, name of a place, Phl., Pāz. *ganṭum* 'garlic,' New Pers. *gandum*, Nāy. *gundō*, Wāxī *γidīm*, Šiyn. *zindam*, Sarq. *zandam*, *zandum*, Sangl., Minj. *γandam*, Yidg. *γadum*, Afy. *γanum*, Bal. *gandīm*. Old Pers. *avākanam* 'I dug,' New Pers. *kanam*, Gab. *akana*, *akanē*, but 1 pl. *akanīm*.

Epenthesis of m, n.

§ 329. In the Indian dialects epenthesis of *m*, *n*, is very frequent. It is far less common in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yat prabhṛti* 'since,' Jāina Prāk. *jappabhiim*, cf. Māhār. Prāk. *tappabhiim*. Skt. *mahiṣa* 'buffalo,' Pāli *mahiṃsa*, Kāśm. *mūmṣ*, Bang. *bhāimṣ*, Bihārī *bhāimṣ*, *mhāis*, *mahis*, *bahis*, Hindī *bhāimṣ*, *mhāimṣ*, Sindhī *maimjh*, *māimhi*, Guj. *bhēms*, *bhaimṣ*, *bhāimh*, Mar. *bhāimṣ*, *mhāis*, etc. (see § 323). Skt. *kūpa* 'well,' Nāip. *kuvā*, Kāśm. *khuh*, U_r., Bang. *kūā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *kūmān*, *kūām*, Sindhī *khūhu*, Guj., Mar. *kuvō*. Skt. *chāyā* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhī*, *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, U_r. *chāhina*, Bihārī *chāimh*, Hindī *chām*, *chāimv*, *chāimh*, *chāōm*, Panj. *chām*, *chāim*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *chāimy*. Skt. *nabhas* 'cloud,' Prāk. *naha*, Pāli *nabha*, Sinh. *numba*, *nuba*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lajjā* 'modesty,' U_r., Old Bang., Hindī *lajjā*, *lāj*, Panj. *lajj*, Sindhī *lāj*, Guj., Mar. *lajjā*, *lāj*, Sinh. *lamda*, *lada*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *prḍāku* 'leopard,' New Pers. *palang*, *pilang*, Afy. *prāng*. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Afy. *mmuṅj*, etc. (see § 324). Lat. *vespa* 'wasp,' Lith. *vapsa*, Bal. *gvamz*, *gvabz*. New Pers.

pōz 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pōnz*, *pōz*, N. Bal. *phōnz*, *phōz*, Kurd. *pūz*, *pōz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋg*. Phl. *huftanō* 'to hide,' 3 s. pres. *hūmbēt*, New Pers. *nihuftan*, *nihunbīdan*, Kurd. *nixiftin*.

$y = y$.

§ 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* 'fuit,' Sindhī *yabhaṇu*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dayālu* 'merciful,' Ur., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *dayāl(u)*, Sindhī *ḍayālu*, Guj., Mar. *dayāl(u)*. Skt. *hrdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hia(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Ur., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyān*, *hiāun*, Sindhī *himānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*, Gyp. (*y*)*ilo*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yaska* 'disease,' Phl. *yask*, New Pers. *jask*. Skt. *yuga* 'yoke,' New Pers. *juγ*, Kuhr. *yū*, Šiγn. *yuy*, Sarq. *yūy*, Bal. *jōγ*, Kurd. *jūk*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šiγn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yan*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *yō*, Oss. *yan*. 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. *zēzī*, Bal. *zāyag*, N. Bal. *zāγ*, Kurd. *zāin*, Oss. *zayi*.

$y > j$.

§ 331. In the Indian dialects original *y* regularly becomes *j*. Uṛiya and Bangālī pronounce every *y* as *j*, and the same practice is observed in most instances by Hindī and Panjābī. The West Indian dialects, the Sindhī, 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, Balūcī, and Kurdish show frequent examples of it.

a. Indian. Skt. *ya* 'who,' Prāk. *ja*, Pāli *ya*, U_r., Bang. *jē*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *jō*, Guj. *jē*, Mar. *jō*. Skt. *yōgya* 'worthy,' Prāk. *jogga*, Pāli *yogga*, New Ind. dialects *jōg*, Mar. also *yōg*. Skt. *yāwana* 'youth,' Prāk. *jovana*, Pāli *yobbana*, Sindhī *jōbhanu*. Skt. *yantragṛha* 'bath-room,' Pāli *jantāghara*, *jantaggha*. Skt. *yathā* 'how,' Prāk. *jahā*, Pāli *jathā*, Gāthā *jahā*, U_r. *jēthā*, Bang. *jēkhānē*, Hindī *jahāni*, Panj. *jithhē*, Sindhī *jiti*, Guj. *jāmhān*, Mar. *jēthēn*, *jithē*. Skt., Pāli *yāna* 'vehicle,' U_r. *jibā*, Bang. *jāitē*, Hindī *jānā*, Panj. *jānā*, Guj. *jāvun*, Mar. *yānēm*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *yuviyā* 'canal,' Phl. *yōi*, *jōi*, New Pers. *jōi*, Afy. *jova*. Av. *yuxta* 'joined,' Phl. *juxt*, New Pers. *juft*, 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*, Sinh. *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*, Sinh. *naharaya*.

y > l.

§ 335. The change of *y* to *l* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śāur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, U_r., Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭ(ī)*, *lāṭhī*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭ*, *lāṭh*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *dyōtayati* '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 *miḡava*. Skt. *trayastrīṃśat* 'thirty-three,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *tavattīsa*, Kāsm. *tyayatrah*, Bihārī *tāintis*, cf. archaic Sinh. *tavak*. Skt. *āyudha* 'weapon,' Prāk. *āūha*, Pāiś. Prāk. *āyudha*, Pāli *āyudha, āvudha*, Sinh. *avi(ya)*.

y > h.

§ 337. The change of *y* to *h* is an exceedingly rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā* 'shadow,' *chāyā* 'beauty,' Pāli *chāyā*, Uṛ. *chāhīna*, Hindī *chāmh, chām(v), chāōm*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhī *chām(v)*, Guj. *cāmy*. Skt. *raṇjaya* 'victorious,' Pāli *raṇjaha*. 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*, Hindī *jūm*, Gyp. *juv*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *yuṣmākam* 'of you,' GAv. *xšmāka*, YAv. *yuṣmākəm*, 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. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hiāa, hiaya*, Pāiś. Prāk. *hitaaka*, Ass., Uṛ., Bang. *hiā*, Panj. *hiām̄m, hiyām̄m*, etc. (see § 330). Skt. *vāyu* 'wind,' Prāk. *vāū*, Pāli *vāyu*, Uṛ. *bōa*, Bang., Hindī *bāī, bāō*, Panj. *vāū*, Sindhī *bāī, vāū*, Guj. *vā(ī)*, Mar. *vāv*. Skt. *dēva-*

laya 'temple,' Ur. *dēāl*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhi *dēvalī*, Guj. *dēval*, Mar. *dēval*, *dēāl*.

Prothesis of y.

§ 340. Prothetic *y* is occasionally found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ēva* 'indeed,' Prāk. *yēva*, Śāur. Prāk. *jevva*, Pāli *ēva*, *yēva*, *hēva*. Skt. *āvīrbhutvā* 'having become manifest,' Jaina Prāk. *yāvīhottā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *ātarš* 'fire,' Phl. *ātaš*, New Pers. (*ā*)*taš*, *ātiš*, Gab. *taš*, Šiγn. *yāč*, Sarq. *yuč*, Minj. *yūr*, N. Bal. *āc*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj., Yidg. *yasp*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. (*h*)*aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *aḡsa*, Tag. *yafs*. Av. *ahmi* 'I am,' Old Pers. *amiy*, New Pers. *am*, Afγ. *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,' Prāk. *dhārēi*, Pāli *dhārēti*. Skt. *kathayati* 'tells,' Śāur. Prāk. *kadhēdi*, *kahēdi*, Pāli *kathēti*. Skt. *nayati* 'leads,' Prāk. *nēi*, Śāur. Prāk. *nēdi*, Pāli. Prāk. *nēti*, Pāli *nayati*, *nēti*, Gāthā *upanēti*. Skt. *kṣaya* 'destruction,' Māg. Prāk., Pāli *khaya*, Hindi, Panj. *chai*, Guj. *khē*, Mar. *khāi*. Skt.,

Prāk., Pāli *bhaya* 'fear,' U_r. *bhē*, Hindī, Panj. *bhāi*, Sindhī *bhāi*, *bhāu*, Mar. *bhē*. Skt. *nayana* 'eye,' Prāk. *ṇaṇa*, Pāli *nayana*, Hindī, Panj. *nāin*, Sindhī *nēnu*, Guj. *nēnam*, *nēmn*. Skt. *maya* 'mother,' Sinh. *maṇṇiyam*. Skt. *śayanāsana* 'bed-room,' Pāli *sayanāsana*, Sinh. *senasun*.

b. Iranian. Av. *paourva* 'former' + *ayarə* 'day,' Phl., New Pers. *parēr*, Kāš. *parē*, Bal. *parērī*, *pairērī* 'last year,' N. Bal. *phairī*. Av. *zayciti* 'is born,' Pāmīr dialects *zīd*.

ayū > ō.

§ 343. The contraction of *ayū* to *ō* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mayūra* 'peacock,' Prāk., Pāli *mōra*, Kāśm., U_r. *mōr*, Sindhī *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*, U_r. *tēra*, Bang. *tērō*, Hindī *tērah*, Panj. *tērān*, Sindhī *tērahām*, Guj. *tēr*, Mar. *tērā*.

iya > ĩ.

§ 345. The contraction of *iya* to *ĩ* is a rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiyant* 'how much?' Pāli *kittaka* < **kiyat-taka*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *priya* 'beloved,' Av. *frya*, New Pers. *frī*.

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,' Jāina Prāk., Pāli *vēhāsa*. Skt. *upaṭṭhāyaka* 'servant,' Pāli *upaṭṭhāka*. Skt. *kālāyasa* 'iron,' Pāli *kālāsa*, *kālāyasa*.

b. Iranian. Old Pers. *xšāyaθiya* '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 *palēti*.

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. *naīn* '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*, Hindī, Panj. *rēkh*, Sindhī *rēghī*, Guj. *rēg*, Mar. *rē(g)h*. Skt. *rājan* 'king,' Prāk. *rāā*, Māg. Prāk. *lāā*, Māhār. Prāk. *rāyā*, Pāis. Prāk. *rājā*, Cūlikapāis. Prāk. *rācā*, Pāli *rājan*, Hindī *rāū*, *rāv*, Sinh. *rada*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *kappūra*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *kapūr*, Mar. *kāpūr*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuhurā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *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(i)h*, New Pers. *rōz*, Gab. *rūj*, Caspian dialects *rū*, but Kāš. *rū*, Tāl. *rōž*, *rūž*, Afγ. *rvaǰ*, Bal. *rōc*, N. Bal. *rōš*, Kurd. *ruž*, *rō(ž)*. Av. *starə* 'star,' Phl. *stārak*, New Pers. *sitārah*, Wāxī *stār*, Šiγn. *štarǰ*, Sarq. *xturj*, Sangl. *ustārah*, Minj. *astāri*, Afγ. *stōrai*, Kurd. *istirk*, Zaza *astar*, Oss. *stali*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Old Pers. *μαρτι-χόρα*, Phl. *x^varšanō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Kāš. *xūrtan*, Šiγn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^varam*, Minj. *xaram*, Afγ. *x^varal*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, *x^vārin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*.

$r > j$.

§ 350. The change of r to j is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *pūraṇa* 'fulfilment,' Hindī *pūjna*, Sindhī *pujāṇu*.

$r > ḍh$.

§ 351. The change of r to $ḍh$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ārabdha* 'beginning,' Prāk. *ādhatta*, *āraddha*, Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *āraddha*. [See now Pischel, § 223.]

$r > d$.

§ 352. The change of r to d is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *purandara* 'epithet of Indra,' Pāli *purin-dada*, *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*, Wāxī *vaḍūram*, 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 Prākṛit r becomes l everywhere. Similarly in the Prākṛit of the inscriptions of Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi, Bhabra, Sahasārām, and Bairāt r becomes l throughout, but in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth r occurs twice.

a. Indian. Skt. *ratnī* 'night,' Prāk. *rattī*, *rāi*, Māg. Prāk. *lattī*, Pāli *rattī*, Uṛ., Bang. *rāt(i)*, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*. Skt. *carāṇa* 'foot,' Prāk. *calaṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. also *carāṇa*, Apab. Prāk. *calaṇu*, Pāis. Prāk. *calaṇa*, Pāli *carāṇa*. Skt. *hāridra* 'yellow,' Prāk., Pāli *hāliddu*. Skt. *paṛigha* 'iron bar,' Pāli *paligha*. Skt. *rējju* 'string,' Ass. *lēju*, E. Hindī *lējurī*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Prāk. *cattālīsa*,

cāālisa, Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattarisa*, Kāsm. *čatajih*, Uṛ. *cālisa*, Bang. *callisa*, Bihārī *cālis*, Hindī *cālis*, Panj. *cālī*, Sindhī *cālīh*, Guj., Mar. *cālīs*, Siṃh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*.

b. Iranian. Av. *račcayāt* 'poured,' Phl. *rēx̄tanō*, Pāz. *rēžčēd*, New Pers. *rēxtan*, Gab. *rēt̄mūn*, Vōn. *rētan*, Wāxī *varicam*, Sarq. *varaizam*, Bal. *rēcag*, N. Bal. *rīšay*, Kurd. *rētīn*, Dig. Oss. *l̄jūn*, Tag. *l̄jīn*. Av. *vārayna* 'raven,' Phl. *vālay*, *vāray*, *vārak*. Av. (*spa*) *taurunō* 'puppy,' Phl. *taruk*, *tūruk*, *tōruk*, *tōrak*, New Pers. *tōlah*, *tōrah*, Gab. *tōrah*, Kāš. *tōra*, *tūra*, *tura*, Bal. *tōlag*, N. Bal. *thōlay*, Kurd. *tūra*. New Pers. *sūrāx* 'hole,' Judaeo-Pers. *sūlāx*, Afy. *sūrai*. Av. *maoiri* 'ant,' Phl., New Pers. *mōr*, Gab. *mōrīk*, Vōn. *mōrcuna*, Dig. Oss. *muljug*, Tag. *maljig*. Av., Phl., New Pers. *nar* 'man,' Sangl. *narak*, Afy., Bal., Kurd. *nar*, Dig. Oss. *nala*, Tag. *nal*.

$r > \underline{l}$.

§ 355. The change of *r* to \underline{l} is not a very frequent one. It is, of course, confined to the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *angāra* 'coal,' Prāk. *īngālā*, Pāli *aṅgāra*, Guj. *īngārō*, *aṅgārō*, Mar. *īngāl(ā)*, *īngōl*, Gyp. *angār*. Skt. *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' Pāli *cattālisa*, *cattārisa*, Panj. *cālī*, Siṃh. *hataliha*, *sataliha*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *kṣāra* 'ashes,' Prāk. *chāra*, Pāli *khāra*, *chārika*, New Ind. dialects *khār*, but Sindhī *chāru*, Siṃh. (*h*)*aḷu*, 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. *pali*, Bihārī *pāi*. Skt. *durōsārīta* 'duly and unduly restored,' Pāli *dōsarīta*.

b. Iranian. Pāz., New Pers. *aḡar* 'if,' Sīv. *ay*. New Pers. *kar* 'make!' Gab. *kar*, Central dialects *ka*, Kāš. *ki*, Nāy. *nika*. New Pers. *bar* 'bear!' Zaf. *bar*, Kāš. *ba*, Vōn. *bar*, Kuhr., Kurd.

ba. Av. *mātar* 'mother,' Phl. *māt(ar)*, New Pers. *mādar*, Gab. *māye*, Kāš. *maī*, *mōya*, Māz. *mār*, *mūr*, Gil. *mōr*, *māar*, Tāl. *mū*, Šiyn. *mād*, Minj. *māyā*, Afγ. *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*; *karōṛ*, Hindī *krōr*, Anglo-Ind. *crore*. Skt. *vyāsa* nom. prop., Apab. Prāk. *vrāsu*. Skt. *bhāṣya* 'commentary,' Prāk. *bhrāsa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tašaṭ* 'shaped,' archaic New Pers. *tāšitan*, Afγ. *tarxaj*. Av. *baxta* 'fate,' Phl., New Pers. *baxt*, Afγ. *barxa*, *braxa*. Av. *aži dahāka* nom. prop., Phl. *ažē dahāk*, New Pers. *aždahā* 'dragon,' Kurd. *aždarha*, *aždaha*.

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*, Hindī *lagā*, *lāg*, Panj. *lag*, other New Ind. dialects *lāg*. Skt. *limpati* 'smears,' Prāk. *limpai*, Pāli *limpati*, U_r. *lip*, Bang. *lēp*, Hindī *līp*, *lēp*, Panj. *lipp*, *limb*, *limm*, Sindhī *limb*, Guj. *lip*, Mar. *lēp*. Skt. *āmalaka* 'myrobalan,' Prāk. *āmalaa*, Pāli *āmalaka*, U_r. *āmalā*, Bang. *āolā*, *āulā*, Hindī *āmvalā*, Panj. *āūlā*, Sindhī *āmvirō*, Mar. *āmvalā*. Skt. *calati* 'wanders,' Prāk. *calai*, Pāli *calati*, U_r. *cāl*, Bang. *cāl*, Hindī *cal*, Marw. *car*, Panj. *call*, Sindhī *cal*, Guj., Mar. *cāl*, *cal*. Skt., Pāli *pippala* 'sort of tree,' Bang. *pippal*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *pīpar*, Panj. *pippal*, Sindhī *pīpuru*, Guj. *pīpal*, Mar. *pīmpal*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *lap* 'lip,' New Pers. *lab*, Kāš. *lav*, Tāt *lov*, Wāxī *lav*, *lafc*, Sangl. *lav*, Bal. *lap*, Kurd. *liv* (cf. Lat. *labium*, Anglo-Saxon *lippa*). Phl. *lištanō* 'lick,' New Pers. *lištan*, Zaf., Kāš. *balēs*, Wāxī *lixam* (cf. Skt. *lēhmi*, *rēhmi* 'I lick,' Gk. λείχω, Lith. *lēziù*, O. H. Germ. *leckōn*). Av. *garah* 'throat,' Phl. *garūk*, New Pers. *gulū*, *galū*, Sangl. *γar*, Afγ. *γāra*, 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. Prāk. *paḍāśa*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *lalāṭa*, *nalāṭa* (cf. lexicog. Skt. *niṭala*). Skt. *tāla* 'palmyra-palm,' Pāli *tāla*, Uṛ. *tāl*, Bang. *tāl*, other New Ind. dialects *tāḍ*, *tāṛ*:

l > n.

§ 360. The change of *l* to *n* is quite frequent in the Indian dialects. In Uṛiya and Bangālī initial *l* is almost always pronounced *n*.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *naṅgala*, *laṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Siñh. *nagula*, *nagala*. Skt. *lalāṭa*, *rarāṭa* 'forehead,' Prāk. *ṇiḍāla*, Pāli *nalāṭa*, *lalāṭa*. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kāśm., Uṛ., Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *nūn*, *lūn*, Panj. *nūn*, Sindhī *lūnu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, Mar. *lōṇā*, Gyp. *lon*. Skt. *luṅṭ(h)ā* 'robbery,' Uṛ. *nuṭṭ*, Hindī *lūṭ*, Anglo-Ind. *loot*. Skt. *dēhali* 'threshold,' Pāli *dēhani*. Skt. *jambāla* 'rose-apple tree,' Bihārī *jāmūn*.

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 Prāk. *yāvāra*, Pāli *ya-mala*. Skt. *ālambana* 'support,' Pāli *ārammana*. Skt. *pippala* 'sort of tree,' E. Hindī *pīpar*, Sindhī *pipiru*, etc. (see § 358).

Skt. *śyāmala* 'swarthy,' Pāli *sāmala*, E. Hindī *sānvar*, Hindī *sānvalā*, W. Hindī *sānvraū*, Panj. *sānvalā*, Sindhī *sānviru*, *sānvalu*, Mar. *sānvalā*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *phāla* 'plough,' New Pers. *supār*, Sarq. *spur*, Afy. *spāra*. Skt. *lōpāśa* 'fox,' Phl. *rōpas*, *lōpas*, New Pers. *rōbāh*, Gab. *ruvās*, Sarq. *rapč*, Bal. *rophash*, Kurd. *rūvi*, Dig. Oss. *robās*, Tag. *rūbas*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liška*, Tag. *lišk*.

$l > \underline{l}$.

§ 362. The change of *l* to \underline{l} occurs frequently in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt., Prāk. *kāla* 'black,' Pāli *kālā*, U_r. *kalā*, Bang., Hindī *kālā*, Panj. *kālā*, Sindhī *kārō*, Guj. *kālō*, Mar. *kālā*, Sinh., Maladive *kalu*. Skt. *sthala* 'place,' U_r., Panj. *thal*, Sindhī *tharu*, Guj., Mar. *thal*. Skt. *ṭalati* 'totters,' U_r. *ṭal*, Bang., Hindī *ṭal*, Panj. *ṭal*, Sindhī *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 *kēñcuwā*, *kēñcivā*. 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 *vaṭṭikā*, U_r. *bati*, Bang. *bāṭi*, Hindī, Panj. *batti*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *vṛścika* 'scorpion,' Prāk. *vimchia*, *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *viñcua*, Pāli *vicchika*, U_r. *bichū(ā)*, Bang. *bichā*, Hindī *bichāā*, Panj. *bicchū*, Sindhī *bichūm*, *vimchū*, Guj. *vimchū*, *vichu*, Mar. *vimcū*. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Pāli *pavana*, Kāśm.

pāvan, Ur., Bang. *paban*, other New Indian dialects *pavan*, also Hindi *paūn*, Panj. *paūñ*, Guj. *pōñ*. Skt. *navati* 'ninety,' Prāk. *naūim*, Pāli *navuti*, Kāśm. *namath*, Ur. *nabā*, Bang. *nabbaī*, Bihārī *nabbē*, Hindī, Panj. *navvē*, Sindhī *navē*, Guj. *nēvūñ*, Mar. *navvad*.

b. Iranian. Av. *varəcaṁhvant* 'glorious,' Phl. *vare*, *varj*, New Pers. *varj*. Av. *vāta* 'wind,' Phl. *vāt*, New Pers. *bād*, Gab. *vād*, Sīv. *vāi*, Zaf. *vō*, Kāš. *vōi*, Vōn., Kuhr., Nāy. *vōd*, Nat. *vād*, Māz. *va*, Tāt *vār*, Afγ. *vō*, Bal. *gvāt*, N. Bal. *gvāθ*, *grās*, Kurd. *vāi*, *bā*, Tag. Oss. *vād*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' Phl. *vafr*, New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gil. *varf*, Tāl. *vā*, Judaeo-Pers. *vahr*, Sangl. *varf*, Minj. *varfa*, Afγ. *vāvra*, Kurd. *vafr*, Zaza *vaura*. Av. *nava* 'new,' Phl. *navak*, *nōk*, Pāz., New Pers. *nō*, Gab. *nova*, Kāš., Šīyn. *nav*, Sarq. *nūj*, Afγ. *navai*, Bal. *nōk*, N. Bal. *nōx*, Kurd. *nu*, Dig. Oss. *navag*, Tag. *nvog*. Av. *daēva* 'demon,' Phl., New Pers. *dēv*, Wāxī *līv*, Šīyn. *dīv*, Sarq. *dēv*.

$v > \check{u}$.

§ 365. The vocalization or samprasāraṇa of original *v* to \check{u} is a rare phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *pavana* 'wind,' Prāk. *paūṇa*, Hindī *paūn*, *pavan*, Panj. *paūñ*, *pavan*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Prāk., Pāli *dēva* 'god,' New Ind. dialects *dēv*, also Ur., Bang. *dē*, Hindī *dēō*, *dēū*, Panj., Sindhī *dēu*, Gyp. *devēl*, *del*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēnaiti* 'sees,' Old Pers. *vaināhy*, Phl. *vēnaṭ*, New Pers. *binad*, Wāxī, Šīyn. *vīnam*, Sarq. *vainam*, Afγ. *vīnam*, Dig. Oss. *vinun*, Tag. *unin*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Phl. *yav*, *jav*, New Pers. *jav*, Sīv. *yu*, Zaf. *yah*, Kāš. *ya*, Kuhr. *yah*, Šīyn. *yavaj*, Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yau*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Mukrī *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. *vāta*, Kurd. *kulilk*.

v > *g*.

§ 367. The change of *v* to *g* occurs regularly before *u* in Pāzand and New Persian.

b. Iranian. Av. *vītarəta* 'crossed,' Old Pers. *viyatarayāma*, Phl. *vitārtaṅ*, New Pers. *guḏaštan*, Gab. *vadārta*, Vōn. *baidor-nan*, Kuhr. *baudarnādan*, Kurd. *buhūrtin*, *bahūrtin*. Av. *vəhrka* 'wolf,' Phl., New Pers. *gurg*, Kāš. *var(g)*, Māz. *vurg*, Yidg. *vury*, Yaγn. *aurak*, Afγ. *lūg*, Bal. *gvark*, *gurk*, N. Bal. *gurkh*, Kurd. *varg*, Dig. Oss. *bēray*, Tag. *bīray*. Av. *varətata* 'surrounding,' Phl. *vaštanō*, *gaštanō*, New Pers. *gāštan*, Gab. *vāštmūn*, Sarq. *γirsam*, Kurd. *gariyān*. Av. *vərəzjeiti* 'does,' Phl. *varz* 'agriculture,' New Pers. *barz*, Judaeo-Pers. *varz*, Kurd. *gūrān*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' Phl. *vīst*, New Pers. *bīst*, Kāš. *vīstā*, *vīs(sā)*, Wāxī *vīst*, Sarq. *vīst*, Bal. *gīst*, Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaǰ*.

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. *gvas*.

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. *vaspa* 'tear, vapor,' Prāk. *bapp(h)a* 'smoke,' *bāha* 'tear,' Śāur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, *bhāph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kaśm. *vār*, *vāḍ*, Uṛ. *bēḍhā*, *bhēḍā*, Bang. *bēḍā*, Hindī, Panj. *bēḍhā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, Mult. *vēr̥hā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *puravāsin* 'citizen,' Bihārī *purabāsī*. Skt. *vṛddha* 'large,' Prāk. *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuddha*, Pāli *buddha*, *vaddha*, *viddha*, *vuḍḍha*, Ass. *bar*, Nāip. *barō*, Kaśm. *bor*, *boḍ*, Uṛ., Bang. *baḍa*, E. Hindī *barā*, *barā*, *baddā*, Hindī *baḍā*, Panj. *vaḍḍā*, W. Panj. *baḍḍā*, Sindhī *vaḍḍō*, Guj. *vaḍḍō*, Gyp. *baro*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *virala* 'thin,' Sinh. *burul*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vaēti* 'willow,' Phl. *vēt*, New Pers. *bēd*, Gab. *vīd*, Kāš. *vīd*, *vēt*, Afγ. *vala*, N. Bal. *gēθ*, Kurd. *bī*, *vī*. Av. *vīsaiti* 'twenty,' New Pers. *bīst*, etc. (see § 367). Av. *vāta* 'wind,' New Pers. *bād*, Kurd. *bā*, *vai*, etc. (see § 364). Av. *vāra* 'rain,' Phl. *vārān*, New Pers. *bārān*, Gab. *bavāra*, Kāš. *vōrūn*, Māz. *vāriš*, Wāxī *vūr*, Sarq. *varaij*, *varaša*, Afγ. *varyaḷ*, *varyaz*, Kurd. *bārī(n)*, Lurī, Zaza *varān*, Dig. Oss. *vārun*, Tag. *varin*. Av. *vana* 'tree,' Phl. *van*, New Pers. *bun*, Afγ. *vana*, Bal. *gvan*, *gōn*, Dig. Oss. *bun*, Tag. *bin*. Av. *husravah* 'having fair fame,' Phl. *hūsrob*, 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*, U_r. Bang., *bhāp*, Hindī *bhāph*, *bā(ṇ)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vēṣṭa* 'enclosure,' U_r. *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*, *jāim*, *jāmahiṃ*, *tāma*, *tāim*, *tāmahiṃ*, Pāli *yāva*, *tāva*. Skt. *vāśravaṇa* nom. prop., Jāina Prāk. *vāsamaṇa*. Skt. *viñāptika* 'request,' Bang. *minati*, E. Hindī *mintī*, Hindī *minnat*, *bintī*, Panj. *minnat*, Sindhī *minti*. Skt. *nava* 'nine,' Prāk. *ṇava*, Pāli *nava*, Kaśm. *nāu(ṇ)*, U_r. *naa*, Bang. *nay*, Bihārī, Hindī *nāu*, Panj. *nāwṇ*, *nāiṇ*, Sindhī *naṇvaṇ*, Guj., Mar. *nav*, Simh. *nama*, *nava*.

b. Iranian. Av. *pairi* 'around' + √*varəz* 'do,' New Pers. *parvāz* 'plough,' Bux. *parmāz*. Skt. *vartikā* 'partridge,' Phl. *varṭak*, New Pers. *vardij*, Wāxī *volc*, Afγ. *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. *payatṭai*. Skt. *divā* 'by day,' Jāina Prāk. *diyā*. Skt. *dāva* 'forest,' Pāli *dāya*. Skt. *dēvaru* 'brother-in-law,' Prāk. *dēvara*, *diara*, *dēvara*, U_r. *dēyara*, *dēyura*, Bang. *dēyar*, Hindī, Panj. *dēvar*, Sindhī *ḍēru*, Guj. *dēr*, *dēur*, Mar. *dēvar*, *dīr*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *juṭanō* 'gnaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Afγ. *žōyal*, *žōval*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāγ*, 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*, Pāli *jīva*. Skt. *divasa*

'day,' Prāk. *divaha*, *diaha*, Jaina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Sindhī *ḍim̐hu*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davas*, *divas*. Skt. *trayōvimśati* 'twenty-three,' Prāk. *tēvisa*, Pāli *tēvisa(tī)*, Bihārī *tēis*, and similarly the other New Ind. dialects, excepting Sindhī *ṭrēvīli*, Guj. *trēvīs*, Mar. *tēvis*. Skt. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated,' Prāk. *ubaviṭṭha*, *uvaṭṭha*, Pāli *upaviṭṭha*, Hindī, Panj. *bāiṭh*, Guj. *bēs*, Mar. *bēṭhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *gāv* 'cow,' Phl., New Pers. *gāv*, *gō*, Zaf., Kāš., Vōn. *gō*, Kuhr. *gōb*, Wāxī *γau*, *γū*, Šiyn. *žāv*, Sarq. *žao*, Sangl., Minj. *γao*, Yaγn. *gova*, Afγ. *γvā*, Bal. *gōk*, N. Bal. *gōx*, Kurd. *gā*, Dig. Oss. *γog*, Tag. *qūg*. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sīv. *yu*, Kāš. *ya*, Bal. *jō*, *jav*, Mukrī *yō*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *visaiti* 'twenty,' Dig. Oss. *insai*, Tag. *ssaḷ*, 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. *vuccaī*, Śāur., Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Pāli *vuccati*. Skt. *ukta* 'said,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar) *vuta*. Skt. *uṣita* 'inhabited' beside *vasita*, Pāli *vuttha*, *vusita*.

b. Iranian. Av. *azəm* 'I,' Old Pers. *adam*, Tāl. *az*, Wāxī, Šiyn. *vuz*, Sarq. *vaz*, Yidg. *zuh*, Afγ. *za*, Kurd., Oss. *az*. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Phl. (*h*)*ašt*, New Pers. *hašt*, Wāxī *hāθ*, Šiyn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaγn. *uxs*, Afγ. *ata*, Oss. *asth*. Gk. *ὄον* 'egg,' Lat. *ovum*, Phl. *xāyak*, New Pers. *xāyah*, Gab. *vuk*, Afγ. *hā*, Bal. *haik*, Kurd. *ha'ik*, *hī*, *hēk*, Oss. *aikh(a)*.

Epenthesis of v.

§ 378. Epenthetic *v* is of rare occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *chāya* 'shadow,' Prāk. *chāhā*, *chāyā*, Pāli *chāyā*, Ur. *chāhina*, Hindī *chānv*, *chām(h)*, *chāōm*, Panj. *cā(ū)m*, Sindhī *chānv*, *chām*, Guj. *cāny*.

āvā > ā.

§ 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 *ā* occurs very rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *prabhavāmi* 'am able,' Prāk. *pabhavaī*, Pāli *pabhavāmi*, Gāthā *prabhāmi*. Skt. *sambhavanti* 'are able,' Prāk. *sambhavaī*, Pāli *sambhavati*, Gāthā *sambhānti*.

b. Iranian. Av. *srāvayeiti* 'chants,' Phl. *srāyať*, New Pers. *srāyad*, Wāxī *širavam*, Sarq. *našravam*. Av. *bavāt* 'may be,' New Pers. *bād*.

ava > ũ.

§ 380. The contraction of *ava* to *ũ* occurs both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Uṛ. Bang. *nūn*, *lōṇ*, Bihārī *lōn*, *nōn*, Hindī *nūn*, *lūn*, *nōn*, Panj. *nūṇ*, Sindhī *lūṇu*, Guj. *lūṇ*, 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,' Eḷu *elabanavā*, Siñh. *ellanavā*, *elvān*, *olambu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navani* 'nine,' Old Pers. *navama*, Pāz., New Pers. *nuh*, Kāš. *muhdō*, Tāt *nūf*, Wāxī, Šīyn. *nao*, Sarq. *nav*, Sangl., Minj. *nao*, Yaṅn. *nau*, Kurd. *nēh*.

ava > ō.

§ 382. The contraction of *ava* to *ō* is the normal one to which *ava* is subject both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lavana* 'salt,' Prāk., Pāli *lōṇa*, Kaśm., Uṛ., Bang. *lōṇ*, *nūn*, Bihārī *nōn*, *lōn*, Hindī *nōn*, *lūn*, *nūn*, Panj. *nūṇ*,

Sindhī *lūnu*, Guj. *lūn*, Mar. *lōṇā*. Skt. *bhavati* 'becomes,' Prāk. *hōi*, Śāur. Prāk. (*b*)*hōdi*, (*b*)*huvadi*, (*b*)*havadi*, Māg. Prāk. (*b*)*havaī*, *huvāi*, Apab. Prāk. *hōdi*, Pāis. Prāk. *bhōti*, Pāli *bhavati*, *hōti*, Gāthā *bhōti*, New Ind. dialects *hō*, excepting U_r. *hē*, Sindhī *hua*, Skt. *samavasṛṣṭa* 'assembled,' Jāina Prāk. *samōsaḍha*, Pāli *samōsaṭa*. Skt. *avāra* 'lower,' Pāli *ōra*. Skt. *avavāda* 'counsel,' Pāli *ōvāda*, Sinh. *ovā*. Skt. *avaśyāya* 'hoar-frost,' Bang. *ōṣ*, Hindī, Panj., 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. *avaḍa* 'there,' Old Pers. *avadā*, Bal. *ōdā*, N. Bal. *ōḍā*, Tag. Oss. *vad*. Av. *navaiti* 'ninety,' Phl. *navat*, New Pers. *navad*, Afγ. *navē*, Kurd. *nōt*, *nūd*.

āva > au.

§ 383. The contraction of *āva* to *au* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhavala* 'white,' Apab. Prāk. *dhavalu*, U_r., Bang. *dhalā*, Hindī *dhāulā*, Sindhī *dhāumrō*, Guj. *dhōlūn*, Mar. *dhavā*, *dhaval*. Skt. *avatāra* 'descent,' Pāli *ōtāra*, *avatāra*, Sindhī *āutāru*, *avatār*.

b. Iranian. Av. *yava* 'barley,' Sarq. *yaugj*, Yaγn. *yau*, N. Bal., Kurd. *jau*, Oss. *yau*, etc. (see § 365). Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Wāxī *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 Girnār) *thāira*, Pāli *thēra*, Mar. *thēr(āḍā)*.

avi > āi.

§ 385. The contraction of *avi* to *āi* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthavira* 'monk,' Prāk. *thāira* (inscriptions of Girnār), *thēra*, etc. (see preceding §).

āva > ō.

§ 386. The contraction of *āva* to *ō* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zavarō* 'might,' Phl. *gōr(ih)*, New Pers. *zōr*.

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. *āviṣṛta* 'manifest,' Phl. *āṣkārāk*, New Pers. *āṣkār(ā)*, *āṣkārāh*, Afγ. *akāra*.

ivā > ō.

§ 389. The contraction of *ivā* to *ō* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativāsin* 'neighbour,' New Indian dialects *parōsī*, *paḍōsī*, *parōsī*.

ivē > ō.

§ 390. The contraction of *ivē* to *ō* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prativēṣayati* 'distributes,' Bihārī *parōsāi*.

īva > ī.

§ 391. The contraction of *īva* to *ī* is quite frequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *jvaiti* 'lives,' Old Pers. *jīvāhy*, Phl. *zīvas-tanō*, New Pers. *zīstan*, Kurd. *zīn*, *zīin*. Phl. *dīpīvar* 'scribe,' *dīpīr(ih)*, New Pers. *dībīr*.

ēvā > ī.

§ 392. The contraction of *ēvā* to *ī* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dēvara* 'brother-in-law,' Mar. *dīr*, *dēvar*, etc. (see § 375).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *dēvānah* 'bedevilled,' Kurd. *dīn*.

wa > *ā*.

§ 393. The contraction of *wa* to *ā* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *yvan* 'youth,' Phl. *yuvān*, New Pers. *juvān-mard*, Kurd. *jānmardī*.

wa > *ū*, *ō*.

§ 394. The contraction of *wa* to *ū*, *ō*, is the normal one to which *wa* is subject.

b. Iranian. Iran. **vadhvakā* 'bride,' New Pers. *bayō(g)*, Kurd. *būk*. Av. *drvatāt* 'health,' Phl. *drūt*, Pāz. *durūd*, New Pers. *durōd*.

ś = *ś*.

§ 395. Indian *ś* is retained but seldom in the Indian dialects. In the Middle Indian dialects the Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, Avantikā, and Śākārī 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,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk. *sata*, Māg. Prāk. *śada*, Pāli *sata*, Ass. *sa*, Kaśm. *hat*, Uṛ. *śaē*, Bang. *śaya*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, Guj. *śō*, Mar. *śēm*, *śambhar*, Guj. *ṣel*. Skt. *śīṛsa* 'head,' Prāk. *sīsa*, *sīssa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śi(n)s*, Eḷu *hisa*, Sinh. *isa*, *iha*. Skt. *aśīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asī*, Pāli *asīti*, Ass. *ṣīt*, Kaśm. *śīth*, Uṛ. *asī*, Bang. *āśī*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *ēmsī*, Mar. *ēmsī*. Skt. *dēsīya* 'native,' Pāli *dēsīya*, Uṛ., Bang. *dēsī(ya)*, Hindī, Panj. *dēsī*, Sindhī *ḍēsī*, *ḍchāī*, Guj., Mar. *dēsī*.

ś > *ch*.

§ 396. The change of *ś* to *ch* occurs quite frequently in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śāvaka* 'young animal,' Prāk. *chāvaa*, Pāli *chāpa*, Uṛ. *ch(u)ā*, Bang. *chā(n)*, Hindī *chōkaḍā*, Panj. *chōkaḍā*, *chōharā*, Sindhī *chōkaḍō*, Guj. *chāvō*, *chōkurō*, Mar. *chāvaḍā*, Gyp.

chavō. Skt. *śakṛt* 'once,' Pāli *chakam*. Skt. *śēṣa* 'end,' Prāk., Pāli *sēsa*, Guj. *chēvat*, *chēḍō*, *chellō*. Skt. *śaṇa* 'hemp,' Ur. *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. *hāk* (cf. Skt. *ḍākinī* 'sort of female demon' beside *śākinī*).

ś > y.

§ 398. The change of *ś* to *y* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dvādaśanavārṣa* 'twelfth year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *barayavaṣa*, (Dhauri, Jaugada) *duvādasa-vāsa*, (Girnar) *dvādasavasa*, (Khālsi) *duvāḷasāvasa*.

ś > v.

§ 399. The change of *ś* to *v* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paraśu* 'axe,' Māhār. Prāk. *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,' Prāk. *sōhāḥ*, Pāis. Prāk. *sōbhati*, Pāli *sobbhati*. Skt. *śuśruṣā* 'obedience,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Shāhbāzgarhi and Kapur di Giri) *suśruṣā*, Pāli *sussusā*. Skt. *śata* 'hundred,' Prāk. *sa(y)a*, Pāis. Prāk., Pāli *śata*, Ass. *sa*, Hindī, Panj. *sāi*, *sāu*, Sindhī *sāu*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śīti* 'eighty,' Prāk. *asī*, Pāli *asīti*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *assī*, Sindhī *asī*, Guj. *eṃsī*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śilā* 'stone,' Prāk. *silā*, Māg. Prāk. *śilā*, Pāli *silā*, Ur. *śīla*, Bang. *śil*, Hindī *sil*, Panj. *sil*, Sindhī *sir*, Mar. *siḷ*.

ś > h.

§ 401. The change of *ś* to *h* is quite common in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *daśa* 'ten,' Prāk. *daha*, *dasa*, Pāli *dasa*, Kaśm. *dah*, U_r., Bang. *daś*, *das*, Hindī *das*, Panj. *dah*, *das*, Sindhī *dah*, Guj. *das*, Mar. *dahā*, Sinh. *dahaya*, *dasa*, Gyp. *deš*. Skt. *śvaśura* 'father-in-law,' Pāli *sasura*, U_r., Bang., Hindī *sasur*, Panj. *sahurā*, *sāuharā*, Sindhī *sahurō*, Guj., Mar. *sāsarā*, Maladive *hurs*, Gyp. *saštrō*, *sasrō*. Skt. *paśu* 'cattle,' Hindī (Doab, Oude) *pōhē*. Skt. *kēśari* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *kēsarī*, Bihārī *kēharī*, *kēsari*, Hindī *kēharī*, Panj. *kēhar*, Sindhī *kēharī*, Guj. *kēsari*. Skt. *pāśa* 'noose,' Prāk., Pāli *pāsa*, Hindī *pās*, *phāms*, Panj. *pāh*, Sindhī *phāhī*, *phāsī*, Guj. *pās*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' E_lu *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. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Sinh. *isa*, *iha*, etc. (see § 395). Skt. *śṛṅga* 'horn,' Prāk., Pāli *siṅga*, Hindī *sīng*, Mar. *śīng*, E_lu *sangu*, *aṅgu*, Sinh. *aṅga*, *si(n)gu*, *suṅgu*. Skt. *śīśira* 'cold,' Prāk., Pāli *sisira*, Sinh. *āl*, *hāl*. Skt. *laśuna* 'onion,' Pāli *lasuna*, Sinh. *lānu*.

§ = ś.

§ 403. The retention of Indian ś is found only in Kaśmīrī, U_riya, and Bangālī.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōḷaha*, Pāli *sōḷasa*, *sōrasa*, Kaśm. *ṣurāh*. U_r., *sōhala*, Bang. *ṣōla*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlān*, Sindhī *sōrahan*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Sinh. *soḷosa*. Skt. *mūṣa* 'mouse,' U_r. *mūṣā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *mūsā*, Gyp. *muṣō*.

ś > kh.

§ 404. In Hindī 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., Pāli *bhāsā*, Nāip.

bhās, *bhākkā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *bhākhā*. Skt. *mānuṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *mānusa*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *mānukh*, Sindhī *mānukhu*, Gyp. *manuṣ*.

In the tadbhava forms of these semitatsamas we find, as we should expect, *bhāsā*, *mānus*, etc.

ṣ > *ch*.

§ 405. The change of ṣ to *ch* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṣ* 'six,' Prāk., Pāli *cha*, Kaśm. *ṣah*, *śih*, Uṛ. *chaa*, Bang. *chaya*, Bihārī *cha*, Hindī *cha*, *chē*, Panj. *chē*, Sindhī *cha(h)*, Guj. *cha*, Mar. *sah(ā)*, Old Siṃh. *caka*, Siṃh. *haya*, *saya*, Gyp. *ṣo(v)*. Skt. *ṣaṭpada* 'bee,' Prāk. *chappaa*, Jāina Prāk. *chappaya*.

ṣ > *y*.

§ 406. The apparent change of ṣ to *y* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *karīṣa* 'dry cow-dung,' Prāk., Pāli *karīsa*, Siṃh. *kiriya* (cf. § 422).

ṣ > *ś*.

§ 407. The change of ṣ to *ś* occurs only in Middle Indian, where it is due to learned influence.

a. Indian. Skt. *anvēṣanti* 'they seek,' Māg. Prāk. *aṇṇēṣanti*. Skt. *ālabbhiṣyanti* 'they will be immolated,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *arabhiṣanti* (cf. the parallel passages *ārabhiṣamrē* Girnar, *ālābhāyisanti* Dhauli, *ālabbhiyisanti* Jaugada, *ālābbhiyisanti* Khālsi).

ṣ > *s*.

§ 408. The change of ṣ to *s* is the normal one to which Indian ṣ is subject in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* 'sixteen,' Prāk. *sōlaha*, Pāli *sōlāsa*, *sōrasa*, Uṛ. *sōhala*, Bihārī *sōrah*, Hindī *sōlah*, Panj. *sōlām*, Sindhī *sōrahām*, Guj. *sōl*, Mar. *sōlā*, Siṃh. *soḷosa*, etc. (see § 403). Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sām̐r*, Bang. *ṣam̐r*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sām̐r*, Panj. *sām̐dh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sām̐h*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sām̐d*. Skt. *vṛṣabha* 'bull,' Prāk. *vasaha*,

usaha, Pāli *vasabha*. Skt. *puruṣa* 'man,' Prāk., Pāli *purisa*, Bang. *puruṣ*, Hindī *puris*, semitatsama *purukh*.

§ > *h*.

§ 409. The change of § to *h* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ekaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-one,' Jāina Prāk. *ēgahaṭṭhi*, *ēgasatṭhi*, *ēgayatṭhi*, *ēgavatṭhi*, *ēgatṭhi*, Kaśm. *ekahāiṭh*, Panj. *ikāhat*, 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 *ḱ* (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*, U_r., Bang. *sāta* (pron. *ṣatō*), Bihārī, Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*. Skt. *simha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṃgha*, *siṃha*, Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Prāk., Pāli *kappāsa*, U_r. *kapā*, Bang. *kāpās*, Hindī *kapās*, Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, Guj., Mar. *kāpūs*. Skt., Pāli *atasī* 'linseed,' U_r. *tēsī*, Bang. *tiśī*, E. Hindī *tīsī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarah* 'head,' Phl., New Pers. *sar*, Wāxī, Sangl., Minj. *sar*, Afy., Bal., Kurd., Oss. *sar*. Av. *sarsta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Gab. *sart*, Wāxī *sūr(ī)*, Sarq. *pat-soram*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sārth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*. Av. *kasu* 'small,' Phl. *kas*, Pāz. *kah*, New Pers. *kih*, Gab. *kasūk*, Zaf., Kāš. *kas*, Vōn. *kassar*, Nāy. *kas*, Afy. *kašr*, Bal. *kas(s)ān*, Oss. *khashthar*. Av. *dasa* 'ten,' Phl. *dahum*, New Pers. *dah*, Wāxī *das*, *las*, Šiyn. *dīs*, *līs*, Sarq. *dēs*, Sangl. *das*, Yidg. *lus*, Yaʿn. *das*, Afy. *las*, Kurd. *dav*, Zaza *das*, Oss. *das(am)*. Av. *pāsa* 'leprosy,' Old Pers. *πράσας*, Phl. *pēsak*, New Pers. *pēs*, Gab. *pīsk*, Afy. *pēs(ai)*, Kurd. *pīs(aj)*.

s > ch.

§ 411. The change of *s* to *ch* is a very rare one.

a. Indian. Skt. *sudhā* 'ambrosia,' Prāk. *chuhā*, Pāli *sudhā*. Skt. *sirā* 'vein,' Prāk. *chirā*, *sirā*, Pāli *sirā*. Skt. *sūtradhāra* 'carpenter,' Uṛ., Bang. *chutār* (pron. *sutār*). Skt. *siñcati* 'sprinkles,' Prāk. *siñcaī*, Pāli *siñcati*, Bihārī *chūncāi*, *siñcāi*, Mar. *siñcaṇēm*.

s > j(l).

§ 412. The change of *s* to *j(l)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *haṁsa* 'goose,' Prāk., Pāli *haṁsa*, Hindī *hāṁs*, Sindhī *hamj(l)u*, Sinh. *has*.

s > t.

§ 413. The change of *s* to *t* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sax^vārō* 'word,' Phl. *saxun*, New Pers. *saxun*, Sīv. *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. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Afγ. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr, sohr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *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,' Prāk., Pāli *sahassa*, Kāśm. *sās*, Bihārī *sahasar*, Sindhī *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 Hindī *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 Śākārī 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. *aṇusāsaṇa*, 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*, *ē*, *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. *sajan*, Zaf. *sōzō*, Wāxī *sič*, Sarq. *sīč*, Bal. *sūcin*, *sīcin*, N. Bal. *sīšin*, *šīšan*, *šīšin*, Kurd. *šūšīn*, *sušīn*. Skt. *śakṛt* 'excrement,' Afγ. *γō-šāk*, *γō-šōē*, N. Bal. *sayan*. Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *suš*, Afγ. *sayai*.

s > z.

§ 420. The change of *s* to *z* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sūrya* 'breakfast,' Phl. *sūr*, New Pers. *surnai* 'trumpet,' Tāt *zurnai*. Av. *pasu* 'cattle,' Pāz. *pah*, Tāt *paz*, Wāxī *pus*, *pos*, Sarq. *ḡ(i)ās*, Afy. *psa*, Bal. *pas*, N. Bal. *phas*, Kurd. *paz*, Dig. Oss. *fuss*, Tag. *fiss*. Av. *x^vasura* 'father-in-law,' New Pers. *xusur*, Wāxī *xurs*, Afy. *sxar*, N. Bal. *vasarik*, Kurd. *xazūr*, *xazīr*, *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*, Śāur., Jāina Prāk., Pāli *divasa*, Mar. *divas*, Sinh. *davaha*, *davasa*, Gyp. *divēs*. Skt. *ekasaptati* 'seventy-one,' Kāsm. *akasatath*, Uṛ. *ekastōri*, Bang. *ekattar*, Bihārī *ekahattar*, Hindī *ikahattar*, Panj. *ikhattar*, Sindhī *ekahatari*, Guj. *ikōtēr*, Mar. *ekahattar*, cf. Jāina Prāk. *hattari* 'seventy,' Sinh. *hättāva*, *sättāva*. Skt. *karpāsa* 'cotton,' Panj., Sindhī *kapāh*, etc. (see § 410). Skt. *sarpa* 'serpent,' Prāk., Pāli *sappa*, Uṛ., 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. *sīaī*, *saḍai*, Pāli *sīdati*, Sinh. *imḍinavā*, *himḍinavā*. Skt. *prasāda* 'favour,' Māhār. Prāk. *pasāya*, Pāli *pasāda*, Sinh. *pāya*.

b. Iranian. Av. *x^vasura* 'father-in-law,' Kurd. *xaur*, *xazūr*, *xazīr*, etc. (see § 420).

š = ś.

§ 423. Iranian ś remains in general unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, New Pers. *šudan*, Bahb. *sud*, Wāxī *cauam*, Šiγn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, Afγ. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šula*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Old Pers. *gauša*, Phl., New Pers. *gōš*, Šir., Bahb. *guš*, Nāy. *gūš*, Wāxī *γūš*, *γiš*, Šiγn., *γūž*, Sarq. *γaul*, Yidg. *γū*, Afγ. *γvaž*, Bal. *gōš*, Kurd. *gūh*, Dig. Oss. *γos*, Tag. *qūs*. Av. *raēšah* 'wound,' Phl., New Pers. *rēš*, Afγ. *raš*.

š > c, č.

§ 424. The change of š to c, č, is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Wāxī *cauam*, Kurd. *cīan*, *cūn*, Oss. *čaun*, etc. (see preceding §).

š > j.

§ 425. The change of š to j is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *baēšaza* 'physician,' Phl. *bējašk*, *bijašk*, *bēšazak*, New Pers. *bijišk*, *bizišk*.

š > l.

§ 426. The change of š to l is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Sarq. *γaul*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Phl. *spiš*, *spuš*, New Pers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, *šupuš*, Wāxī *šiš*, Sarq. *spal*, Afγ. *spaža*, Kurd. *sipi*, *aspē*, Oss. *sisth*.

š > s.

§ 427. The change of š to s is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaiti* 'goes,' Bahb. *sud*, Šiγn. *sāvum*, Sarq. *sōm*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *suši* 'lung,' Phl. *suš*, New Pers. *šuš*, Gab. *sus*, Afγ. *sayai*. New Pers. *šūr* 'salt,' Šiv. *sūr*, Bal. *sūrag*, N. Bal. *šōray*, *sōr*. Av. *gaoša* '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. *zik*. Av. *xšvaš* 'six,' Phl. *šaš(um)*, New Pers. *šaš*, Wāxī *šād*, *šāl*, Šiyn. *xuuš*, Afy. *špaž*, Oss. *axsaz*.

š > ž.

§ 429. The change of š to ž is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaoša* 'ear,' Šiyn. *γūž*, Afy. *γvaž*, etc. (see § 423). Av. *arōša* 'bear,' Phl., New Pers. *xirs*, Māz. *āš*, Šiyn. *yūrš*, Sarq. *yürx*, Yidg. *yarš*, Afy. *yaž*, Kurd. *hirš*, *hire*, *vire*, Oss. *ars*. Av. *kušaiti* 'kills,' Phl. *kuštanō*, New Pers. *kuštan*, Kurd. *bukužim*.

š > h.

§ 430. The change of š to h is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Phl. *rēš(ak)* 'beard,' New Pers. *rīš(ak)*, Citrālī *rixiš*, *rikiš*, Wāxī *rēyiš*, Minj. *yarža*, Afy. *žira*, Kurd. *rēh*, *ri*, Dig. Oss. *rēxē*, Tag. *rīxī*.

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).

z = 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*, Wāxī *zān*, Sarq. *zūn*, Sangl. *zong*, Afy. *zangūn*, *čangūn*, Bal. *zān*, Kurd. *zāna*, *ažnōh*. Av. *zərδāya* 'heart,' Phl., New Pers. *dil*, Māz. *zilah*, Gil. *zīl*, Šiyn. *zrād*, *zrāy*, Sarq. *zārd*, Sangl. *uzrāy*, Minj. *zīl*, Afy. *zra*, Bal. *zirdē*, Kurd. *zar*, Oss. *zarda*. Av. *mačzonti* 'they make water,' Phl. *mēzūtanō*, New Pers. *mēzī-*

dan, Afy. *mītal*, Bal. *mīšay*, *mēzay*, Kurd. *mīztin*, *mīstin*, Dig. Oss. *mēzun*, Tag. *mīzin*. New Pers. *pōz* 'part about the nose,' Gab. *pūz*, Sangl. *fuzik*, Minj. *foska*, Afy. *pōza*, *paza*, Bal. *pō(ñ)z*, N. Bal. *phōñz*, Kurd. *pōz*, *pūz*, Dig. Oss. *finja*, Tag. *fiŋg*.

$z > \check{z}$.

§ 433. The change of *z* to \check{z} is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *zanva* 'chin,' New Pers. *zanax*, Šiyn. *zingū*, Sarq. *zangān*, Afy. *jana*, *zana*. Afy. *jōē* 'son' beside *zōē* (from \sqrt{zan} 'to be born').

$z > s$.

§ 434. The change of *z* to *s* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dərəza* 'bond,' New Pers. *darz*, Oss. *daras* 'garment.'

$z, \check{z} > \check{s}$.

§ 435. The change of *z*, \check{z} to \check{s} is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *kāzah* 'hunter's hut,' beside *kāžah*, *kāšah*.

$z > \check{z}$.

§ 436. The change of *z* to \check{z} is found occasionally.

b. Iranian. Av. *zimō* 'of winter,' Phl., New Pers. *zam*, Wāxī *zam*, Šiyn. *zimj*, *zinj*, Sarq. *zamān*, Afy. *žimai*, *zimai*, *jimai*, Dig. Oss. *sumag*, Tag. *zimag*.

$z > h$.

§ 437. The change of *z* to *h* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Phl. *bāzih*, *bāzak*, New Pers. *bāzū*, Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, Xor. *bāhū*, Judaeo-Pers. *bāhūi*.

Syncope of z.

§ 438. The loss of internal *z* occurs very rarely in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *bāzu* 'arm,' Gab. *bāi*, Kāš. *bōi*, *bōhī*, *bōhū*, Sīv. *bāi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\check{z} = \check{z}.$$

§ 439. Iranian \check{z} is in general retained unchanged in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Phl. *žūžak*, New Pers. *žūžah*, Gab. *jujik*.

$$\check{z} > \gamma.$$

§ 440. The change of \check{z} to γ is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Afγ. *dōyaš*, *dōžax*, *dōzax*, etc. (see preceding §).

$$\check{z} > j.$$

§ 441. The change of \check{z} to j is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužaka* 'leech,' Gab. *jujik*, etc. (see § 439).

$$\check{z} > \check{s}.$$

§ 442. The change of \check{z} to \check{s} is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, etc. (see § 439—properly speaking, no change of \check{z} to \check{s} occurs here, since Pahlavi possesses no sign for \check{z} , and employs the character for \check{s} instead).

$$\check{z} > z.$$

§ 443. The change of \check{z} to z is the most common one of all those changes to which Iranian \check{z} is subject in the Middle and New Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōzax*, *dōžax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt(h)*, Kāśm. *ath*, Uṛ. *hāt(h)a*, Bang. *hāt*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Sinh. *ata*. Skt. *hṛdaya* 'heart,' Prāk. *hīa(y)a*, Pāli *hadaya*, Ass., Uṛ., Bihārī *hiā*, Hindī *hiyā*, Panj. *hiyān*, *hiātīn*, Sindhī *himānu*, Mar. *hiyyā*, *hiyēm*. Skt. *mahārga* 'costly,' Pāli *mahagga*, Ass. *mahaṅgā*, *magar*, Nāip. *mahaṅgō*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṅgā*, Panj. *mahiṅgā*, Sindhī *mahaṅgō*, Guj. *mōṅghuṅ*, Mar. *mahāg*. Skt., Prāk., Pāli *lōha* 'iron,' Uṛ. *lōha*, *luhā*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *lōhā*, Guj., Mar. *lōh*, Sindhī *lōhu*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haēna* 'army,' Old Pers. *hainā*, Phl., Pāz. *hīn*. Av., Old Pers. *hama* 'all,' Phl. *hamak*, Pāz. *hamā*, New Pers. *hamah*, Bal. *hama(k)*, Kurd. *hamū*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Phl., New Pers. *haft*, Wāxī *hūb*, *hub*, *ub*, *vūvd*, Šīyn. *vūvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, Sangl. *haft*, Minj. *ēd*, Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Dig. Oss. *aft*, Tag. *aft*, *avd*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Phl. *vahār*, New Pers. *bahār*, Kāš. *bohōr*, *vōr*, Oss. *vaļjag*.

$h > k$.

§ 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*, Sīv. *fušk*, Kāš. *huškudan*, *uškudan*, Wāxī *vask*, Yidg. *ūšk*, Afγ. *vuc*, Bal. *hušk*, Kurd. *vūšuk*, Oss. *xusk*. Av. *hū* 'pig,' Phl., New Pers. *xūk*, Wāxī *xūg*, Sarq. *xaug*, Afγ. *xūg*, Bal. *hīk*, N. Bal. *hīx*, Kurd. *xū*, Oss. *xui*. Av. *haētū* 'bridge,' Sarq. *yaiθ*, Yaγn. *ītk*, Dig. Oss. *xēd*, Tag. *xīd*. Av. *dužah* 'hell,' Phl. *dōšax*, Pāz. *dōžax*, New Pers. *dōzax*, Afγ. *dōžax*, *dōzax*, *dōyaš*, Bal. *dōzak*, *dōzē*, N. Bal. *dōzax*, *dōžē*, Kurd. *dūžē*.

$h > c$.

§ 447. The change of *h* to *c* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *hamcū* 'as,' Sīv. *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,' Sīv. *fušk*, etc. (see § 446).

$h > bh$.

§ 449. The change of *h* to *bh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vāihāra* nom. prop., Jāina Prak., Pāli *vēbhāra*.

$h > v$.

§ 450. The change of *h* to *v* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *vūvd*, (*h*)*ub*, *hüb*, Šiγn. *vvd*, etc. (see § 444). Av. *huška* 'dry,' Wāxī *vask*, Afγ. *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*, Wāxī *māi*, Šiγn. *mast*, Sarq. *mās*, Minj. *yomya*, Afγ. *maī*, Dig. Oss. *maya*, Tag. *mai*.

$h > s$.

§ 452. The change of *h* to *s* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *snāihika* 'oily,' Pāli *snēsika* (but Pāli *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. *namāz*, Afγ. *nmūnǰ*, Bal. *namāš*, *navāš*, Kurd. *nimīž*, *nimī*.

$h > z, \check{z}$.

§ 454. The change of *h* to *z*, \check{z} , is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *nəmah* 'homage,' Pāz. *namāž*, New Pers. *namāz*, Kurd. *nīmāž*, *nīmī*, 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,' Kaśm. *ath*, Siṃh. *ata*, etc. (see § 444).

b. Iranian. Av. *hanjamana* 'assembly,' Phl. *anjaman*, *hanjaman*, New Pers. *anjuman*. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Wāxī *ub*, *hub*, *hüb*, *vūd*, 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. *až*, $\check{z}(a)$.

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. *bahapphaī*, *bhayapphaī*, *bihapphaī*, *buhapphaī*, *buhappaī*, *bahassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bhuapphaī*, *bhaspadī*, Uṛ. *biphāi* 'Thursday,' Bihārī *biphāi*, *bihaphāi*. Skt. *gēhiṇī* 'woman,' Prāk. *ghariṇī*, Siṃh. *gāṇi*, *girini*. Skt. *vṛthi* 'rice,' Pāli *vīhi*, Siṃh. *vī*.

b. Iranian. Av. *vohuni* 'blood,' Phl., New Pers. *xūn*, Sīv. *fīn*, Wāxī *vuxan*, Šiγn. *vixīn*, Sarq. *vaxīn*, Sangl. *vain*, Afy. *vīnē*, Kurd. *xēn*. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *θura-vāhara* 'May,' Kāš. *vōr*, *bohōr*, etc. (see § 444).

Apocope of h.

§ 457. The loss of final *h* occurs but rarely.

b. Iranian. Av. *nōmah* 'homage,' Kurd. *nimī*, *nimīž*, 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,' Prāk. (Shāhbāzgarhi inscriptions) *hidatōkika*, lit. Prāk. *dāṇi(n)*. Skt. *ēdṛśa* 'of that kind,' Prāk. *ērisa*, (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hēḍisa*. Skt. *atra* 'there,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi) *hētā*, Bang. *hōthā*, *ōthā*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Prāk., Pāli *otṭha*, Ur. *ōtha*, Bang. *hō(n)ṭh*, Hindi *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *hōṭ*, *ōṭh*, Mar. *ōmṭh*.

b. Iranian. Av. *aēθrapaiti* 'fire-priest,' Phl. inscriptions *ēhrpaṭ*, lit. Phl. *hērpaṭ*, *ērpaṭ*, New Pers. *hērbud*. Av. *aošah* 'death,' Phl., New Pers. *hōš*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *as(p)a*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Wāxī *yaš*, Minj. *yasap*, Afy. *ās*, Bal. *haps*, *aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *aḥsa*, 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*, Hindī *man*, Mar. *maṇ*.

b. Iranian. Av. *jyā* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *yah*, *žā*, Afy. *žāī*, N. Bal. *jīy*, Kurd. *žih*.

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. *utkaṅṭhā* '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 > gḍ, γḍ.

§ 462. The softening of the consonant-group *kt* to *gḍ, γḍ*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Skt. *nakta* 'night,' Wāxī *naγḍ*. Skt. *takta* 'swift,' Oss. *thaγḍ*.

ktz > γz, zγ.

§ 463. The assimilation of *ktz* to *γz, zγ*, is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxta* 'burned' + *zaranya* 'gold,' Dig. Oss. *suγzarina*, Tag. *sizyarin*.

kt > t(t).

§ 464. The assimilation of *kt* to *t(t)* 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*,

Sindhī *bhatu*, Guj., Mar. *bhāt*. Skt. *mukta* 'pearl,' Prāk., Pāli *mutta*, U_r. *mōti*, Bang. *mōti*, *mati*, *māuktikā*, *muktā*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *mōti*. Skt. *rakta* 'red,' Prāk., Pāli *ratta*, U_r., Bang. *rakta*, Hindī *rāt*, Sindhī *rātō*, Guj. *rātu*, Sinh. *rat*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *puxtanō* 'to cook,' New Pers. *puxtan*, Kāš. *patan*, *pōtan*, Wāxī *pōcam*, Afγ. *paravul*, Bal. *pacag*, N. Bal. *phašay*, Kurd. *pātin*, Dig. Oss. *ficun*, Tag. *ficin*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' New Pers. *sōxtan*, Māg. *sūt*, Gīl. *sūt*, *sūxt*, Tāl. *sūt*, Afγ. *sēzal*, *sējal*, *svājavul*, Bal. *sucag*, N. Bal. *sušay*, Kurd. *sōtin*, Bohtanī *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*, Afγ. *juxt*, Kurd. *cuxt*. New Pers. *anjūftan* 'to be wrinkled' beside *anjūxtan*.

kt > ht.

§ 466. The assimilation of *kt* to *ht* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *pakta* 'cooked,' New Pers. *puxtah*, Wāxī *pōšt*, Šīyn. *pašt*, Sarq. *paxt*, Bal. *pakta*, N. Bal. *pahta*, Dig. Oss. *funx(th)*, Tag. *fixth*. Phl. *sōxtanō* 'to burn,' Bohtanī *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. *baxr*, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *sittha*, Hindī *sīth*, *sīṭh*, Panj. *sēṭh*, *sēṭ*, Mar. *sīt*. Skt. *śakthi* 'thigh,' Pāli *satthi*.

$kn > nm$.

§ 470. The assimilation of kn to nm is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śaknōti* 'is able,' Prāk. *sakkaī*, Pāli *sakkati*, *sakkōti*, *sakkunāti*, Hindī *sak*, Sindhī *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. *rukmaṇi* 'sort of metre,' Pāli *rummaṇi*.

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*, Wāxī *taγm*, Šiγn. *tūγm*, Sarq. *tōγm*, Yidg. *tūγum*, Afγ. *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,' Wāxī *taγm*, Šiγn. *tūγm*, Sarq. *tōγm*, Yidg. *tūγum*, etc. (see preceding §).

$km > p(p)$.

§ 473. The assimilation of km to $p(p)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *rukmiṇī* 'Lakṣmī,' Prāk. *ruppiṇī*.

$ky > k(k)$.

§ 474. The assimilation of ky to $k(k)$ occurs occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *cāṇakya* nom. prop., Prāk. *cāṇakka*. Skt. *āutsukya* 'zeal,' Pāli *ussukka*. Skt. *trāilōkya* '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., Pāli *caḅka*, Ass. *cāḅ*, Uṛ. *caka*, Bang. *cākā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *cāḅ*, Panj. *cakḅ*, Sindhī *caku*, Guj., Mar. *cāḅ*, Simh. *sak*, *hak*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Simh. inscriptions *aṅasak*, *aṅasat*.

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*, Sīv. *sīr*, Kāš., Kuhr. *sūr*, Wāxī *sōkr*, Šīyn., Sarq. *sīrah*, Yidg. *surkuh*, Afγ. *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., Pāli *kiliṭṭha*, Simh. *leḅa*.

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. *pakku*, *pikka*, Pāli *pakka*, Ass. *pakā*, Nāip. *pāk*, Kaśm. *paṅi*, Uṛ. *pakkā*, Bang. *pākā*, E. Hindī *pākal*, Hindī, Panj. *pakkā*, Sindhī *pakō*, Guj. ✓ *pik*, *pak* 'to ripen,' Mar. *pīk*, *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. *bubhuksā* 'hunger,' Pāli *bubhukḅhati*, Hindī

bhūkh, Sindhī *bukhā*, Mar. *bhuk*, Gyp. *bolh*. Skt. *kṣīra* 'milk,' Prāk. *khīra*, *chīra*, Pāli *khīra*, Kaf. *zu*, New Ind. dialects *khīr*, Sinh. *kiri*, *kira*, Maladive *kiru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maxši* 'fly,' Phl., New Pers. *magas*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Wāxī *maks*, Minj. *muya*, Afγ. *mae*, Bal. *makask*, *magisk*, N. Bal. *mahisk*, Kurd. *miš*.

kṣ > *khh*.

§ 481. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *khh* 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*, Pāli *makkhikā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Ur. *mā(n)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(n)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(n)chī*, Hindī *makkhī*, *mā(n)khī*, Panj. *makkhī*, Sindhī *makhī*, Guj. *mākhī*, Mar. *maklū*, *māśī*, Gyp. *makhī*. Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dakkhiṇa*, *dāhiṇa*, Pāli *dakkhiṇa*, Kāśm. *dachan*, Ur. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Bang. *ḍāin*, E. Hindī *dachin*, Hindī *dakhin*, *dāhinā*, Panj. *dakkhan*, Sindhī *ḍakhinō*, Mar. *ḍākhīṇ*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Prāk., Pāli *pakkha*. Kāśm. *pakh(a)*, E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bang. *pākhī*, Bihārī *pankh* 'wing,' *pāhīm* 'beside,' *panchī* 'bird,' Hindī *pakhī*, *pānchī*, Panj. *pānchī*, Sindhī *pangu*, Guj. *pānchī*, Mar. *pākh*, *pānchī*, Sinh. *pak*, *pasa*, Gyp. *phak*.

b. Iranian. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiγn. *šab*, Sarq. *xab*, Minj. *xšava*, *xāšava*, Yidg. *xšuvuh*, Yaγn. *xīšap*, Afγ. *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. *arsav*, 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*, Sīv., Judaeo-Pers. *magaz*, Bal. *magisk*, *makask*, etc. (see § 480).

$k\dot{s} > c(e)$.

§ 484. The assimilation of $k\dot{s}$ to $c(e)$ is excessively rare both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Uṛ. *khudatā*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*.

b. Iranian. Av. **ṣapacava* 'bat,' Bal. *ṣapcar*, Makrānī *capcal* (assimilation).

$k\dot{s} > (c)ch$.

§ 485. The assimilation of $k\dot{s}$ 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 *rīch*, *rīkh*, Hindī *rīch*, Panj. *ricch*, Sindhī *richu*, Guj. *rīch*, Mar. *rīs*. Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Prāk. *macchiā*, Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(ñ)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(ñ)sī*), Bang. *māchī*, E. Hindī *mā(ñ)chī*, etc. (see § 481). Skt. *kṣātra* 'field,' Prāk. *chettu*, Pāli *khetta*, Kāśm. *khīt*. Skt. *kṣatriya* 'warrior,' Prāk. *khattia*, Pāli *khattiya*, Uṛ. *chetri*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj. *chatrī*, *khatri*, *khetri*, Sindhī *khitrī*, Mar. *kṣatrī*.

$k\dot{s} > j, (j)jh$.

§ 486. The assimilation of $k\dot{s}$ to $j, (j)jh$, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣīṇa* 'wasted,' Prāk. *jhīṇa*, *khīṇa*, *chīṇa*, Pāli *khīna*, *khinna*, Ass. *jīn* 'decay,' Hindī *jhīn*, *cchīn*, Sindhī *jhīnō*, Gyp. *khinō*. Skt. *kṣīyate* 'wastes away,' Prāk. *jhijjāi*, Mar. *jhij*. Skt. *kṣāmā* 'earth,' Hindī *jhāmā* 'vitrified brick.'

$k\dot{s} > s(s)$.

§ 487. The assimilation of $k\dot{s}$ to $s(s)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ikṣu* 'sugar-cane,' Prāk., Pāli *ucchu*, Uṛ. *ākhu*, Bang. *āku*, E. Hindī *ūkh*, W. Hindī *ikh*, Mar. *ūs*. Skt. *ṛkṣa* 'bear,' Mar. *rīs*, etc. (see § 485). Skt. *makṣikā* 'fly,' Kāśm. *mach* (pron. *mas*), Uṛ. *mā(ñ)chī* (vulgar pron. *mā(ñ)sī*), etc. (see § 481). Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' Sinh. *pasa*, *pak*, etc. (see § 481).

Skt. *kṣaṇa* 'instant,' Prāk. *khṇa*, *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,' Pāz., New Pers. *šāh*. Av. *xšīra* 'milk,' Phl., New Pers. *šīr*, Minj. *xšīr*, Dig. Oss. *axšīr*, Tag. *axsīr*. Av. *xšap(an)* 'night,' New Pers. *šab*, Kāš. *šav*, Šiṣn. *šab*, Afḡ. *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. *śāikṣa* 'novice,' Jāina Prāk. *sēha*, Pāli *sekha*, *sēkha*. Skt. *pakṣa* 'wing,' E. Bang. *pāhī*, Bihārī *pāhīm* 'beside,' *paṁchī* 'bird,' *paṁkh* 'wing,' etc. (see § 481). Skt. *dakṣiṇa* 'southern,' Prāk. *dāhiṇa*, *dakkhiṇa*, Uṛ. *dāhinā*, *ḍāhāna*, Hindi *dāhinā*, *dakhin*, etc. (see § 481).

$kṣ > z(z)$.

§ 490. The assimilation of *kṣ* to *z(z)* 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 Sindhī *chāru*, Sinh. *alu*, *halu*, Maladive *hulu*.

$kṣn > ṅ, n$.

§ 492. The assimilation of *kṣn* to *ṅ, n*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxšna* 'shining,' Phl., New Pers. *rōšan*, Šiṣn. *rōšnaga*, Sangl. *rōšnai*, Afḡ. *rūṅ*, 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,' Šiyn. *rōʃnaga*, Sangl. *rōʃnai*, etc. (see preceding §).

kʃn > *hn*.

§ 494. The assimilation of *kʃn* to *hn* is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoxʃna* 'shining,' Kurd. *ruhñāi*, *rññā(h)i*, *rōn*, *rñn*, etc. (see § 492).

gdh > *t(t)*.

§ 495. The assimilation of *gdh* to *t(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Nāip. *dūt*, Kaśm. *dod*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Panj. *dudd*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, Gyp. *thud*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *dogdhum* 'to milk,' Phl. *dōxtanō*, New Pers. *dōxtan*, Wāxī *dōgnam*, Sarq. *ḍauzam*, Afγ. *lvašal*, Bal. *dōšaγ*, Kurd. *dōtin*, Bayazid *dōthin*, Dig. Oss. *dočun*, Tag. *dūčín*.

gdh > *d(d)*.

§ 496. The assimilation of *gdh* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dugdha* 'milk,' Kaśm. *dod*, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *duddha*, Uṛ. *dudha*, Bang. *dudh*, *dud(u)*, Bihārī, Hindī *dūdh*, Sindhī *ḍōdhi*, Guj., Mar. *dūdh*, etc. (see § 495). Skt. *mugdha* 'fool,' Prāk., Pāli *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*, U_r. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *agi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Sinh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *nagna* 'naked,' Prāk., Pāli *nagga*, U_r. *naṅgalā*, Bang. *nēṅṭā*, Bihārī *naṅg*, Hindī, Panj. *naṅgā*, Sindhī *naṅgō*, Guj. *nāgūṅh*, Mar. *naggā*, *naṅgā*, Gyp. *nangō* (cf. also Kaśm. *naṅrāv* 'to strip'). Skt. *lagna* 'attached,' Prāk., Pāli *lagga*, Hindī *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*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *raun*, Sangl. *rōγ*, 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. *āgəmat* 'assembled,' YAv. *frāymat*, Old Pers. *haγmatā*, Phl. *maṭanō*, 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. *laggaī*, Pāli *laggati*, Kaśm. $\sqrt{\text{lag}}$, 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*, Ur. *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 *sīgha*, Bang. (Burdwānī) *śiggīr*, 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. *paryavṛka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallamka*, Śaur. Prāk. *palamka*, Pāli *pallavṛka*, *pariyavṛka*, Ass. *pālavy*, Nāip. *palamg*, Ur. *palamk*, Bang. *pālāmg*, *pālāmk*, Bihārī *palāmg*, *pālākī*, Hindī *palāmg*, Panj. *palamgh*, Sindhī *palamgu*, Guj., Mar. *palamg*, Anglo-Ind. *palamquin*. Skt. *kaṅkaṇa* 'bracelet,' Prāk., Pāli *kaṅkaṇa*, Ass. *kaṅgan*, *kāṅkan*, Kaśm. *kaṅkāin*, *kaṅgum*, Ur., Bang. *kāṅgan*, E. Hindī *kaṅgan*, *kaṅkan*, *kāṅkan*, Hindī *kaṅgan*, *kaṅkan*, Panj. *kaṅgan*, Sindhī *kaṅgaṇu*, Guj., Mar. *kaṅgan*.

ɔkt > ɔt.

§ 507. The assimilation of *ɔkt* to *ɔt* occurs occasionally (cf. § 464).

a. Indian. Skt. *paṛṅkti* 'row,' Prāk., Pāli *paṇṭi*, Bihārī *pāṇṭi*.

ɔkh > k(h).

§ 508. The assimilation of *ɔkh* to *k(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṅkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *sī(m)-kar*, *sik(h)ar*, Hindī *sīkar*, *sikal*, *sikhar*, Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *sāṅghal*, Mar. *sā(m)khal*, *sikrī*.

ɔkh > ɔgh, ɔngh.

§ 509. The softening of *ɔkh* to *ɔgh*, *ɔngh*, is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śṛṅkhala* 'fetter,' Panj. *saṅghar*, Sindhī *saṅgharō*, Guj. *saṅghal*, etc. (see preceding §).

ɔg > g(g).

§ 510. The assimilation of *ɔg* to *g(g)* occurs but rarely in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *lāṅgala* 'plough,' Prāk. *laṅgala*, *ṇaṅgala*, Pāli *naṅgala*, Bang. *nāṅgal*, Bihārī *lāṅgal*, Mar. *nāṅgar*, Simh. *nagula*, *nagalu*. Skt. *lāṅgāla* 'tail,' Prāk. *laṅgāla*, Simh. *nagal*, *nakuṭa*.

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'toe,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Kāš. *unguss*, *anguš(t)*, Māz. *angus*, Wāxī *yangl*, Šiyn. *angušt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afy. *gāta*, Tag. Oss. *angursth*.

ɔg > ɔgh.

§ 511. The aspirization of *ɔg* to *ɔgh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jaṅgala* 'desert,' Ass. *jaṅghal*, Sindhī *jhāṅgu* < **jaṅghu*, other New Ind. dialects *jaṅgal*, Old Hindī also *jaṅgar*, Anglo-Ind. *jungle*.

ch > *śc(h)*.

§ 512. The dissimilation of *ch* to *śc(h)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gaccha* 'go!' Māg. Prāk. *gaśca*. Skt. *pr̥cchati* 'asks,' Māg. Prāk. *puścadi*. Skt. *ucchiṣṭa* 'remnant,' Śāk. Prāk. *uśchitta*, Pāli *ucchitt̥ha*.

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 *accuta*. Skt. *cyavatē* 'goes,' Prāk. *cavaṛ*, Pāli *cavati*, Ur. *cuibā*, Bang. *cuān*, Hindī *cūnā*, Panj. *cōṇā*, Sindhī *cuhāṇu*, Mar. *cāvanēn*. Skt. *ucyatē* 'is said,' Māg. Prāk. *vuccadi*, Śāur. Prāk. *vuccaṛ*, 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. *caud*, Wāxī *čum*, *čun*, Sarq. *čund*, Afγ. *čom(b)ra*, Bal. *cunt*.

jñ > *g(g)*.

§ 515. The assimilation of *jñ* to *g(g)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *yağña* 'sacrifice,' Prāk. *jaṇṇa*, Śāur. Prāk. *jañja*, Pāli *yañña*, Ur., Bang. *jāga*, Old Hindī *jajana*, *jaja*, *jagga*, *jagya*, Hindī *jāg*, Panj. *jagy*, Sindhī *jaḡu*, Mar. *jāg*.

jñ > *gy*.

§ 516. The New Indian dialects, with the exception of Sindhī, Gujarātī, and Marāṭhī, regularly pronounce *jñ* as *gy*, although Uṛiya and Bangālī retain *jñ* in script. In Gujarātī *jñ* is pronounced *jñ* or *dn*, and in Marāṭhī *jñ* is pronounced *dny*. Sindhī usually assimilates *jñ* to *jj*.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāṇa*, *ṇāṇa*, Pāis. Prāk. *ñāṇa*, Pāli *jāna*, Ur., Bang. *jñāna* (pron. *g'ānō*), Hindī,

Panj. *gyān*, Sindhī *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*. Skt. *ājñā* 'command,' Prāk. *āṇā*, Pāli *aññā*, Hindī *āgyā*, Panj. *agiā*, Sindhī *āgyā*, Guj. *agnyā*.

$jñ > j(j)$.

§ 517. The assimilation of *jñ* to *j(j)* is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *jñāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *jāna*, *ṇāna*, Pāli *jāṇa*, Sindhī *jānu*, Guj., Mar. *jāṇ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Prāk. *savvajja*, *savvaṇṇu*, Śāur. Prāk. *sarvañja*, Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*.

$jñ > ñ(ñ)$.

§ 518. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ñ(ñ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Pāis. Prāk. *sarvañña*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, Pāli *viññāna*.

$jñ > ṇ(ṇ)$.

§ 519. The assimilation of *jñ* to *ṇ(ṇ)* is found quite frequently.

a. Indian. Skt. *viññāna* 'knowledge,' Prāk. *viṇṇāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *rājñī* 'queen,' Nāip., Hindī *rānī*, other New Ind. dialects *rāṇī*. Skt. *ājñācakra* 'mystic circle of the body,' Sinh. inscriptions *aṇasak*, *aṇasat*.

$jñ > n(n)$.

§ 520. The assimilation of *jñ* to *n(n)* occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *sarvajña* 'omniscient,' Māhār. Prāk. *savvanu*, etc. (see § 517). Skt. *jñāti* 'kinsman,' Pāli *ñāti*, Sinh. *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,' Pāli *rajja*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtānō* 'to guaw,' New Pers. *jāvīdan*, Gab.

jovādmūn, Afγ. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, Bal. *jāyag*, N. Bal. *jāγ*, Kurd. *jūn* (cf. Old Bulg. *živati*, 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. *gyā* 'bow-string,' Pāli *j(i)gyā*.

jy > z(z), ž(ž).

§ 523. The assimilation of *jy* to z(z), or ž(ž), is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Phl. *jūtanō* 'to gnaw,' Afγ. *žōvul*, *žōyal*, etc. (see § 521). Av. *jya* 'bow-string,' Pāz. *jīk*, New Pers. *zih*, Kāš. *zah*, *ža*, Afγ. *žai*, N. Bal. *jīγ*, Kurd. *žih*.

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*, U_r. *jvalibā*, Hindi *bālanā*, Panj. *jalaṇā*, *bālaṇā*, Sindhī *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. *jalaī*, Pāli *jalati*, U_r. *jhalakanā*, Sindhī *jhalkaṇu*, Guj. *jhalakavum*, Mar. *jhalakaṇēm*.

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. *bālaṇā*, *jalaṇā*, Sindhī *bāraṇu*, *jalaṇu*, etc. (see § 524). Skt. *jvara* 'fever,' Prāk., Pāli *jara*, Sindhī *bar*.

$\hat{n}c > \text{ng}$.

§ 528. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to ng is exceedingly rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *tancišta* 'most narrow,' Phl., New Pers. *tang*, Wāxī *tang*, Sarq. *tong*, Afy. *tangayī*, Bal. *tank*, N. Bal. *thanax*, *thanakh*, Kurd. *tank*.

$\hat{n}c > c(c)$.

§ 529. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $c(c)$ occurs very seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāsata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paṇṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *paṇṇāsa*, Kāsm. *pañčah*, Uṛ. *pacāśa*, Bang. *pañcāsa*, Bihārī, Hindī *pacās*, Panj., Sindhī *pañjah*, Guj. *pacās*, Mar. *pañnās*, Siñh. *panaha*.

$\hat{n}c > j(j)$.

§ 530. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $j(j)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt., Pāli *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Kāsm. *kuñz*, Uṛ. *kuji*, *kuncī*, *kuñjhī*, Bang. *kājī*, *kūñjī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kuñjī*, Guj. *kuncī*, Mar. *kuñjī*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}j$.

§ 531. The softening of $\hat{n}c$ to $\hat{n}j$ is found both in the Indian and in the Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuñcikā* 'key,' Nāip. *kuñjī*, Bang. *kū(ñ)jī*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī, Mar. *kuñjī*, etc. (see preceding §).

b. Iranian. Av. *panca* 'five,' Phl. *panc*, New Pers. *panj*, Kāš. *hanc*, Wāxī *pānz*, Šiγn., Sarq. *pinz*, Sangl. *panz*, Minj. *panc*, Afy. *pinja*, Oss. *fonj*, *fonj*, Kurd. *panj*, *pēnj*.

$\hat{n}c > \hat{n}(\hat{n})$.

§ 532. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $\hat{n}(\hat{n})$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāsata* 'fifty,' Pāli *paññāsa*, *paṇṇāsa*, etc. (see § 529).

$\hat{n}c > \eta(\eta)$.

§ 533. The assimilation of $\hat{n}c$ to $\eta(\eta)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *pañcāsata* 'fifty,' Prāk. *paṇṇāsa*, Pāli *paññāsa*, *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. *kāñcana* 'gold,' Prāk. *kañcaṇa*, Pāli *kañcana*, Sinh. *kasun*. Skt. *pañca* 'five,' Prāk., Pāli *pañca*, Kāśm. *pañč*, Ur., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *pāñc*, Panj., Sindhī *pāñj*, 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).

$\hat{n}j > m̄d$.

§ 537. The assimilation of $\hat{n}j$ to $m̄d$ is excessively rare, excepting in Sinhalese (see § 182).

a. Indian. Skt. *añjana* 'collyrium,' Prāk. *añjaṇa*, Pāli *añjana*, Sinh. *añduna*.

$\hat{d}g > g(g)$.

§ 538. The assimilation of $\hat{d}g$ 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*, Ur. *khamḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāmḍ*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāruṇ*, Mar. *khāṇḍ*.

$\hat{d}g > ḍ(ḍ)$.

§ 539. The assimilation of $\hat{d}g$ to $ḍ(ḍ)$ is comparatively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Ur. *khamḍā*, Hindī *khāmḍ*, *kharag*, Guj. *khāruṇ*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\hat{d}g > n(n)$.

§ 540. The assimilation of $\hat{d}g$ to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khadga* 'sword,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 538).

$nt > t(t)$.

§ 541. The assimilation of nt to $t(t)$ is found occasionally.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Prāk. *kaṇṭaa*, Pāli *kaṇṭ(h)aka*, Ass. *kāṁṭī*, Nāip. *kāṁrā*, Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Ur. *kaṇṭā*, *kāṁṭā*, Bang. *kāṭā*, *kāṁṭā*, Hindī *kāṁṭā*, Panj., Sindhī *kāṁḍā*, Guj. *kāṁṭō*, Mar. *kāṭā*, *kāṁṭā*, Gyp. *kanrō*, *kandō*.

$nt > d(d)$.

§ 542. The assimilation of nt to $d(d)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Nāip. *kāṁrā*, Panj., Sindhī *kāṁḍā*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nt > nd$.

§ 543. The softening of nt to nd occurs quite rarely.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṇṭaka* 'thorn,' Kaśm. *koṇḍ*, *kūṇḍ*, Gyp. *kandō*, *kanrō*, etc. (see § 541).

$nth > nt$.

§ 544. The deaspirization of nth is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṅṭhi* 'ginger,' Kaśm. *sōṅt*, Ur., Bang. *śuṅṭha*, Hindī *sōṁth*, Panj. *suṅḍh*, *sōṁḍh*, Sindhī *suṅḍhi*, Guj. *suṅṭh*.

$nth > ndh$.

§ 545. The softening of nth to ndh is the most usual change of all those to which this consonant-group is subject.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṅṭhi* 'ginger,' Panj. *suṅḍh*, *sōṁḍh*, Sindhī *suṅḍhi*, etc. (see preceding §).

$nd > d(d)$.

§ 546. The assimilation of nd to $d(d)$ is not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Kaśm. *khaḍak*, Ur. *khaṇḍā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *khāṁr*, Panj. *khāṁḍā*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khāḍum*, Mar. *khaṇḍā*, *khāṁḍā*. Skt. *duṇḍubha* 'sort of lizard,' Pāli *dedḍubha*.

$n\check{d} > nd.$

§ 547. The decerebralization of $n\check{d}$ is not a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Ass., Nāip. *rānri*, Ur., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *rānr*, Panj. *rand*, Sindhī *ran*, Guj., Mar. *rāmḍ*.

$n\check{d} > n(n).$

§ 548. The assimilation of $n\check{d}$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *khaṇḍaka* 'fragment,' Sindhī *khanō*, etc. (see § 546). Skt. *raṇḍā* 'window,' Sindhī *ran*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt., Pāli *gaṇḍaka* 'rhinoceros,' Bihārī *gannā*, *gandā*, *gāṁḍā*.

$n\check{d}h > d(d).$

§ 549. The assimilation of $n\check{d}h$ to $d(d)$ is not common.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sānr*, Bang. *ṣānr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sānr*, Panj. *sāmḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Multānī *sāmh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṁḍ*.

$n\check{d}h > n(n).$

§ 550. The assimilation of $n\check{d}h$ to $n(n)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Sindhī *sānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$n\check{d}h > nr.$

§ 551. The assimilation of $n\check{d}h$ to *nr* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Ass. *sānr*, etc. (see § 549).

$n\check{d}h > mh.$

§ 552. The assimilation of $n\check{d}h$ to *mh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Multānī *sāmh*, *saṇḍhā*, etc. (see § 549).

$ny > n̄j.$

§ 553. The assimilation of ny to *n̄j* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *brahmaṇya* '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. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, Sindhī *puṇṇi*. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Prāk. *raṇṇa*, Pāli *araṇṇa*, Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *raṇ*, *rimu*, Guj., Mar. *rān*.

$\eta y > \eta(n)$.

§ 555. The assimilation of ηy to $\eta(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṇya* 'pure,' Prāk. *puṇṇa*, Pāli *puṇṇa*, *puṇṇa*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\eta y > n(n)$.

§ 556. The assimilation of ηy to $n(n)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *araṇya* 'desert,' Hindī *ran*, Sindhī *rimu*, *raṇ*, Guj., Mar. *rān*, etc. (see § 554). Skt. *hiraṇya* 'gold,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Khālsi and Kapur di Giri) *hilaṇna*, Pāli *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,' Pāli *kiṇṇa*, Sindhī *kinu*.

$\eta v > n(n)$.

§ 558. The assimilation of ηv to $n(n)$ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kiṇva* 'yeast,' Sindhī *kinu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$tt > t(t)$.

§ 559. The cerebralization of tt to $t(t)$ is in the great majority of cases due to the presence of a preceding r , $ṛ$.

a. Indian. Skt. *vṛtta* 'happened,' Prāk. *vattā*, Pāli *vattā*, *vatta*. Skt. *mṛttikā* 'clay,' Prāk. *maṭṭiā*, Pāli *mattikā*, Uṛ., Bang. *māṭi*, Hindī, Panj. *miṭṭi*, *maṭṭi*, Sindhī *miṭi*, Guj. *māṭi*, Mar. *māṭi*. Skt. *pattana* 'town,' Prāk. *paṭṭana*, Pāli *paṭṭana*.

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. Sindhī *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. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, 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. *pāṇ*, Ur., Bang. *āp(ē)*, *āpaṇa*, *āpani*, Hindī, Panj. *āp(an)*, Sindhī *pāṇ*, 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. *saṁcā*, (pron. *hoṁsā*), Ur. *sacā*, Bang. *sāṁcā*, *sacā*, E. Hindī *sāṁc*, Hindī *sāṁc*, *sa(m)c*, Panj. *sacc*, Sindhī *sacū*, Guj., Mar. *sācum*, Sinh. *sasa*, Gyp. *cacō*. Skt. *hatyā* 'murder,' Sindhī *hačā*.

ty > *t(t)*.

§ 565. The assimilation of *ty* to *t(t)*, while less frequent than the assimilation of *ty* to *c(c)*, is, nevertheless, not uncommon in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Prāk., Pāli *nicca*, Bihārī *nī(t)*, Sindhī *nītu*, Siñh. *nisādī*, *nisādī*. Skt. *amātya* 'minister,' Prāk., Pāli *amacca*, Siñh. *ameta*, *ametiya*. Skt. *atyunnata* 'very high,' Jaina Prāk. *accunaya*.

ty > *s(s)*.

§ 566. The assimilation of *ty* to *s(s)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nitya* 'constant,' Siñh. *nisādī*, *nisādī*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *satya* 'true,' Siñh. *sasa*, etc. (see § 564).

tr > *č(č)*.

§ 567. The assimilation of *tr* to *č(č)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ^ra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pūr*, Wāxī *pōtr*, Šiγn. *puč*, Sarq. *pōč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yaγn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*, Kurd. *pisir*.

tr > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 568. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṭ(t)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk. *putta*, Śāur. Prāk. *puḍ(ṭ)a*, Pāli *putta*, U_r. *pua*, Hindī *put*, Sindhī *puṭru*, Lār. *puṭṭu*, Mar. *puṭī*, Siñh. *piṭ*, *put*.

tr > *ṛ*.

§ 569. The assimilation of *tr* to *ṛ* occurs only in Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *trīṇi* 'three,' Prāk. *tiṇṇi*, Pāli *tīṇi*, Kaśm. *trih*, U_r. *tini*, Bang. *tina*, Bihārī *tinī*, Hindī *tīn*, Panj. *tīṁn*, Sindhī *ṛṛ*, Guj. *taṇ*, Mar. *tīn*, Gyp. *trin*. Skt. *sūtra* 'thread,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, New Ind. dialects *sūt*, excepting Sindhī *suṭru*, Lār. *suṭṭu*, Siñh. *suta*.

tr > (t)th.

§ 570. The assimilation of *tr* to (t)th is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *prathamaputra* 'first-born son,' E. Hindī, Hindī *pahilam̐thā*, Panj. *pahilōthā*, Sindhī *pahrōthō*, *pahrātu*.

tr > ḍ(ḍ).

§ 571. The assimilation of *tr* to ḍ(ḍ) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Śāur. Prāk. *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,' Prāk. *ratti*, *rāz*, Pāli *ratti*, Kaśm., Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *rāt*, Panj. *ratt*, *rāt*, Sindhī *rāti*, Guj., Mar. *rāt*, Siñh. *rāya*, *rā*, Gyp. *rat*, Span. Gyp. (a)raci. Skt. *kṣetra* 'field,' Prāk. *chetta*, Pāli *khetta*, Uṛ., Bang. *khēta*, Hindī *khēt*, *khēdā*, Panj. *khēt*, Sindhī *khētu*, Guj. *khēḍ*, Mar. *śēt*, Siñh. *keta*. Skt. *trimaṇḍala* 'Buddhist's robe,' Pāli *tīmaṇḍala*, Old Siñh. *dunumaṇḍul*, New Siñh. *tunmaḍulla*. Skt. *putra* 'son,' Prāk., Pāli *putta*, Hindī *put*, Mar. *putī*, Siñh. *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*, Wāxī *trui*, Šiṽn. *arraī*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yaṽn. *θaraï*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*.

tr > p_hr, fr.

§ 574. The assimilation of *tr* to p_hr, 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. *pūr*, Minj. *pūr*, etc. (see § 567). Av. *ciθra* 'bright,' Phl. *citrē*, 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,' Yaγn. *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. *phusaγ*, 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,' Prāk. *rāi*, *ratti*, Siñh. *rā*, *rāya*, etc. (see § 572). Skt. *mitra* 'friend,' Prāk. *mia*, *mitta*, Pāli *mitta*, Sindhī *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,' Prāk. *turia*, Pāli *turita*, Hindī, Panj. *turānt*, Sindhī *turtu*, Guj. *turat*, Mar. *turāt*. Skt. *catvāraḥ* 'four,' Prāk. *cattāra*, *caūra*, Pāli *catu*, Kaśm. *čōr*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī *cāri*, Hindī, Panj. *cār*, Sindhī *cāri*, Guj., Mar. *cār*, Old Sinh. *siv(u)*, New Sinh. *hatara*, *satara*, *hār*, Gyp. *štar*.

b. Iranian. Av. *tām* < **tvəm* 'thou,' Pāz. *tō*, New Pers. *tū*, Afγ. *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. *tīm* '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*, *-paṇā*, 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. *buḍhāpaṇā*, *buḍhāpā*, Hindī *būḍhāpan*, Panj. *buḍhāpā*, Sindhī *ḅuḍhāpaṇu*, Guj. *buḍhāpō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *caθwārō* 'four,' Phl. *cahār*, Pāz. *cihār*, New Pers. *cahār*, Wāxī *čabur*, *čabūr*, Šiγn. *čavor*, *čavār*, Sarq. *čavur*, *čavor*, Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yidg. *cīr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, Afγ. *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. *caθwārō* 'four,' Sangl. *safor*, Minj. *cafīr*, Yaγn. *tfō*, 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 *čubar, čabūr*, 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. *frapīθwa* 'flourishing,' Phl. *frapīh, farpīh*, New Pers. *farbih*.

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. *bībhatsa* 'loathsome,' Pāli *bībhacca*. Skt.

vatsa 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Ass. *bāeru* (pron. *bāru*), Kāśm. *vač*, Bang. *bacchā*, *vacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, W. Hindī *bacā*, Panj. *baccā*, Sindhī *bacō*, Guj. *baccō*, Mar. *bacrēm*, *vāsrūn*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Phl. *vacak*, *bacak*, Wāxī *vušk*, Sarq. *višk*, Bal. *gvac*, Kurd. *vacahā*, Dig. Oss. *vass*.

ts > (c)ch.

§ 592. The assimilation of *ts* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *vatsara* 'year,' Prāk., Pāli *vacchara*. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Prāk., Pāli *vaccha*, Bang. *vacchā*, *bacchā*, E. Hindī *bāchā*, etc. (see preceding §).

ts > ś(ṣ).

§ 593. The assimilation of *ts* to ś(ṣ) is very rare.

b. Iranian. Skt. *vatsa* 'calf,' Wāxī *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,' Pāli *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*, Pāli *maccha*, Ass. *māc* (pron. *mās*), Ur., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *machu*, Mar. *māsā*, Sinh. *mas*, Gyp. *macō*.

tsy > (c)ch.

§ 596. The assimilation of *tsy* to (c)ch is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *matsya* 'fish,' Apab. Prāk. *macchu*, Pāli *maccha*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī *māch* (vulgar pron. in Bang. *māsō*), Panj. *macch*, Sindhī *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*, Pāli *micchā*, Ass. *mica*, Uṛ. *mich*, Bang., Old Hindī *michā*, Sindhī *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 §).

ḍg > *g(g)*.

§ 600. The assimilation of *ḍg* 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., Pāli *mugga*, Uṛ. *mūga*, Bang. *mug*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mūṅg*, Panj. *mugg*, Multānī *mūṅg*, Sindhī *mūṅu*, Mar. *mūg*. Skt. *mudgara* 'hammer,' Prāk., Pāli *muggara*, Uṛ. *mōgara*, Hindī *mūgarā*, *mōgarā*, Sindhī *mūṅirō*, Guj., Mar. *mōgar*.

b. Iranian. Skt. *madgu* 'cormorant,' New Pers. *māγ*.

dgh > *g(g)*.

§ 601. The assimilation of *dgh* to *g(g)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *uggaṛ*, *ugghāḍaṛ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, Ur. *uganā*, Sindhī *uḡaṇu*, Guj. *ugavun*, Mar. *ugaviṇēm*.

ḍgh > (g)gh.

§ 602. The assimilation of *ḍgh* to *(g)gh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *udghāṭayati* 'opens,' Prāk. *ugghāḍaṛ*, Pāli *ugghāṭeti*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *udghōṣa* 'proclamation,' Pāli *ugghōsa*.

ddh > (t)ṭh.

§ 603. The assimilation of *ddh* to *(t)ṭh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuddha* 'pure,' Prāk., Pāli *suddha*, Hindī *sudh*, Sindhī *sṭhō*.

ddh > (ḍ)ḍh.

§ 604. The cerebralization of *ddh* is caused in the great majority of instances by the presence of *r*, *ṛ*:

a. Indian. Skt. *śraddhā* 'offering to the dead,' Prāk. *saḍḍhā*, *saddhā*, Pāli *saddhā*. Skt. *vṛddhi* 'growth,' Prāk. *vudḍhi*, Pāli *vudḍhi*, *vuddhi*.

dm > m(m).

§ 605. The assimilation of *dm* to *m(m)* is excessively rare.

b. Iranian. New Pers. *nišēm*, *nišēman* 'resting-place' < **nišḍman*.

dm > nm.

§ 606. The assimilation of *dm* to *nm* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhinadmi* '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*, Ur. *bijulī*, Bang., Hindī, Panj. *bījalī*, Sindhī *vijun*, Guj. *vijulī*, Mar. *bījalī*, *vīj*. Skt. *adya* 'to-day,' Prāk., Pāli *ajja*, Ass. *āji*, Kaśm.

aj, *az*, Ur., Bang. *āj*, Old Hindī *āju*, E. Hindī, Hindī *āj*, Panj. *ajj*, Sindhī *ajū*, Guj., Mar. *āj*, Sinh. *ada*. Skt. *dyuti* 'light,' Prāk. *jui*, Pāli *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,' Prāk., Pāli *vejja*, Sinh. *veda*.

dr > *j(j)*.

§ 609. The assimilation of *dr* to *j(j)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nidrā* 'sleep,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Sindhī *nīnd*, Mar. *nīj*, *nīd*, Gyp. *lindr*.

dr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 610. The assimilation of *dr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kṣudra* 'small,' Prāk. *khudḍa*, Pāli *khudda*, Ur. *khudatū*, Bang. *khudā*, Old Sinh. *cuḍi*, Sinh. *kuḍa*, *kudu*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍarhu*, *ḍaḍhu*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dād*, *dādaḍ*.

dr > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 611. The assimilation of *dr* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Sindhī *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,' Prāk., Pāli *niddā*, Hindī, Panj. *nīnd*, Mar. *nīd*, *nīj*, etc. (see § 609). Skt. *mudrā* 'seal,' Prāk., Pāli *muddā*. Skt. *drakṣa* 'grape,' Kaśm. *dach*, Hindī, Panj. *dākh*, Sindhī *ḍākh*, Gyp. *drakh*.

dr > *l(l)*.

§ 613. The assimilation of *dr* to *l(l)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhadra* 'good,' Prāk. *bhadḍa*, Pāli *bhadra*,

bhadda, Ass. *bhāl*, U_r. *bhala*, Bang. *bhāla*, Hindī, Panj. *bhalā*, Sindhī, Guj. *bhalō*, Mar. *bhalā*. Skt. *chidra* 'hole,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *chidda*, Bihārī *chēd*, 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. *baδra* '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. *dara*, Sindhī *dāru*, *dārī*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *dār*, Sinh. *dēra*, *dora*. Skt. *dvi* 'two,' Prāk. *duve*, Pāli *dvi*, Kaśm. *zah*, U_r., Bang. *dui*, Hindī, Panj. *dō*, Sindhī *ba*, Guj. *bē*, Mar. *dōn*. Skt. *dvīpa*, 'island,' Prāk. *dīva*, Pāli *dīpa*, Sinh. *diva*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Old Pers. *duvarā*, Phl., New Pers. *dur*, Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Šīyn. *divē(r)*, Sarq. *divīr*, Minj. *labra*, Afγ. *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*, Kaśm. *bāh*, U_r. *bāra*, Bang. *bārō*, Bihārī, Hindī *bārah*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bāraham*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Gab., Kāš. *bar*, Samn. *barī*, Wāxī *bār*, Kurd. *bar*, etc. (see § 616). Skt. *dvēṣas* 'enmity,' Av. *ḡbaēšah*, 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. *uvvellaṭi*. [See now Pischel, *Gramm. d. Prāk.-Spr.*, § 107.]

b. Iranian. Av. *dvar* 'door,' Afγ. *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., Pāli *majjha*, Ass. *māj* (pron. *māz*), Kāśm. *mañz*, Uṛ. *mājhi*, Bang. *mājh*, Burh-vānī *maddē*, Bihārī *madhi*, Old Hindī *maddhē*, Hindī *mājhi*, *māñjh*, *māñh*, *māñjhōlā*, Panj. *māñjh*, *majjh*, Sindhī *mañjhu*, Mar. *mājh*, Elu *madu*, Siñh. *māda*, inscriptions *mānda*, Gyp. *maškarē*. Skt. *upadhyāya* 'teacher,' Prāk. *u(v)ajjhāa*, *ojjhāa*, Pāli *upajjhāya*, Bihārī *pādhā*, Hindī *ōjhā*, Sindhī *vājhō*. Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Prāk. *bujjhaṭi*, Pāli *bujjhati*, Kāśm. *bōji* (pron. *bōzi*), Uṛ. *bujhibā*, Bang. *bājhan*, Hindī *bājhanā*, Panj. *bujjhaṇā*, Sindhī *ḷujhaṇu*, Guj. *bujarun*, Mar. *bujh*. Skt. *dhyāna* 'meditation,' Prāk., Pāli *jhāṇa*, Hindī *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,' Burh-vānī *maddē*, Elu *madu*, Siñh. *mā(n)da*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vidhyati* 'pierces,' Pāli *viḷjhati*, Siñh. *vidinavā*.

b. Iranian. Av. *maiḍya* 'middle,' Phl., New Pers. *miyān*,

Wāxī *malung*, Šiγn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, Sangl. *mīda*, Afγ. *mlā*, 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,' Šiγn. *maḍāna*, Sarq. *mēḍ*, 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,' Wāxī *malung*, Afγ. *mlā*, etc. (see § 620).

dhy > z(z).

§ 624. The assimilation of *dhy* to z(z) occurs with the utmost rarity.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Ass. *māz* (written *māj*), Kāśm. *mañz*, etc. (see § 619). Skt. *budhyati* 'understands,' Kāśm. *bōzi* (written *bōji*), etc. (see § 619).

dhy > h(h).

§ 625. The assimilation of *dhy* to h(h) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *madhya* 'middle,' Hindī *māmh*, *māmjh(ōlā)*, *māmjh*, *mājhi*, etc. (see § 619).

dhr > (j)jh.

§ 626. The assimilation of *dhr* to (j)jh is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gḍhra* 'vulture,' Prak. *giddha*, Pāli *gijjha*, *gaddha*, *giddha*, Bang. *gīdh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *giddh*, Panj. *giddh*, Sindhī *gījhu*, Guj. *gīd(h)*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gīd*, *gīdhaḍ*.

dhr > *d(d)*.

§ 627. The assimilation of *dhr* to *d(d)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gṛdhra* 'vulture,' Guj. *gīd*, *gīdh*, Mar. *gīd*, *gīdh*, *gidhaḍ*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhr > *(d)dh*.

§ 628. The assimilation of *dhr* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhruva* 'firm,' Jaina Prāk. *dhruva*. Skt. *gṛdhra* 'vulture,' Prāk. *gidḍha*, Pāli *gaddha*, *gidḍha*, *gijjha*, Bang. *gidh*, Hindī *gīdh*, *gidḍh*, Panj. *gidḍh*, Guj. *gīdh*, *gīd*, Mar. *gīdh*, *gidhaḍ*, *gīd*, etc. (see § 626).

dhv > *(j)jh*.

§ 629. The assimilation of *dhv* to *(j)jh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *jhaya*, *dhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, Sinh. *dada*. Skt. *madhvālu* 'yam,' Pāli *majjhāru*.

dhv > *d(d)*.

§ 630. The assimilation of *dhv* to *d(d)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Sinh. *dada*, etc. (see preceding §).

dhv > *(d)dh*.

§ 631. The assimilation of *dhv* to *(d)dh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *dhvaja* 'flag,' Prāk. *dhaya*, *jhaya*, Hindī, Panj. *dhajā*, Guj. *dhajō*, etc. (see § 629). Skt. *adhvan* 'road,' Prāk., 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., Prāk. *-anta*, Apab. Prāk. *-antu*, Śaur. Prāk. *-andō*, Ass. *-ōmtē*, Nāip. *-ādā*, Kāsm. *-ān*, Ur. *-ant*, Bang. *-it*, E. Hindī *-at*, Old Hindī *-ant*,

Hindī -*atā*, Panj. -*a(n)dā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, Guj. -*atō*, Mar. -*atā*, -*at*, -*īt*.

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 *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Bal. *dantān*, N. Bal. *dathān*, *danthān*, Kurd. *didān*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*. Av. *barzant* 'high,' New Pers. *buland*, Dig. Öss. *barzanththa* (plural), Tag. *barzaththa*.

* *nt* > *d̄(d)*.

§ 634. The assimilation of *nt* to *d̄(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., Śāur. Prāk. -*andō*, Panj. -*andā*, -*adā*, Sindhī -*andō*, Multānī -*andā*, -*endā*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *dantan* 'tooth,' Phl., New Pers. *dandān*, Waxī *dündük*, Šiyn., Sarq. *ḍandān*, Minj. *land*, Tag. Oss. *dandag*, etc. (see § 633). Av. *ḡvant* 'living,' Phl. *zīvandak*, New Pers. *zindah*, Kāš. *janda*, Afy. *žvand*.

nt > *n(n)*.

§ 636. The assimilation of *nt* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. -*ant* term. of pres. part. act., Kaśm. -*ān*, etc. (see § 632).

b. Iranian. Av. *gainti* 'stench,' Phl., New Pers. *gand*, Afy. *ganda(l)*, Kurd. *gannak* 'castor-oil plant.'

ntr > *ṅṭr*.

§ 637. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṅṭr* is confined to the Sindhī (cf. § 569).

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṅṭru*, *maṅḍru*.

ntr > *ṅḍr*.

§ 638. The assimilation of *ntr* to *ṅḍr* also is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *mantra* 'incantation,' Sindhī *maṅḍru*, *maṅṭru*.

ntr > *r(r)*.

§ 639. The assimilation of *ntr* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *təθra* '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. *təθra* 'dark,' Dig. Oss. *thalinga*, Tag. *thaling*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 641. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṭ(t)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṅṭhi*, Sindhī *gaṁḍhi*, *ghuṁḍi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, Sinh. *gāṭayā*.

nth > *ṁṭh*.

§ 642. The cerebralization of *nth* is of very unusual occurrence.

a. Indian. Skt. *granthi* 'knot,' Prāk., Pāli *gaṅṭhi*, Mar. *gaṁṭh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Pāli *gantha*, Uṛ. *gaṅṭha*, Bang. *gāṁṭ*, *gāṁṭh*, Hindī *gāṁṭh*, Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṅḍh*, Sindhī *gaṁḍh*, Guj., Mar. *gāṁṭh*, Sinh. *gata*.

nth > *ṁḍh*.

§ 643. The assimilation of *nth* to *ṁḍh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Panj. *gaṁḍh*, *gaṅḍh*, Sindhī *gaṁḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

nth > *t(t)*.

§ 644. The assimilation of *nth* to *t(t)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grantha* 'book,' Siñh. *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,' Prāk. *pañtha*, Pāli *pantha*, Kāśm. *pāimth*, *pāmth*, *pānth*, Siñh. *pandhu*.

ndr > *ṇḍr*.

§ 648. The cerebralization of *ndr* to *ṇḍr* is confined to the Sindhī.

a. Indian. Skt. *candra* 'moon,' Prāk. *canda*, *cañda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṇḍ*, also Kāśm. *čandar*, E. Hindi *cān*, Hindī, Panj. *caṇḍ*, Sindhī *caṇḍu*, *caṇḍru*, Siñh. *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,' Prāk. *canda*, *cañda*, Pāli *canda*, New Ind. dialects *cāṇḍ*, also Hindī, Panj. *caṇḍ*, Siñh. *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. Hindī *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. *baṣtanō*, New Pers. *bandam*, Māz. *van(n)am*, Gil. *davaddam*, Waxī *vandam*, Šiyn., 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,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṃd*, *kāṃdh*, Ur., Bang. *kāṃdh*, Bihārī *kāṃdhā*, *khāṃdā*, Hindī *kāṃdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṃdō*, Mar. *khāṃdā*, Sinh. *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,' Prāk., Pāli *sandhi*, Ass. *sindhi*, Kaśm. *san*, Ur., Bang. *siṃdh*, E. Hindī *sēnhi*, *sēṃdh*, Hindī *sēṃdh*, Panj. *sannh*, Sindhī *sēṃdhi*, Multānī

sandh. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Panj. *kannh*, *kandhā*, etc. (see § 654). Skt., Pāli *andhakāra* 'darkness,' Hindī *aṁdhērā*, *aṁdhīyārā*, Panj. *amhērā*.

ndhy > *ṁj(j)*.

§ 657. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁj(j)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saṅjhā*, Ur. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *sāṁjhī*, *saṁjhā*, Guj. *sāṁj*, Mar. *sāṁj*, *sāṁjh*.

ndhy > *ṁ(j)jh*.

§ 658. The assimilation of *ndhy* to *ṁ(j)jh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sandhyā* 'twilight,' Prāk. *saṁjhā*, Pāli *saṅjhā*, Ur. *sāṁjh*, Bang. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, Bihārī, Hindī *sāṁjh*, Panj. *saṁjh*, Sindhī *saṁjhā*, *sāṁjhī*, Mar. *sāṁjh*, *sāṁj*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *bandhya* 'barren,' Pāli *vaṅjha*, Ass. *bāṁji*, Ur. *bāṁjha*, Bang. *bāṁjhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāṁjh*, Panj. *baṅjh*, Guj., Mar. *vāṁjh*.

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. *umārga* 'underground watercourse,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *ummagga*.

b. Iranian. Av. *saēna mərəya* 'eagle-bird,' Phl. *sēnmurv*, New Pers. *sīmurγ*.

ny > *ṅj*.

§ 660. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṅj* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaṅṅakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaṅjā*, *kaṅṅakā*, Pāli *kaṅṅā*, Panj. *kaniā*, Sindhī *kaṅā*.

ny > *ṅ(ṅ)*.

§ 661. The assimilation of *ny* to *ṅ(ṅ)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kanyā* 'girl,' Māg. Prāk. *kaññakā*, Pāis. Prāk. *kaññakā*, *kañjā*, Pāli *kaññā*, Sindhī *kaññā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *añña*, *anna*, Pāli *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, Sinh. *añk(ak)*, *añkek*.

ny > *n(n)*.

§ 662. The assimilation of *ny* to *n(n)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *suñña*, *sunna*, Pāli *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāsm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Sindhī *suñā*, Guj. *śun*, *suñn*, 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,' Jāina Prāk. *mannāmi* (cf. Skt. *manyē*, Prāk. *mannē*, Pāli *maññē*). Skt. *śūnya* 'empty,' Māhār. Prāk. *sunna*, *suñña*, Ass. *sunā*, Kāsm. *chōnōī*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sūn(ā)*, Panj. *sunn(ā)*, Guj. *śun*, *suñn*, Mar. *sunā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *anya* 'other,' Prāk. *anna*, *añña*, Old Hindī *ani*, etc. (see § 661).

b. Iranian. Av. *nyāka* 'grandfather,' Old Pers. *apanyāka*, Phl. *nyāk*, New Pers. *niyā*, Afy. *nika*, Bal. *nākū*, N. Bal. *nāxō*. 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. *anvēṣaṇa* 'inquiry,' Māhār. Prāk. *annēsaṇa*.

pt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 665. The assimilation of *pt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *saptaṣaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Prāk. *sattasatthī*, Kāsm. *satahāṭhī*, Ur. *satsaṭhī*, Bang. *sātsatthī*, Bihārī *sarasatthī*, *sarasatthī*, *satasatthī*, Hindī *sarsatthī*, *satsatthī*, Panj. *satāhaṭ*, Sindhī *sathatthī*, Guj. *sadsēthī*, Mar. *satsaṣṭ*.

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,' Prāk., Pāli *satta*, Kāśm. *sath*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *sāt*, Panj. *satt*, Sindhī *sat*, Guj., Mar. *sāt*, Sinh. *sata*, *hata*. Skt. *supta* 'asleep,' Prāk., Pāli *sutta*, Sindhī *sutō*.

b. Iranian. Av. $\sqrt{x^r}ap$ 'to sleep,' Phl. *x^vaftanō*, New Pers. *xuftan*, Gab. *xuftmūn*, Zaf. *vōft*, Kāš. *xüt*, Vön. *xuft*, Kuhr. *xut*, Nāy. *havōftand*, Māz. *xāt*, Waxī *rūxpam*, Šiyn. *šovsam*, Sarq. *xufsam*, Bal. *vapsag*, N. Bal. *vafsag*, 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*, Afγ. *ūda*. Skt. *tapta* 'warm,' New Pers. *taft*, Afγ. *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*, Waxī *hūb*, (*h*)*ub*, Šiyn. *vuvd*, Sarq. *ūd*, Sangl. *hoft*, Minj. *uδ*, Yidg. *avduh*, Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *ōva*, *ava*, Oss. *avd*, Dig. also *aft*.

pt > *ph**t*, *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*, *fth*.

§ 670. The double spirantization of *pt* to *phth*, *fth*, 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,' Waxī *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. *saptaśaṣṭi* 'sixty-seven,' Bihārī *sarasathī*, *sarasath*, *satasathī*, Hindī *sarsath*, *satsath*, etc. (see § 665).

$pt > v(v)$.

§ 673. The assimilation of pt to $v(v)$ is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *hapta* 'seven,' Yaγn. *av*, Afγ. *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. *vvd*, Sarq. *ūvd*, 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. *svapna* 'sleep,' Pāli *soppa*, *supina*. Skt. *prāpnōti* 'obtains,' Prāk. *pāiṇai*, *pāvai*, Pāli *pappōti*, *pāpuṇāti*, Uṛ. *pā*, Bang. *pāō*, Old Hindī *pāū*, Hindī *pā(v)*, Panj. *pāū*, Sindhī *pā*, Guj. *pām*, Mar. *pāv*, Siñh. *pāminēnavā*.

$pn > f(f)$.

§ 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,' Siñh. *pāminēnavā*, etc. (see § 675).

ɲny > *m(m)*.

- § 678. The assimilation of *ɲny* to *m(m)* is exceedingly rare.
b. Iranian. Av. *xšafnyā* 'supper,' Phl., New Pers. *šām*.

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. *kuppaī*, Pāli *kuppati*, 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. *paḷi*, Pāli *paṭi*, *paṭi*, New Ind. dialects *paḷ(i)*. Skt. *apriya* 'offensive,' Prāk. *appia*, Pāli *appiya*. Skt. *prasthāpana* 'sending,' Ur. *paṭhārbā*, Bang. *pāṭhān*, Hindī *paṭhānā*, Sindhī *paṭhanu*, Guj. *pāṭhavunī*, Mar. *pāṭavīṇī*.

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*, Pāmir dialects *ra*, Kurd. *hal*, *hil*. Phl. *frōxtanō* 'to sell,' New Pers. *furōxtan*, Zaf. *baxrōš* 'sell!' Vön. *baruš*, Kuhr. *baxrūš*, Samn. *narūšum*, Māz. *rūš*, *rūt*, N. Bal. *šavaškay*, *šōškay*. Av. *fraš* 'forward,' Phl. *frāc*, Pāz. *frāz*, *fraž*, New Pers. *farāz*, Oss. *razai*.

pr > *hl*.

§ 682. The assimilation of *pr* to *hl* is very rare (cf. § 354).

- b. Iranian. Av. *jafra* 'deep,' Phl. *zufar*, *zafar*, New Pers. *žarf*, Judaeo-Pers. *zōrf*, Afγ. *žavar*, Bal. *juhl*, Kurd. *žōr*, Zaza *jōr*.

$pś > ś(ś)$.

§ 683. The assimilation of $pś$ to $ś(ś)$ 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,' Prāk., Pāli *accharā*, Old Hindī *accharī*, *apchar*, Sindhī *apcharā*. Skt. *jugupsati* 'despises,' Prāk. *du(g)ucchaī*, *du(g)umchaī*, Pāli *jigucchati*.

$ps > bz$.

§ 685. The softening of ps to bz is very rare.

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Old High Germ. *wafsa*, Bal. *grabz*, *gramz*.

$ps > mz$.

§ 686. The assimilation of ps to mz is extremely rare (cf. § 291).

b. Iranian. Lit. *vapsà* 'wasp,' Bal. *gramz*, *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^vafsata* 'sleep ye!' Phl. *x^vafsītanō*, New Pers. *xuspīdan*, 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. *x^rafsata* '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,' Prāk., Pāli *khujja*, Kāśm. *kobb*, U_r. *kūjā*, Bang. *ku(m)jā*, *kubja*, Hindī *kubjā*, *kubbā*, *kubrā* (rare), Panj. *kubbā*, *kābā*, Sindhī *kubō*, Guj. *kubarō*, Mar. *khub*, *kubaḍā*.

bj > bḍ.

- § 692. The assimilation of *bj* to *bḍ* is very rare (cf. § 182).
 a. Indian. Skt. *kubja* 'hump-backed,' Hindī *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,' Kāśm. *kobb*, Hindī *kubbā*, *kubjā*, *kubrā*, Panj. *kubbā*, *kābā*, Sindhī *kubō*, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *sadda*, Old Hindī *sād*.

bdh > (d)dh.

- § 695. The assimilation of *bdh* to *(d)dh* is very rare.
 a. Indian. Skt. *labdha* 'received,' Prāk., Pāli *laddha*, Sindhī *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. *bambhaṇa*, inscriptions of Kapur di Giri *bamana*, Jaina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bānhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, Siñh. *banba*.

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. *abhyantara* 'internal,' Prāk., Pāli *abbhantara*, U_r., Bang. *bhitari*, Bihārī, Hindī *bhūtar*, Guj. *bhitar*, Mar. *bhitari*. Skt. *labhyatē* 'is taken,' Prāk. *labbhaṭ*, Pāli *labbhati*, Old Hindī *labbh*, Sindhī *labh*.

bhr > b(b).

§ 698. The assimilation of *bhr* to b(b) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, U_r. *bhamāra*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāwīr*; Sindhī *bhāwīru*, Mar. *bhōīr*, Siñh. *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*, Pāli *bhātā*, New Ind. dialects *bhāī*, also Panj. *bhrāū*, Sindhī *bhāū*, Mar. *bhāū*, Gyp. *phral*. Skt. *bhramara* 'bee,' Prāk., Pāli *bhamara*, U_r. *bhamāra*, Bang. *bhāmar*, Hindī, Panj. *bhamvar*, *bhāwīr*, Sindhī *bhāwīru*, Mar. *bhōīr*, 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*, Gīl. *brār*, Waxī *vrūt*, Šīyn. *virād*, Sarq. *vrōd*, Sangl. *vurđ*, Yidg. *vrai*, Yaγn. *virāt*, Afγ. *vrōr*,

Bal. *brāt*, N. Bal. *brās*, *brāḡ*, Kurd. *barā*, Dig. Oss. *arvāda*, Tag. *arvād*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Phl., New Pers. *abr*; Gab., Kāš. *avr*, Judæo-Pers. *abr*, Afy. *varyaǰ*, Bal. *havr*; Kurd. (*h*)*avr*, *hāūr*, 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. *caṃpayu*, Pāli *campaka*, Sinh. *sapu*.

mp > mb.

§ 703. The softening of *mp* to *mb* is quite a frequent phenomenon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk. *kampaṛi*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaṃp*, Kašm. *kaṃ(p)*, Uṛ. *kamp*, Bang. *kāṃp*, Hindī *kāṃp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kamb*, Guj., Mar. *kāṃp*.

b. Iranian. Av. *haṃpāfrāiti* (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*, *kaṃli*, E. Hindī *kaṃmar*, Hindī *kammaḷ*, *kaṃbal*, Panj. *kammaḷ*, *kaṃbal*, Sindhī *kaṃari*, Guj. *kābaḷō*, *kāmaḷ*, *kamaḷi*, 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. *jāmbuka* 'rose-apple,' Ass. *jāmu*, Bang. *jām*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *jāmun*, Sindhī *jāmān*, Guj. *jāmbu*, Mar. *jāmb*. Skt. *kambala* 'blanket,' U_r. *kamala*, E. Hindī *kammar*, Hindī *kammal*, *kambal*, Panj. *kammal*, *kambal*, Sindhī *kamari*, Guj. *kāmal*, *kamālī*, *kābalō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *nimba* 'sort of tree,' Prāk. *limba*, Pāli *nimba*, Bihārī *nīm*, Hindī *līm*, *nīm*, Sindhī *limu*, Guj. *limbaḷō*, Mar. *limb*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *šikumb* 'stomach,' New Pers. *šikum*, Kurd. *zik*. New Pers. *hambāz* 'comrade,' Kurd. *hamēs*, *xamīz*.

mbh > *m(m)*.

§ 706. The assimilation of *mbh* to *m(m)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' Prāk. *kumbhāra*, *kumbhāra*, Pāli *kumbhakāra*, Ass. *kumār*, Nāip. *kumāmlyē*, U_r. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, Bang. *kunār*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, Sindhī *kumbhāru*, Guj., Mar. *kumbhār*.

mbh > *mh*.

§ 707. The assimilation of *mbh* to *mh* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' U_r. *kumhāra*, *kuhmāra*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *kumhār*, etc. (see preceding §).

mbh > *hm*.

§ 708. The assimilation of *mbh* to *hm* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kumbhakāra* 'potter,' U_r. *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,' Prāk. *tamba*, *tambira*, Pāli *tamba*, Ass. *tām*, Kaśm. *trām*, U_r. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Bang. *tāmā*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, Guj. *tāmbuṃ*, Mar. *tāmbēṃ*, Sinh. *tāmbara*. Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' Prāk., Pāli

amba, U_r., Bang., Hindī *ām*, *aṁb*, Panj. *amab*, Sindhī *ambu*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, Guj. *āmbō*, Mar. *āmbā*, Sirh. *aṁba*.

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. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *tāmā*, *tāmbā*, Sindhī *ṭāmō*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *āmra* 'mango,' U_r., Bang. *ām*, *aṁb*, Larī *āmō*, *āmū*, 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*.

ṁh > *ṁgh*.

§ 712. The assimilation of *ṁh* to *ṁgh* is found occasionally in the Middle and New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṁha* 'lion,' Prāk. *sīha*, Māhār. Prāk. *siṁgha*, *sīha*, Pāli *sīha*, Gāthā *sīṁha*, Kaśm. *suh*, Bihārī, E. Hindī *sṁgh*, *siṁgh*, *sīṁh*, Panj. *siṁgh*, other New Ind. dialects *siṁh* (pron. and often written *siṁgh*).

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,' Prāk., Pāli *akka*. Skt. *karkara* 'gravel,' Ass., Nāip. *kāṁkar*, Bang. *kāṁkar*. Skt. *karkaṭa* 'crab,' Pāli *kakkataka*, U_r., Bang. *kāṁkarā*, E. Hindī *kēkarā*, *kēkarā*, Hindī *kāṁkarā*, Sindhī *kāṁkarō*. Skt. *karkaṭikā* 'cucumber,' U_r., Bang. *kā(ṁ)kuḷī*, Hindī, Panj. *ka(k)kaḷī*, Sindhī *kakiḍī*, Guj., Mar. *kākaḍī*. Skt. *śarkara* 'sugar,' Pāli *sakkara*, *sakkhara*, New Ind. dialects *sakkar*, except Mar. *sākhar*.

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. *sākhar*, 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 *kutō*, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *vagga*. Skt. *mārga-yati* 'seeks,' Prāk. *maggañ*, Pāli *maggati*, *maggēti*, Ass. *māg*, Kāśm. *maṅg*, U_r. *māg*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *māṅg*, Panj. *maṅg*, 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,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Delhi) *nighamta*.

$rgḥ > g(g)$.

§ 719. The assimilation of $rgḥ$ to $g(g)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārgha* 'costly,' Pāli *mahaggha*, Ass. *mahaṅgā*, *magar*, E. Hindī, Hindī *mahaṅgā*, Panj. *mahiṅgā*, Sindhī *mahaṅgō*, Guj. *mōṅghuñ*, Mar. *mahāg*, Māladive *agu*.

$rg̃h > (g)gh$.

§ 720. The assimilation of $rg̃h$ to $(g)gh$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *nirghṛṇa* 'pitiless,' Prāk. *nigghṛṇa*. Skt. *argha* 'sacrifice,' Pāli *aggha*. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *diggha*, *ḍīha*, Pāli *ḍigha*, Sindhī *ḍrighō*.

$rg̃h > h(l)$.

§ 721. The assimilation of $rg̃h$ to $h(l)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 152).

a. Indian. Skt. *dīrgha* 'long,' Prāk. *ḍīha*, *diggha*, 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,' Prāk. *gajjīda*, Pāli *gajjita*. Skt. *garjana* 'thunder,' Pāli *gajjana*, Hindī *gājanā*, Panj. *gajjanā*, Sindhī *gaḷanu*, Guj. *gājavuñ*, Mar. *gājanēñ*.

$rj > rz$.

§ 723. The change of rj to rz is very rare (cf. § 185).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Phl. *arj*, Pāz. *arzān*, New Pers. *arz*, Kāš. *ažū*, *ajiyā*, *ajiyō*, Afγ. *yarz*.

$rj > ž(ž)$.

§ 724. The assimilation of rj to $ž(ž)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 186).

b. Iranian. Av. *arəjah* 'value,' Kāš. *ažū*, *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,' Prāk., Pāli *nijjhara*.

$rṇ > ṇ(n)$.

§ 726. The assimilation of $rṇ$ to $ṇ(n)$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Prāk. *suvaṇṇa*, Pāli *soṇṇa*, *svaṇṇa*, Kāśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Bang. *sōṇā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(n)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, Gyp. *somnakāy*.

$rṇ > n(n)$.

§ 727. The assimilation of $rṇ$ to $n(n)$ is very frequent in the New Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *kaṛṇa* 'ear,' Pāli *kaṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Bihārī, Hindī *kān*, Panj. *kann*, Sindhī *kanu*, Guj., Mar. *kan*, Gyp. *kan*. Skt. *tāmrapaṛṇa* 'copper-leaf, Ceylon,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Girnar, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri) *tāmbapa(n)ni*, Pāli *tamba-panṇī* (Gr. Ταμβοβάνη). Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold,' Kāśm. *son*, Uṛ. *sunā*, *sōnā*, Hindī, Panj. *sōnā*, Sindhī *sō(n)nu*, Guj. *sōnu*, Mar. *sāunam*, *sōnēm*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ūrṇa* 'wool,' Pāli *uṇṇa*, Hindī *ūn*, Panj. *unn*, Sindhī, 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., Pāli *cuṇṇa*, Kāśm. *čān*, Uṛ. *curā*, Bang. *cūr*, Hindī *cūrā*, Panj. *cūr*, Sindhī *cūrō*, Guj. *curō*, Mar. *cūr*, but also with the signification 'lime,' Uṛ., Bang. *cunā*, Hindī, Panj. *cūnā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cūnō*, *cūṇō*, Mar. *cunā*, *cūṇā*. Skt. *pūrṇa* 'full,' Pāli *puṇṇa*, Uṛ., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *pūrā*, Sindhī *pūrō*, Guj. *purō*, Mar. *purā*.

$rt > rth$.

§ 729. The aspirization of rt to rth is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarəta* 'cold,' Phl. *sarṭ*, New Pers. *sard*, Waxī *sūr(ī)*, Afy. *sōr*, Bal. *sard*, N. Bal. *sarth*, Kurd. *sār*, Tag. Oss. *sald*.

$rt > t(t)$.

§ 730. The assimilation of rt to $t(t)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *nartakī* 'dancing-girl,' Prāk. *nattāī*, Pāli

naṭṭakī, New Ind. dialects *naṭī*. Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Pāli *vattakā*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *vaṭēr*, Sindhī *baṭērō*, Sinh. *vaṭuvā*.

rt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 731. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 226).

a. Indian. Skt. *garta* 'ditch,' Prāk. *gaḍḍa*, U_r. *gaḍibā*, Bang. *gaḍ*, Hindī *gaḍ*, *gāḍā*, Panj. *gaḍḍanā*, Sindhī *gāraṇu*, Guj. *gāraṇūn*, Mar. *gāraṇēm*.

rt > *t(t)*.

§ 732. The assimilation of *rt* to *t(t)* is very common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *muhūrta* 'instant,' Prāk., Pāli *muhutta*. Skt. *āvarta* 'whirlpool,' Pāli *āvatta*, *āvatta*. Skt. *vartikā* 'wick,' Prāk. *vattiā*, Pāli *vattikā*, U_r. *bati*, Bang. *bātī*, Hindī, Panj. *battī*, Sindhī *vaṭi*, Guj. *bati*, Mar. *batti*. Skt. *kartarī* 'scissors,' Prāk. *kattarī*, U_r. *katurā*, Bang. *kataran*, Hindī, Panj. *kataranī*, Sindhī *katari*, Mar. *kātar*.

rt > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 733. The assimilation of *rt* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is extremely rare (cf. § 228).

b. Iranian. Av. *karsta* 'knife,' Phl. *kārt*, New Pers. *kārd*, Šiyn. *cēd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*.

rt > *rd*.

§ 734. The softening of *rt* to *rd* is not infrequent in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *karsta* 'knife,' New Pers. *kārd*, Kurd. *kīrd*, *kīr*, Oss. *khard*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vartakā* 'quail,' Phl. *vartak*, New Pers. *vardīj*, Waxī *volc*, Afy. *nvaraz*, Bal. *vardāg*, Kurd. *vardī*.

rt > *r(r)*.

§ 735. The assimilation of *rt* to *r(r)* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *sarsta* 'cold,' Waxī *sūr(ī)*, Kurd. *sār*, etc.

(see § 729). Av. *karəta* 'knife,' Kurd. *kīr*, *kīrd*, 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. *pul*, Gil. *purd*, Kurd. *pēl*, *par*, *pīrd*, *purd*.

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(t).

§ 739. The assimilation of *rth* to *t(t)* 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*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuṭhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāumṭhā*.

rth > (t)ṭh.

§ 740. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)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*, Śāur. Prāk. *caduṭṭha*, Uṛ. *cāuṭhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rth > (t)th.

§ 741. The assimilation of *rth* to *(t)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*,

Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāwñthā*, 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*, *čar*, U_r, Bang. *chār*, Old Hindī *chanḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *chāñr*, Panj. *chaḍḍ*, Sindhī *chaḍ*, Mar. *sāñr*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gaḍḍaha*, *gaddaha*, Pāli *gadrabha*, but *gaddabhaṇḍa*, Ass. *gādh*, Nāip. *gadāha*, U_r. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *gadhā*, Panj. *gadhā*, *gaddā*, Sindhī *gaḍāhu*, Guj. *gadhērō*, Mar. *gāḍhav*, Gyp. *khel*, *kher*, (*k*)*fer*.

rd > (*ḍ*)*dh*.

§ 744. The assimilation of *rd* to (*ḍ*)*dh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Mar. *gāḍhav*, etc. (see preceding §).

rd > *d(ḍ)*.

§ 745. The assimilation of *rd* to *d(ḍ)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen,' Prāk. *caṭṭdaha*, Pāli *catuddasa*, *cōddasa*, *cuddasa*, Kaśm. *čōdāh*, U_r. *cāuda*, Bang. *cāudda*, Bihārī, Hindī *cāudah*, Panj. *cāudām*, Sindhī *cōḍahan*, Guj. *caūd*, Mar. *cāudā*. Skt. *gardabha* 'donkey,' Prāk. *gadḍaha*, *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*, U_r. *gadhā*, Bang. *gādhā*, E. Hindī, Hindī *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. Hindī, Hindī *kāurī*, *kāurī*, 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. *bailla*.

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*, Kaśm. *baḍ*, U_r. *barḥ*, Bang. *baḍ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Panj., Sindhī, Guj. *vaḍh*, Mar. *bāḍh*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*, *saddha*, Kaśm. *sādū*, U_r. *sārḥē*, Bang. *sārē*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sārḥē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sāḍhā*, Guj. *sādā*, Mar. *sādē*, 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*, U_r. *barḥ*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bāḍh*, W. Hindī *barḥ*, Mar. *bāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vardhaki* 'carpenter,' U_r., Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *barḥai*, Panj. *baḍḍhī*, Sindhī, Guj. *vāḍhō*, Mar. *varḥai*. Skt. *sārdha* 'plus one-half,' Prāk. *saddha*,

saddha, Ur., E. Hindī, Hindī *sārhē*, Panj. *sāḍhē*, Sindhī *sādhā*, etc. (see preceding §).

rdh > (d)dh.

§ 751. The assimilation of *rdh* to (d)dh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vardhatē* 'grows,' Panj., Sindhī, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *uddha*, *ubbha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhuṃ*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rdhv > (b)bh.

§ 753. The assimilation of *rdhv* to (b)bh is frequent in the Indian dialects (*rdhv* > *ddhv* > *ddhb* > *dhb* > *bbh*).

a. Indian. Skt. *ūrdhva* 'high,' Prāk., Pāli *ubbha*, *uddha*, Sindhī *ubhō*, Guj. *ubhuṃ*, Mar. *ubhā*.

rn > ṛ(n).

§ 754. The assimilation of *rn* to ṛ(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. *pāna*, 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,' Šiṛn. *vūn*, *vōn*, Sarq. *vōn*. Av. *parəna* 'full,' Phl., New Pers. *pur*, Yaṛn. *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. *darrak*, Waxī *δōr*, Sarq. *dar*. Av. *parənu* 'leaf,' Phl., New Pers. *par(r)*, Gab., Waxī, Kurd. *par*, etc. (see § 754). Av. *xʷarənah* 'glory,' Old Pers. *viḍa]farnah*, Phl. *farn[baq*, 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 *pał*, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *saṃpa*, Ur., Bang. *sāp*, Hindī *sāṃp*, Panj. *sapp*, Sindhī *saṃu*, Guj., Mar. *sāp*, Siñh. *sapu*, *sap(ā)*, *hapu*, Gyp. *sap*. Skt. *karpūra* 'camphor,' Prāk., 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,' Prāk., Pāli *dubbala*, Bang. *dublā*, Bihārī *dubarā*, *dūbar*, Hindī *dublā*, Panj. *dubbal*, Sindhī *ḍubīrō*, *ḍabalō*, Guj., Mar. *dubal*.

$rbh > (b)bh$.

§ 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,' Prāk., Pāli *gabbha*, Hindī *garabh*, *gābh*, Panj. *gabbh*, *gābh*, *garabh*, Sindhī *gābhu*, *garabhu*, Guj., Mar. *gabh*, 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*, Sinh. *sama*, *hama*. Skt. *karman* 'deed,' Prāk., Pāli *kamma*, New Ind. dialects *kām*, excepting Panj. *kamm*, Sindhī *kamu*, Sinh. *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. *carmīn*, New Pers. *carm*, Afy. *čarman*, Tag. Oss. *čar*, *čarm*. Av. *garəma* 'warm,' Old Pers. *garma-*, New Pers., Šīyn. *garm*, Sarq. *gürm*, *žürm*, Afy. *γarma*, Bal. *garm*, Dig. Oss. *γar*, *γarm*, 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*, Śāur. 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*, Ur. *turī*, Bang. *turum*, Hindī *tūrī*, *tūrahī*, Panj. *tūram*, Sindhī, Guj. *turī*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *sujja*, *sūria*, Pāli *suriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju*, Guj. *sūr*, *suraj*, Sinh. *(h)iru*.

b. Iranian. Av. *cīrya* 'brave,' Phl., New Pers. *cīr*. 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,' Sindhī *kārju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj., Guj. *kāraj*, *kāj*), etc. (see § 763). Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Sindhī *sūrju*, *sūriju* (cf. also Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Guj. *suraj*, *sūr*), etc. (see preceding §).

ry > *l(l)*.

§ 766. The assimilation of *ry* to *l(l)* occurs quite frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 354).

a. Indian. Skt. *paryavāka* 'bed,' Prāk. *pallaṅka*, Ardhamāg. Prāk. *paliṅka*, Pāli *pallaṅka*, New Ind. *palanṅg*, Anglo-Ind. *palanquin*. Skt. *paryāṇa* 'saddle,' Prāk. *pallāṇa*, Uṛ. *palāṇa*, Bang. *pālāṇ*, Hindī *pālān*, Panj. *palāṇ*, Sindhī *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., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *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., Hindī *cāb*, Panj. *cabb*, Sindhī *caḅ*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Pāli *pabbata*, Sinh. *pava*. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Prāk. *sarva*, Pāli *sabba*, Ass. *sab*, Uṛ. *sabu*, Bang. *sab*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sab*, *sabh*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *sabhu*, Gyp. *savorō*.

rv > *(b)bh*.

§ 769. The assimilation of *rv* to *(b)bh* is extremely rare (cf. § 373).

a. Indian. Skt. *sarva* 'all,' Hindī, E. Hindī *sabh*, *sab*, Panj. *sabh*, *sarab*, Sindhī *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., Hindī, Panj. *parab*, Sindhī *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. *sarva*, etc. (see § 768). Skt. *parvata* 'mountain,' Sinh. *pava*, etc. (see § 768).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *yārvar* 'friend' besides *yāvar*.

$rś > ṁs$.

§ 773. The change of $rś$ to $ṁs$ is very rare in Indian.

a. Indian. Skt. *darśana* 'sight,' Prāk. *daṁsana*, Ass. *dar-sana* (pron. *darhana*), Sindhī *darsaṇu*.

$rś > s(s)$.

§ 774. The assimilation of $rś$ to $s(s)$ is quite common in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *sparśana* 'touch,' Prāk. *phāsa*, Pāli *phassa*, Hindī, Panj. *phamsanā*, Sindhī *phasañu*, Guj. *phasavun*, Mar. *phasañṁ*.

$rśv > s(s)$.

§ 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*, Sindhī, Guj. *pāsē*, Mar. *pālas*, *pāsini*, 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 §).

$r\dot{s} > (d)\dot{d}h$.

§ 777. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $(d)\dot{d}h$ is very rare (cf. § 351).

a. Indian. Skt. *karṣaṇa* 'dragging,' Ur. *kārhibā*, Bang. *kārhan*, Hindī *kārhnā*, Panj. *karṛhanā*, Sindhī *karḥaṇu*, Guj. *kahāravum*, Mar. *kārḥaṇēm*.

$r\dot{s} > r(r)$.

§ 778. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mārgasīrṣa* 'November-December,' Apab. Prāk. *maggasīru*, Ur. *māg(h)uśīra*, *magusara*, Panj. *maghar*, Sindhī *manḡhīru*.

$r\dot{s} > rz$.

§ 779. The change of $r\dot{s}$ to rz is found occasionally in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *barōša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Afγ. *vraž*, Bal. *bušk*, Dig. Oss. *barza*, Tag. *barz*.

$r\dot{s} > \acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 780. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is very rare (cf. § 407).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sissa*, *sīsa*, Pāli *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sisī*, Guj. *śīs*, Mar. *śī(ṇi)s*, Sinh. *sis*, *his*, *isa*, *iha*.

$r\dot{s}$, $r\acute{s} > \dot{s}(\dot{s})$, $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$.

§ 781. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$, $r\acute{s}$ to $\dot{s}(\dot{s})$, $\acute{s}(\acute{s})$ is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *varṣa* 'year,' Prāk. (inscriptions of Kapur di Giri) *vaṣa*, *varṣa*, lit. Prāk. *vāsa*, Pāli *vassa*, Gyp. *berš*, *breš*.

b. Iranian. Av. *barōša* 'mane,' Phl., New Pers. *buš*, Bal. *bušk*, etc. (see § 779). Av. *karšayən* 'they may drag,' Phl. *kašītanō*, New Pers. *kašīdan*, Afγ. *kšal*, Bal. *kašag*, N. Bal. *khašay*, Kurd. *kišān*.

$r\dot{s} > s(s)$.

§ 782. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}$ to $s(s)$ occurs frequently in the Indian dialects (cf. § 408).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Prāk. *sisṣa*, *sīsa*, li *sīsa*, Hindī, Panj. *sīs*, Sindhī *sīsī*, Mar. *śī(n)s*, Siñh. *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*, Hindī *kahān*. Skt. *śīrṣa* 'head,' Siñh. *iha*, *isa*, *sis*, *his*, etc. (see § 780). Skt. *varṣati* 'rains,' Pāli *vassati*, Siñh. *vahinu*, Māladive *vehēnī*.

$rśn > kh, x$.

§ 784. The assimilation of $rśn$ to kh, x , is very rare (cf. § 922).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(i)*, Šiγn. *tāšna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afγ. *tažai*, 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. *taršna* '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. *taršna* 'thirst,' Sarq. *tūr(i)*, etc. (see § 784).

$rśn > rs$.

§ 787. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rs is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' Phl. *gušan*, New Pers. *gušn*, Tag. Oss. *urs*, S. Oss. *vurz*.

$rśn > rz$.

§ 788. The assimilation of $rśn$ to rz is most rare (cf. § 925).

b. Iranian. Av. *varšni* 'virile,' S. Oss. *vurz*, 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).

$r\dot{s}n > \dot{z}(\dot{z})$.

§ 791. The assimilation of $r\dot{s}n$ to $\dot{z}(\dot{z})$ is extremely rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Afy. *tažai*, 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*.

$rz > l(l)$.

§ 794. The assimilation of rz to $l(l)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 354).

b. Iranian. Av. *barəziš* 'pillow,' Phl. *bālišn*, New Pers. *bāliš*, Gab. *bāliš*, Kāš. *bōlēšm*, *bōliš*.

$r\dot{h} > r(r)$.

§ 795. The assimilation of $r\dot{h}$ to $r(r)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gārī*, *gālī*.

$r\dot{h} > l(l)$.

§ 796. The assimilation of $r\dot{h}$ to $l(l)$ is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *garha* 'abuse,' Bihārī *gālī*, *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*, Hindī *lūkā*, Sindhī *luk*. Skt. *valkala* 'bark,' Prāk., Pāli *valkala*, Sindhī *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 *kappatī*, Sinh. *kapanavā*.

$lm > mb$.

§ 800. The assimilation of lm to mb is very rare (cf. §§ 323, 360).

a. Indian. Skt. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' Jāina Prāk. *sambila*, Pāli *simbatī*, U_r. *śimīla*, *śimūla*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *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. *śālmālī* 'silk-cotton tree,' U_r. *śimīla*, *śimūla*, Bang. *śimul*, Hindī *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. *śālmālī* '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,' Prāk., Pāli *kalla*, Ass., U_r., Bang. *kāli*, E. Hindī, Hindī *kāl*, *kālh*, Panj. *kall*, *kallh*, Sindhī *kālh*, Guj., Mar. *kāl*.

ly > *(l)lh*.

§ 804. The assimilation of *ly* to *(l)lh* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kalya* 'dawn,' E. Hindī, Hindī *kālh*, *kāl*, Panj. *kallh*, *kall*, Sindhī *kālh*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *mūlya* 'price,' Prāk. *mulla*, *molla*, Kaśm. *mol*, U_r. *mula*, Bang., Hindī *mōl*, Panj. *mull*, Sindhī *mulhu*, Mar. *mōl*.

lw > *b(b)*.

§ 805. The assimilation of *lw* to *b(b)* is extremely rare (cf. § 372).

a. Indian. Skt. *balvaja* 'reed,' Pāli *pabbaja*.

lw > *l(l)*.

§ 806. The assimilation of *lw* to *l(l)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *bilva* 'wood-apple,' Pāli *billa*, *bella*, New Ind. dialects *bēl*. Skt. *khalvāta* 'bald,' Prāk. *khallīḍa*, Pāli *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. *sīvyati* 'sews,' Pāli *sibbati*. Skt. *vyatīta* 'passed,' U_r. *bitibā*, Hindī *bitnā*, Panj. *bitītanā*, Guj. *vaṭavun*. Skt. *vyamśana* 'division,' Hindī *bāchnā*, Panj. *ban̄chuanā*, Sindhī *virchaṇu*. Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Pāli *vyaggha*, Hindī *bāgh*, Sindhī *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. *vaṭavun*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *vyāghra* 'tiger,' Prāk. *vaggha*, Sindhī *vāghu*, Mar. *vāgh*, Siñh. *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. *uvvasī*. Skt. *vrihi* 'rice,' Prāk., Pāli *vīhi*, Siñh. *vī*.

śc > *c(c)*.

§ 810. The assimilation of *śc* to *c(c)* is not very common.

a. Indian. Skt. *āścarya* 'wonderful,' Prāk. *acchēra*, Pāli *acchēra*, *acchariya*, Hindī, Panj. *acaraj*, Sindhī *acaraj*, *acarat*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Ass. *picē*, *pācē* (pron. *pisē*, *pāsē*), Kaśm. *pat(h)*, Uṛ. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē* (pron. *pāsā*, *pisē*), Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, Guj. *pachē*, *pachī*, *pāchō*, Siñh. *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. *vinēua*, *vicchua*, *vimchua*, Pāli *vicchika*, Nāip. *bicchu*, Kaśm. *bīc*, *būch*, Uṛ., Bang. *bichū*, E. Hindī *biccu*, Hindī *bichūā*, Panj. *vicchū*, Sindhī *vichūm*, Guj. *vichu*, *vimchū*, Mar. *vinēū*, *vimchūm*. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Prāk., Pāli *pacchā*, Uṛ. *pachē*, Bang. *pāchā*, *pichē*, Hindī *pāchē*, *pāchū*, *pīchū*, Panj. *pichē*, *pichōm*, Guj. *pachī*, *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. *pisē*, *pāsē* (written *pichē*, *pāchē*), Bang. *pāsā*, *pisē* (written *pāchā*, *pichē*), Siñh. *pas(u)*, etc. (see § 810).

Syncope of śc.

§ 813. The loss of internal *śc* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *paścāt* 'behind,' Sindhī *pōē*, *puām*, etc. (see § 810). Skt. *trayaścātvarimśat* 'forty-three,' Prāk. *tēalīsa*, Kāśm. *tēyatājih*, Bihārī *tāmtālis*, Hindī *tēālīs*, *tētālīsā*, *tāimtālīs*. Sindhī *īētālīh*.

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*, Bihārī *mōmch*, *mūmch*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Prāk. *masāṇa*, Māg. Prāk. *maśāṇa*, Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, Uṛ. *maśāṇa*, Bang. *maśān*, Hindī *masān*, Panj. *masāṇ*, Sindhī *masāṇu*, Guj. *masāṇ*, Mar. *masaṇ*.

śm > s(s).

§ 815. The assimilation of *śm* to *s(s)* is comparatively rare (cf. § 400).

a. Indian. Skt. *śmaśāna* 'cemetery,' Jāina Prāk. *sīyāṇa*, *susāṇa*, Pāli *susāna*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *raśmi* 'ray,' Prāk. *rassi*, Pāli *rasmi*, *raṃsi*, Ass. *raci* (pron. *raṣi*), Kāśm. *raz*, Uṛ., Bang. *rasī*, E. Hindī, Hindī, Panj. *rassā*, *rassī*, Sindhī *rasī*, Mar. *rassī*.

śr > ṃj.

§ 816. The change of *śr* to *ṃj* is very rare (cf. § 350 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṃsu*, Pāli *assu*, Kāśm. *āuṣ*, *aṣū*, Nāip. *āṃsū*, Uṛ. *ōṃjhū*, *āṃsū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āṃsū*, Panj. *aṃjhu*, Sindhī *haṃj*, Guj. *āṃju*, Mar. *aṃsū*, *āṣū*.

śr > ṃjh.

§ 817. The change of *śr* to *ṃjh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Ur. *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,' Ur. *śuṇibā*, Bang. *śunan*, Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *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*, *maṁsu*, Pāli *massu*, Ass. *mōc*, Bang. *mōch*, Bihārī *mōmich*, *mūmich*, Hindī *mūchēm*, Panj. *mucch*, Sindhī *much*, Guj. *mūch*. Skt. *aśru* 'tear,' Prāk. *aṁsu*, Pāli *assu*, Nāip. *āmsū*, Ur. *āmsū*, *ōmjhū*, Bihārī, Hindī *āmsū*, Mar. *aṁsū*, *āsū*, etc. (see § 816). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*, Sindhī *sasu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sāsū*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *śravaṇa* 'hearing,' Hindī *sunnā*, Panj. *suṇanā*, Sindhī *suṇaṇu*, 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. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *simbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēṁha*, 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*, Hindī, Panj. *īsar*, cf. also Sindhī *paramēsuru*. Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' Pāli *sassu*, Ur. *śāśa*, Bang. *śās*, Hindī *sās*, Panj. *sassū*,

Sindhī *susu*, Guj. *sāmsū*, Mar. *sūsū*. Skt. *śvāsu* 'breath,' Prāk., Pāli *sūsa*, Sindhī *sāhu*.

šk > *k(k)*.

§ 822. The assimilation of *šk* to *k(k)* is not frequent.

a. Indian. Skt. *duṣkṛtu* 'evil,' Prāk. *dukkada*, (inscriptions of Girnar) *dukata*, Pāli *dukkata*, *dukkata*. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukka*, *sukha*, Pāli *sukha*, Ass. *sukāna* (pron. *hukāna*), Kaśm. *hōkh*, Ur., Bang. *śukā*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukku*, Sindhī *sukō*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukā*, *sukhā*. Skt. *niṣkarṣaṇa* 'dragging out,' Pāli *nikkaḍḍha*, Hindī *nikālanā*, *nikāsanā*, Panj. *nik(k)āsaṇā*, *nikkāḷaṇā*, Sindhī *nikāraṇum*, *nikēraṇu*, *nikarāv-ṇum*, Guj. *nikālavum*, *nikāsavum*, Mar. *nikāṭaṇēm*, *nikāl*.

šk > *(k)kh*.

§ 823. The assimilation of *šk* to *(k)kh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *śuṣka* 'dry,' Prāk. *sukha*, *sukka*, Pāli *sukha*, Kaśm. *hōkh*, Hindī *sūkhā*, Panj. *sukkhā*, *sukkā*, Guj. *sūkhō*, Mar. *sukhā*, *sukā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣkara* 'pool,' Prāk., Pāli *poḥkhara*, Ur. *pōkhari*, Bang. *pukur*, Hindī, Mar. *pōkhar*.

ṣṭ > *ṭ(t)*.

§ 824. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ṭ(t)* is quite rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *mṛṣṭa* 'polished,' Pāli *maṭṭa*, *maṭṭha*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kaśm. *śāṭh*, *śēṭh*, Ur. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sāṭha*, Biharī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāṭh*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*, Siinh. *sūṭa*.

ṣṭ > *(t)ṭh*.

§ 825. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(t)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *yaṣṭi* 'staff,' Prāk. *laṭṭhi*, Śāur. Prāk. *jaṭṭhi*, Pāli *laṭṭhi*, Ur., Bang. *lāṭhī*, Hindī *lāṭhī*, *laṭ(ṭ)*, Panj. *laṭṭhī*, Sindhī *lāṭhī*, Guj. *lāṭh*, *lāṭ*, Mar. *laṭṭh*. Skt. *aṣṭau* 'eight,' Prāk.,

Pāli *aṭṭha*, Kāśm. *āṭh*, U_r. *āṭha*, Bang. *āṭa*, Bihārī, Hindī *āth*, Panj. *aṭṭh*, Sindhī *aṭh*, Guj., Mar. *āṭh*. Skt. *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' Prāk. *saṭṭhi*, Kāśm. *śāiṭh*, *śēṭh*, U_r. *sāṭhiē*, Bang. *sācṭha*, Bihārī *sāṭhi*, Hindī *sāth*, Panj. *saṭṭh*, Sindhī *saṭhi*, Guj., Mar. *sāṭh*.

ṣṭ > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 826. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare (cf. § 192).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' Pāli *vēṭhaka*, Ass. *bēr*, Nāip. *bār*, Kāśm. *vād*, *vār*, U_r. *bhērā*, *bērḥā*, Bang. *bērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vaḍēhō*, *vērḥā*, Mar. *vēḍhā*. Skt. *lēṣṭu* 'clod,' Māhār. Prāk. *leṭṭhuya*, Pāli *leḍḍu*.

ṣṭ > *(ḍ)ḍh*.

§ 827. The assimilation of *ṣṭ* to *(ḍ)ḍh* is extremely rare (cf. § 193).

a. Indian. Skt. *vēṣṭaka* 'enclosure,' U_r. *bērḥā*, *bhērā*, Hindī, Panj. *bērḥā*, Multānī *vērḥā*, Sindhī *vērḥā*, *vaḍēhō*, Mar. *vēḍhā*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *ruṣṭa* 'angry,' Bang., Hindī, Panj. *rūḍh*.

ṣṭr > *(t)ṭ*.

§ 828. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(t)ṭ* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṭra* 'camel.' Prāk. *uṭṭa*, Kāśm. *(v)ūmṭh*, Bihārī *ū(m)ṭ*, Sindhī *uṭhu*.

ṣṭr > *(t)ṭh*.

§ 829. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *(t)ṭh* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *mahārāṣṭra* 'great kingdom,' Pāli *mahārāṭṭha*, Sindhī *morāṭhī*, Guj. *marēṭhō*.

ṣṭr > *ḍ(ḍ)*.

§ 830. The assimilation of *ṣṭr* to *ḍ(ḍ)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, Pāli *dāṭhā*, U_r. *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Bang. *dār(ṛ)*, Hindī *dāḍh(ṛ)*, Panj. *dāhaḍ(ṛ)*, Sindhī *ḍāṭh*, *ḍāḍah*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *dāḥār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, Siinh. *dala*.

ṣtr > (d)ḍh.

§ 831. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to (d)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Prāk. *dāḍhā*, U_r., Hindī *dāḍh(ī)*, Guj. *dāḍhī*, *ḍahār*, Mar. *dāḍh*, etc. (see preceding §).

ṣtr > ḷ(ḷ).

§ 832. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to ḷ(ḷ) is excessively rare (cf. § 213).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Siñh. *daḷa*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣtr > h(h).

§ 833. The assimilation of *ṣtr* to h(h) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 206 ?).

a. Indian. Skt. *damṣṭrā* 'tusk,' Panj. *dāhad(ī)*, Guj. *ḍāhār*, *dāḍhī*, etc. (see § 830).

ṣth > t(t).

§ 834. The assimilation of *ṣth* to t(t) is very uncommon.

a. Indian. Skt. *kōṣṭha* 'granary,' Pāli *kotttha*, New Ind. dialects *kott*, *kottth*.

ṣth > (t)th.

§ 835. The assimilation of *ṣth* to (t)th is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Indian dialects.

a. Indian. Skt. *prṣṭha* 'back,' Apab. Prāk. *patṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *putṭhi*, Pāli *piṭṭha*, Ass., U_r. *piṭhi*, Bang. *piṭhi*, *piṭ*, Hindī *pīth*, Panj. *piṭṭh*, *putṭh*, Sindhī *puṭhi*, Guj. *puṭh*, *pīth*, Mar. *pāth*, Gyp. *pūṣto*. Skt. *gōṣṭhī* 'assembly,' Prāk. *gotṭhī*, Pāli *gotṭha*, Sindhī *gōṭhu*, Mar. *gotṭhī*. Skt. *ōṣṭha* 'lip,' Māhār. Prāk. *oṭṭha*, *uṭṭha*, Pāli *oṭṭha*, Kaśm. *vuṭh*, U_r. *ōṭha*, Bihārī *hō(n)ṭh*, Hindī *ōmṭh*, Panj. *hōmṭh*, Guj. *ōṭh*, *hōṭ*, Mar. *ōmṭh*, Gyp. *vuṣt*.

ṣth > ḍ(d).

§ 836. The assimilation of *ṣth* to ḍ(d) is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' U_r. *kuḍha*, Bang. *kuḍi*, Sindhī *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōr*, *kōrh*, *kōhōr*.

ṣth > (d)ḍh.

§ 837. The assimilation of *ṣth* to (d)ḍh is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kuṣṭha* 'leprosy,' Ur. *kuḍha*, Sindhī *kōrhu*, Guj., Mar. *kōrh*, *kōr*, *kōhōr*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṅ(ṅ)$.

§ 838. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṅ(ṅ)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Māhār. Prāk., Pāli *uṇha* (but Pāli *sītunnaka* 'heat and cold' besides *sītunḥaka*), Sindhī *uṇ*, Guj. *unhuṇ*, Mar. *ūnha*, Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*.

$ṣṇ > ṇ(n)$.

§ 839. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇ(n)$ occurs but seldom.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Sinh. (*h*)*uṇu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > ṇh$.

§ 840. The change of $ṣṇ$ to $ṇh$ 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. Prāk. *uṇha*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Prāk., Pāli *kaṇha*, Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Sindhī *kānu*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*.

$ṣṇ > n(n)$.

§ 841. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $n(n)$ occurs frequently (cf. § 218).

a. Indian. Skt. *śīta* 'cold' + *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Pāli *sītunnaka*, *sītunḥaka*, Mar. *ūnha*, etc. (cf. § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Sindhī *kānu*, etc. (see preceding §).

$ṣṇ > nh$.

§ 842. The change of $ṣṇ$ to nh is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣṇa* 'hot,' Guj. *unhuṇ*, etc. (see § 838). Skt. *kṛṣṇa* nom. prop., Hindī, Panj. *kānh*, *kanhāi*, Guj. *kānhō*, Mar. *kanhōbā*, etc. (see § 840).

$ṣṇ > h(h)$.

§ 843. The assimilation of $ṣṇ$ to $h(h)$ is extremely rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *tṛṣṇā* 'thirst,' Prāk. *taṅhā*, Pāli *tiṅhā*, *tasinā*, Panj. *tihā*, Sindhī *tih*, Mar. *tahān*.

$\text{ʃp} > p(p)$.

§ 844. The assimilation of ʃp to $p(p)$ is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Śāur. Prāk., Pāli *bappa*, Ass. *bhāp*, Kaśm. *bāha*, Uṛ., Bang. *bhāp*, E. Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Hindī *bhāp*, *bā(n)ph*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*. Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Kaśm. *pōṣ*, Bihārī *phūp*, *phūph*, Old Hindī *pukup*, Hindī *phūp*, Guj., Mar. *phūl*. Skt. *niṣputra* 'sonless,' Sindhī *nīputrō*.

$\text{ʃp} > (p)ph$.

§ 845. The assimilation of ʃp 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. Hindī *bā(n)ph*, Hindī *bā(n)ph*, *bhāp*, Panj. *bhāph*, Sindhī *bāph*, Guj. *bā(n)ph*, Mar. *vāph*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *puṣpa* 'flower,' Prāk., Pāli *puppha*, Bihārī *phūph*, *phūp*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ʃp} > h(h)$.

§ 846. The assimilation of ʃp to $h(h)$ is very rare (cf. §§ 421, 300).

a. Indian. Skt. *bāṣpa* 'tear, smoke,' Prāk. *bāha* 'tear,' *bappha* 'smoke,' Kaśm. *bāha*, etc. (see § 844).

$\text{ʃm} > (b)bh$.

§ 847. The assimilation of ʃm to $(b)bh$ is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

a. Indian. Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Old Hindī *ūbh*, Mar. *umhal*. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Prāk. *gimha*, Apab. Prāk. *gimbha*, Pāli *gimha*, Old Hindī *garīsam*, Mar. *gimbh*, *gīm*.

$\text{ʃm} > m(m)$.

§ 848. The assimilation of ʃm to $m(m)$ is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *grīṣma* 'hot season,' Mar. *gīm*, *gim̄bh*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣm} > \text{mh}$.

§ 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,' Prāk., Pāli *gim̄ha*, etc. (see § 847). Skt. *uṣman* 'hot season,' Prāk. *umhā*, Mar. *umhal*, etc. (see § 847).

$\text{ṣy} > (k)kh$.

§ 850. The change of ṣy to $(k)kh$ is very rare (cf. § 404).

a. Indian. Skt. *śiṣya* 'pupil,' Prāk. *sīsa*, Pāli *sissa*, Sindhī *sikhu*.

$\text{ṣy} > \text{ṣṣ}$.

§ 851. The assimilation of ṣy to ṣṣ is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Ur. *pūṣa*, Bang. *pāuṣ*, Hindī *pūs*, Panj. *pōh*, Sindhī *pōhu*.

$\text{ṣy} > s(s)$.

§ 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,' Prāk. *sūsaī*, Pāli *sussati*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Prāk. *pūsa*, Hindī *pūs*, etc. (see preceding §).

$\text{ṣy} > h(l)$.

§ 853. The change of ṣy to $h(l)$ is very rare (cf. § 409).

a. Indian. Skt. *bhaviṣyāmi* 'I shall be,' Prāk. *hōhāmi*, *hōhimī*, *hossāmi*, Pāli *bhavissāmi*. Skt. *puṣya*, *pāuṣya* 'December-January,' Panj. *pōh*, Sindhī *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. *tuskara* 'thief,' Prāk., Pāli *takkara*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Ur., Bang., Hindī *kāṁdhā*, Panj. *kannh*, *kāṁdhā*, Sindhī, Guj. *kāṁdhō*, Mar. *khāmdā*, Eḷu *kaṁda*, Māladive *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,' Prāk. *khand(h)a*, Pāli *khandha*, Mar. *khāmdā*, 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*, Kāš. *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. *khaṁbha*, *thaṁbha*, Pāli *thambha*, U_r. *khaṁbh(ā)*, *khaṁ(bā)*, Bang. *khaṁbā*, Hindī, Panj. *thāmb*, Sindhī *thāmbhu*, Guj. *khāmb*, *khaṁbh*, *thāmb*, Mar. *khāmb*, Siñh. *ṭāmba*. [See now Pischel, § 306.]

st > *t(t)*.

§ 861. The assimilation of *st* to *t(t)* is excessively rare (cf. § 224).

a. Indian. Skt. *stambha* 'post,' Siñh. *ṭāmba*, etc. (see preceding §).

st > *t(t)*.

§ 862. The assimilation of *st* to *t(t)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *stāinya* 'thief,' Jāina Prāk. *tēṇiya*. Skt. *hyastana* 'yesterday's,' Pāli *hīyattana*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hāt*, *hāth*, Kaśm. *ath* (but *hast* 'elephant'), U_r., Bang. *hāta*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, Mar. *hāt*, Siñh. *ata*, Gyp. *vast*.

b. Iranian. Lat. *sturnus* 'starling,' Old High German *stāru*, 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*, Kaśm. *pūth*, U_r. *pōthā*, Sindhī, Guj., Mar. *pōthī*, Siñh. *pōta*. Skt. *hasta* 'hand,' Prāk., Pāli *hattha*, Ass. *hūth*, *hāt*, Kaśm. *ath*, Bihārī, Hindī *hāth*, Panj. *hatth*, Sindhī *hathu*, Guj. *hāth*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *prastara* 'stone,' Prāk., Pāli *patthara*, U_r. *puhara*, Bang. *pāthar*, Hindī, Panj. *patthar*, Sindhī *patharu*, Guj., Mar. *patthar*. Skt. *stana* 'female breast,' Pāli *thana*, U_r., Bang. *thana*, Hindī *than*, Panj. *thay*, Sindhī *thayū*, Guj. *thān*, Mar. *thanā*, Siñh. *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 > *!h*, *th*.

§ 865. The assimilation of *sty* to *!h*, *th*, is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *styāna* 'idleness,' Prāk., Pāli *!hīna*, *thīna*.

sth > (*k*)*kh*.

§ 866. The change of *sth* to (*k*)*kh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāṇu* 'firm, Śiva,' Prāk. *khāṇu*, *khaṇṇu*, 'firm,' *thāṇu* 'Śiva.' [See now Pischel, § 309.]

sth > *!t*(*t*).

§ 867. The assimilation of *sth* to *!t*(*t*) is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' Prāk., Pāli *a!thi*, U_r., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haddī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, Sinh. *āṭa*.

sth > (*t*)*!h*.

§ 868. The assimilation of *sth* to (*t*)*!h* is very rare (cf. § 238).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *!hāṇa*, *thāṇa*, Pāli *!hāna*, Nāip. *thāṇi*, U_r. *!hāṇā*, *thānā*, Bang. *thāṇā*, *thān*, Hindī *!hannā*, *thānā*, Panj. *!hāṇ*, *thānā*, Sindhī *!hāṇu*, *thāṇu*, Guj. *!hāṇ*, *thāṇ*, Mar. *!hān*, *thār*, Sinh. *!āna*, *tāna*, Gyp. *than*.

sth > *!d*(*d*).

§ 869. The assimilation of *sth* to *!d*(*d*) is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *asthi* 'bone,' U_r., Bang. *hāḍa*, Hindī *hāḍ*, *haddī*, Panj. *haḍḍī*, Guj., Mar. *hāḍ*, etc. (see § 867).

sth > *t*(*t*).

§ 870. The assimilation of *sth* to *t*(*t*) is exceedingly rare (cf. § 240).

a. Indian. Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, U_r. *thira*, Hindī *!hir*, Sinh. *tara*. Skt. *sthālī* 'kettle,' Pāli *thālī*, U_r., Panj. *thālī*, Guj. *thālō*, Mar. *thālā*, Sinh. *tālī*, Maladive *tehi*.

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 Balūcī.

a. Indian. Skt. *sthāna* 'place,' Prāk. *thāṇa*, *ṭhāṇa*, Nāip. *thar̥i*, Ur. *thānā*, *ṭhaṇā*, Bang. *thān*, *thaṇā*, Hindī *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, Panj. *thānā*, *ṭhannā*, *ṭhāṇ*, Sindhī *thāṇu*, *ṭhāṇu*, Guj. *thāṇ*, *ṭhāṇ*, Mar. *thār*, *ṭhān*, Gyp. *than*, etc. (see § 868). Skt. *sthira* 'firm,' Prāk., Pāli *thira*, Ur. *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. *grhastha* 'householder,' Pāli *gahaṭṭha*, Bihārī *gīrhast*, Hindī *grihast*, Panj. *g(a)risati*, Sindhī *grihastu*, Guj. *grastha* (semi-tatsama).

sth > ś(*ś*).

§ 873. The assimilation of *sth* to ś(*ś*) 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. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūṇā*, Guj. *nahān*, Mar. *nahāṇ*, *nāhaṇēṇ*.

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*, Sindhī *nēṇhu*, *sanēhō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *snaoda* 'cloud,' Bal. *nōd*, N. Bal. *nōd*. Skt. *snuṣar* 'daughter-in-law,' Afy. *nžōr*, Bal. *našūr*, Oss. *n(v)ostha*. Av. *snavarō* '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,' Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāūñā*, 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. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇappaī*, Pāli *vanappati*. Skt. *sparśa* 'touch,' Prāk. *pharisa*, Pāli *phassa*, Ass. \sqrt{pas} , Bang. *sparśa* (pron. *pōrsō*), Hindī, Panj. *paras*, Guj. *pāras*, Mar. *paras*.

b. Iranian. Av. *spərəza* 'spleen,' Phl. *spärz*, New Pers. *supurz*, Kāš. *aspāl*, *aspōl*, Tāt *süpül*, 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*, Hindī *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. *vaṇassaī*, *vaṇappaī*, etc. (see § 877). Skt. *bṛhaspati* nom. prop., Prāk. *bihassaī*, *bhaassaī*, *bahappaī*, *bhaappaī*.

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*, Afγ. *spai*, Kurd. *sah*. Av. *aspa* 'horse,' Old Pers. *asa*, *aspa*, Phl., New Pers. *asp*, Tāt *ās*, Waxī *yaš*, Minj. *yas(a)p*, Afγ. *ās*, Bal. *(h)aps*, Kurd. *hasp*, Dig. Oss. *afsa*, Tag.

yafs. Skt. *aśvatara* 'mule,' Phl., New Pers. *astar*, Bal. *istal*, N. Bal. *hastal*, Kurd. *istīr*, *histīr*.

sp > *sph*, *sf*.

§ 880. The aspirization of *sp* to *sph*, *sf*, is not common.

b. Iranian. Av. *gaospanta* 'holy kine,' Phl. *gōspanđ*, New Pers. *gōsfand*, *gōspanđ*. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Phl. *spēt*, New Pers. *safēd*, *sipēd*, *ispēd*, Zaf. *sübō*, Kāš. *asbē*, Kuhr. *asbēd*, Afγ. *spīn*, Kurd. (*i*)*spī*.

sp > *sb*.

§ 881. The softening of *sp* to *sb* is not uncommon in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 290).

b. Iranian. Av. *spaēta* 'white,' Zaf. *sübō*, 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*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*. [So the Prākrit 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*, U_r., Bang., Hindī, Panj. *phōḍā*, Sindhī *phurḍī*.

sm > *mh*.

§ 884. The change of *sm* to *mh* 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,' Sindhī *visāi*, etc. (see preceding §). Skt. *smṛti* 'memory,' Hindī, Panj. *surat*, Sindhī *surti*. Skt. *smarati* 'remembers,' Prāk. *sarāi*, *sumarāi*, Pāli *sarati*, *sumarati*.

sm > *sb*.

§ 886. The change of *sm* to *sb* is excessively rare (cf. § 323).

b. Iranian. Av., Old Pers. *asman* 'heaven,' Phl., New Pers. *āsmān*, Gab. *asbān*, Bal. *āsmān*, N. Bal. *ažmān*.

sm > *z(z)*.

§ 887. The assimilation of *sm* to *z(z)* is very rare (cf. §§ 325, 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Phl. (*h*)*ēzam*, Pāz., New Pers. *hēzam*, Gab. *izma*, Kāš., Kuhr. (*h*)*ēzam*, Kurd. *hazang*.

sm > *zm*.

§ 888. The softening of *sm* to *zm* is rare (cf. § 420).

b. Iranian. Av. *aēsma* 'fuel,' Gab. *izma*, etc. (see preceding §).

sm > *žm*.

§ 889. The change of *sm* to *žm* is very rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *asman* 'heaven,' N. Bal. *ažmān*, etc. (see § 886).

sy > (*j*)*jh*.

§ 890. The change of *sy* to (*j*)*jh* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *kāṁsya*, *kaṁsa* 'bell-metal,' Prāk. *kaṁsia*, Pāli *kaṁsa*, U₁., Bang., Hindī *kāṁsā*, Panj. *kāṁsī*, Sindhī *kaṁjhō*, Guj. *kāṁsun*, Mar. *kāṁsēm* (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*, Hindī *sāl*, Panj. *salā*, Sindhī *sālō*, Guj. *sālō*, *sālō*, Mar. *sālā*, Gyp. *salō*.

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Phl. *siyāk*, *siyāh*, New Pers. *siyāh*, Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, Oss. *sau*.

sy > ś(š).

§ 892. The assimilation of *sy* to ś(š) is very rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *syāva* 'black,' Waxī *šū*, Sangl. *šōi*, 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. *sarāk*, *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. *ōša*, 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*, Sindhī *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(š).

§ 897. The assimilation of *sr* to ś(š) is rare (cf. § 419).

b. Iranian. Av. *asru* 'tear,' Afγ. *ōša*, etc. (see § 894). Skt. *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law,' New Pers. *xus(r)ū*, Afγ. *xvāša*, 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*, *sō*, *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. *xvafsata* 'sleep!' Phl. *xvaf̄tanō*, New Pers. *xuspādan*, Sīv. *fatan*, Tāl. *asp*, Waxī *xōfsam*, Šīγn. *šorsam*, Sarq. *xūfsam*, 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*. Šīγn. *xēr*, Sarq. *xar*, Yidg. *xūr*, Afγ. *umar*, *nvar*, Dig. Oss. *xor*. Tag. *xūr*. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Phl. *x^vartanō*, New Pers. *xurdan*, Gab. *xartin*, Sīv. *fōrdan*, Zaf. *buxōrt*, Kāš. *xōrdamān*, Vōn. *xūrtan*, Kuhr. *xārdan*, Nāy. *uxūr* 'eat!' Tāl. *bahardēn*, Šīγn. *xaram*, Sarq. *xoram*, Sangl. *x^varam*, Minj. *xar*, Yidg. *xūrah*. Afγ. *xōral*, Bal. *varag*, N. Bal. *varay*, Kurd. *xurin*, Dig. Oss. *xvarun*, Tag. *xarin*. Av. *sax^vārə* 'word,' Phl., New Pers. *suxun*, Sīv. *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, 329 ?).

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, 371 ?).

b. Iranian. Av. *x^varaiti* 'eats,' Sīv. *fōrdan*, etc. (see § 901). Av. *x^vafsata* 'sleep!' Sīv. *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. *xuš*, *xōš*, Kāš. *xūš*, *xōš*, Šīyn. *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,' Prāk. *sāmi*, Pāli *sāmī*, *suwāmī*, Ur., Bang. *śāmī*, Hindī, Panj. *sāmī*, Sindhī *sāmīṁ*, Siñh. *hami*, *himi*. Skt. *bhasvara* 'brilliant,' Pāli *bhassara*. Skt. *svaka* 'own,' Hindī *sagā*, Panj. *saggā*, Sindhī *sāgō*, Guj. *sagun*, Mar. *sagā*. Skt. *svāṅga* 'miniery,' Hindī, Panj. *sāmṅ*, Sindhī *sāmṅu*, Guj., Mar. *sōṁg*.

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,' Siñh. *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!' Tāl. *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*, Waxī *vask*, Afγ. *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 > shk.

§ 910. The change of *šk* to *shk* is excessively rare (cf. § 427).

b. Iranian. Av. *huška* 'dry,' Waxī *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. *pīcā*, Waxī *piš*, Šīγn. *paš*, Afγ. *pišō*, Bal. *pūšī*, *pišī*, Kurd. *pīšīk*.

šk > šc.

§ 912. The change of *šk* to *šc* is very rare (cf. § 118).

b. Iranian. New Pers. *pušk* 'sheep-droppings,' Waxī *pōšk* Šīγn. *pašc*, Afγ. *paca*.

št > kht, xt.

§ 913. The change of *št* to *kht*, *xt*, is rare (cf. § 404?).

b. Iranian. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yangl*, Šīγn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, Sangl. *ingit*, Minj. *angar*, Afγ. *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*, Waxī *hāθ*, *hāt*, Šiγn. *vašt*, Sarq. *voxt*, Rōš. *hašt*, Sangl. *hāt*, Minj. *aška*, Yaγn. *uxs*, Afγ. *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,' Waxī *hāt*, *hāθ*, Sangl. *hāt*, Afγ. *ata*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Sangl. *ingit*, Afγ. *gūta*, etc. (see § 913).

št > *(t)th*.

§ 916. The assimilation of *št* to *(t)th* is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *ašta* 'eight,' Waxī *hāθ*, *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,' Waxī *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,' Sīv. *gus*, Vōn. *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. *xīšt*, Bal. *išt*, *īt*.

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. *pāš-nah*, Waxī *pāšnah*, Sarq. *puxnā*, Afγ. *pūnda*, Bal. *pūnzig, pūnz*, N. Bal. *phīz, phūd*, Kurd. *pānī*.

šn > d(d), nd.

§ 922. The change of *šn* to *d(d), nd*, is extremely rare.

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Afγ. *pūnda*, N. Bal. *phūd, phīz*, 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 > z(z), m̄z.

§ 924. The assimilation of *šn* to *z(z), m̄z*, is rare (cf. § 428).

b. Iranian. Av. *pāšna* 'heel,' Bal. *pūnzig, pūnz*, N. Bal. *phīz, phūd*, 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*, Sīv., Zaf. *caš*, Kāš., Vōn. *cam*, Kuhr., Samn. *caš*, Māz. *cas*, Gil. *ciš*, Waxī *cōšm*, Šīγn. *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. *smax*, 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 > *žm*.

§ 929. The softening of *šm* to *žm* occurs but seldom (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *cašman* 'eye,' Waxī *cöžm*, 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*, Šīyn. *vižafcam*, Sarq. *važavsam*, Afy. *šval*, Bal. *šuta*, N. Bal. *šudā*, *šuda*, Kurd. *cīan*, 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. *sāṭ(ih)*, New Pers. *šād*, Oss. *ančad*.

šy > *ž(ž)*.

932. The softening of *šy* to *ž(ž)* is very rare (cf. § 429).

b. Iranian. Av. *šavaite* 'goes,' Old Pers. *ašiyavam*, Šīyn. *vižafcam*, Sarq. *važavsam*, etc. (see § 930).

zg > *žg*.

§ 933. The change of *zg* to *žg* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *mazga* 'marrow,' Phl. *mazy*, New Pers. *mayz*, Sarq. *mužg*, Afγ. *māyza*, Bal. *mažg*, Oss. *mayz*.

$zd > z(z)$.

§ 934. The assimilation of *zd* to *z(z)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *nazda* 'near,' Phl. *nazdīk*, New Pers. *naz-d(īh)*, Sarq. *nizd*, Afγ. *nizdē*, *niždē*, Bal. *nazīk*, N. Bal. *nazī(r)*, Kurd. *nizūk*, *nēzīk*.

$zr > dr$.

§ 935. The change of *zr* to *dr* is very common in the Iranian dialects.

b. Iranian. Av. *zrayah* 'sea,' Old Pers. *drayah*, Phl. *drayāk*, *zrē*, New Pers. *daryā*, *zarāh*, *zirih*, Tāt *dairuh*, Bal. *zirā*.

$zv > zm$.

§ 936. The change of *zv* to *zm* is very rare (cf. § 374).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Phl. (*h*)*uzvān*, *zuvān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šiyū. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afγ. *žiba*, Bal. *zimān*, Kurd. *azmān*, Oss. *awzag*.

$zb > žb$.

§ 937. The change of *zb* to *žb* is extremely rare (cf. § 436).

b. Iranian. Av. *hizva* 'tongue,' Afγ. *žiba*, etc. (see preceding §).

$žd > z(z)$.

§ 938. The assimilation of *žd* to *z(z)* is the regular one to which this consonant-group is subject in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *duždah* 'wretched,' Phl., Pāz. *dužd* 'thief,' New Pers. *duzd*, Gab. *duz*, Tāl. *diz*, Bal. *duz*.

$žd > zd$.

§ 939. The change of *žd* to *zd* is quite common in the Iranian dialects (cf. § 443).

b. Iranian. Av. *dušdah* 'wretched,' New Pers. *duzd*, etc. (see preceding §). Av. *mīšdu* 'reward,' Phl. *muzd*, Pāz. *mozd*, New Pers. *muzd*, *mužd*, Kurd., Oss. *mizd*.

hn > ŋh.

§ 940. The metathesis of *hn* to *ŋh* is very rare (cf. § 277).

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Prāk. *vaṅhi*, Sindhī *bāhi*.

hn > n(n).

§ 941. The assimilation of *hn* to *n(n)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *ciṅha*, *cindha*, Nāip. *cīmmu*, Ur., Bang. *cinha*, Bihārī *cīn*, *cinaha*, Hindī *cihna*, Panj. *cihan*, Sindhī *cihanu*, Guj., Mar. *cinha*.

hn > ndh.

§ 942. The change of *hn* to *ndh* is excessively rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *cihna* 'mark,' Prāk. *cindha*, *ciṅha*, etc. (see preceding §).

hn > h(h).

§ 943. The assimilation of *hn* to *h(h)* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *vahni* 'fire,' Sindhī *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*, Jāina Prāk. *māhaṇa*, Pāli *brāhmaṇa*, Bihārī *bāman*, *bāmhan*, *bāmahan*, Sindhī *bām̐bhaṇu*, 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,' Sindhī *bāmbhaṇu*, etc. (see § 944).

hy > *j(j)*.

§ 947. The assimilation of *hy* to *j(j)* is very rare (cf. § 331).

a. Indian. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, 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,' Prāk. *najjhaī*. Skt. *guhya* 'hidden,' Prāk. *gujjha*, Panj. *gujjhā*, Sindhī *gūjhō*, 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,' Prāk. *jibbhā*, *jīhā*, Pāli *jivhā*, Ass. *jibā*, Nāip. *jibrō*, Kaśm. *zēo*, other New Ind. dialects *jībh*, excepting Sindhī *jībh*, Siñh. *diva*, Māladive *dū*, Gyp. *cib*. Skt. *gahvara* 'cavern,' Pāli *gabbhara*. Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vebbhala*, *vihala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

hv > *v(v)*.

§ 950. The assimilation of *hv* to *v(v)* is very rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Siñh. *diva*, etc. (see preceding §).

hv > *h(h)*.

§ 951. The assimilation of *hv* to *h(h)* is extremely rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Prāk. *jīhā*, *jibbhā*, etc. (see § 949). Skt. *vihvala* 'agitated,' Prāk. *vihala*, *vebbhala*, Hindī *bihabal*, Panj. *bihul*.

Syncope of hv.

§ 952. The loss of internal *hv* is exceedingly rare.

a. Indian. Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue,' Kaśm. *zō*, Māladive *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 *q* possesses a certain resemblance to Indian anunāsika.

a. Indian. Skt. *siṃha* 'lion,' Prāk., Pāli *sīha*, Hindī, Panj. *siṃgh*, Sindhī *siṃghō*, *śiṃhu*, other New Ind. dialects *siṃh* (pron. *siṃgh*). Skt., Prāk. *hamsa* 'goose,' E. Hindī *hāms*, *hans*. Skt. *śrīkhalā* 'fetter,' Pāli *saṃkhala*, Ass. *sikali*, Nāip. *sikrī*, Ur. *śikuli*, Bang. *śikal*, *sikal*, E. Hindī *sīṃkar*, *sīkar*, *sik(k)ar*, Hindī *sīkar*, *sikhar*, *sikal*, Panj. *saṃghar*, Sindhī *saṃgharō*, Guj. *saṃghal*, Mar. *sāṃkhal*, *sākhal*, *sikrī*. Skt. *kuṅcīkā* 'key,' Kaśm. *kuṅz*, Ur. *kuṃcī*, *kuṃjhī*, *kuji*, Bang. *kūṃjī*, *kūjī*, Hindī, Panj. *kūṃjī*, Sindhī *kuṃjī*, Guj. *kuṃcī*, Mar. *kuṃjī*. Skt. *ṣaṇḍha* 'eunuch,' Prāk. *saṇḍha*, Ass. *sāṃr*, Bang. *ṣāṃr*, E. Hindī, Hindī *sāṃr*, Panj. *sāṃḍh*, Sindhī *sānu*, Mult. *sāṃh*, *saṇḍhā*, Guj., Mar. *sāṃḍ*. Skt. *skandha* 'shoulder,' Prāk., Pāli *khandha*, Ass. *kāṃd(h)*, Ur., Bang. *kāṃdh*, Bihārī *kāṃdhā*, *khāṃdā*, Hindī *kāṃdhā*, Panj. *kandhā*, *kannh*, Sindhī *kandhu*, Guj. *khāṃdō*, Mar. *khāṃdā*, Siūh. *kanda*. Skt. *kampati* 'trembles,' Prāk.

kaṃpāi, *kampāi*, Pāli *kampati*, Ass. *kaṃp*, Kaśm. *kaṃ(p)*, Hindī *kāṃp*, Panj. *kamb*, Sindhī *kaṃb*, Guj., Mar. *kāṃp*. Skt. *idānīm* 'now,' Prāk. *dāṇim*, *dāṇi*. Skt. *dadhi* 'curds,' Prāk. *dahim*, E. Hindī, Hindī *dahī*, Panj. *dahīm*, Sindhī *ḍahīm*, Guj., Mar. *dahīm*.

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,' Hindī *duḥkh* (pron. *dukh*), *dukh*. Skt. *antaḥkaraṇa* 'heart,' Hindī *antaḥkaraṇ* (pron. *ant(a)karan*). Skt. *niḥśvāsa* 'sigh,' Hindī *niḥśvās* (pron. *nivās*), *nivās*.

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*, Pāli *lahuka*, Uṛ., Bang. *halkā*, E. Hindī *haluk*, Hindī *halakā*, Sindhī *halkō*, Guj. *halakūn*, Mar. *halakā*. Skt. *sakaṭa* 'stupid,' Pāli *kaṣaṭa*. 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. *gadhēḍō*, Mar. *gadhav*. Skt. *kṣēpaṇa* 'toss,' Prāk. *khēpa*, Uṛ. *phimṅibā*, *pa-kāibā*, Hindī, Panj. *phēmknā*, Sindhī *phakaṇu*, Guj. *phēmknā*, Mar. *phēmknēm*. Skt. *vruḍati* 'sinks,' Prāk. *buḍḍai*, Uṛ., Bang. *buḍ*, Hindī *būḍ*, Sindhī *buḍ*, Guj., Mar. *buḍ* beside Uṛ., Bang. *ḍubnā*, Panj. *ḍubbaṇā*, Sindhī *ḍubanu*, Guj., Mar. *dubaṇu*.

Skt. *paridhīyatē* 'is clothed,' Apab. Prāk. *parihai*, Kāsm. *prūv*, Ur. *pahar*, Bang., E. Hindī, Hindī *pahir*, Guj. *pēr*, cf. also Mar. *pēran*, *pehvan* 'shirt.' Skt. *biḍāla* 'cat,' Apab. Prāk. *viḍlu*, Nāip. *birālu*, E. Hindī, Hindī *bilār*, Guj. *bilāḍī*. Skt. *samudra* 'sea,' Prāk. *samudda*, *samudra*, Pāli *samudda*, Sinh. **hamuda* > **mahuda* > *muhuda*. Skt. *nūpura* 'anklet,' Prāk. *ṇūra*, *niura*, Pāli *nūpura*, Ur. *nēpura*, *nūpura*, Sindhī *nūrō*, Guj., Mar. *nēpūr*, Sinh. *nuruva*. Skt. *śayana* 'bed,' Prāk. *sayana*, Pāli *sayana*, Sinh. *yahana*.

An instance of vowel-metathesis seems to be found in Skt. *picumanda* 'nimba-tree,' Pāli *picimanda*.

b. Iranian. Av. *suxra* 'red,' Old Pers. *θuxra-*, Phl. *suxr*, New Pers. *surx*, Šir. *sīrah*, Sīv. *sīr*, Yazdī *surkuh*, Kuhr., Kāš. *sūr*, Waxī *sōkr*, Šiy. *sīrah*, Afy. *sūr*, Bal. *suhr*, Kurd. *sōr*, Dig. Oss. *surx*, Tag. *sirx*. Av. *vafra* 'snow,' New Pers. *barf*, Gab., Kāš., Māz., Gīl., Sarq. *varf*, Minj. *varfah*, Yidg. *varfuh*, Yayn. *vafir*, Afy. *vāvra*, Kurd. *bafr*. Av. *taršna* 'thirst,' Phl. *tišn*, New Pers. *tiš*, Waxī *tax(i)*, Šiy. *tašna*, Sarq. *tūr(i)*, Yidg. *trušna*, Afy. *tažai*, Bal. *tunnag*, *tūnag*, N. Bal. *thunī*, Kurd. *tī*, *tanī*. Old Pers. *bāxtri* nom. prop., Phl. *baxr*, *baxl*, 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. *mazyā* '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*, *vlēšť*, *lvišť*. Skt. *likṣā* 'nit,' New Pers. *rišk*, Afy. *rica*, Dig. Oss. *liska*, Tag. *lisk*. Av. *fšu* 'cattle,' Afy. *špa*, *špān*. Av. *sra* 'horn,' Phl. *srūb*, *sruv*, New Pers. *sarū(n)*, *surū*, Bal. *srunbē*, *surum*, Kurd. *savr* 'stag.' Av. *puθra* 'son,' Old Pers. *puθ^ra*, Phl. *pus(ar)*, *puhr*, New Pers. *pus(ar)*, *pūr*, Gab. *pūr*, Kāš. *pūr*, *pūr*, Samn. *pūr*, Waxī *pōtr*, Šiy. *puč*, Sarq. *pöč*, Minj. *pūr*, Yayn. *pulah*, N. Bal. *phusaγ*, Dig. Oss. *furth*, Tag. *firth*. Av. *awra* 'cloud,' Oss. *arw*.

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., Pāli *nērañjara*. Skt. *navanavati* 'ninety-nine,' Kaśm. *namāmamath*, Bang. *nivānavvaī*, Bihārī, Hindi *ninānavē*, *niyānavē*, Panj. *naḍīnāvē*, Sindhī *nadhānavē*, *vadhānavē*, *navānavē*.

b. Iranian. Av. *navadasa* 'nineteen,' Phl. *navācdahum*, New Pers. *nuvāzdah*, Afy. *nānas*, *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. *āīnīnak* (read *ādvīnak*?) 'mirror,' New Pers. *āyīnah*, 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,' Pāli *takkōla*, Sinh. *takul*. Skt. *jalūkikā* 'leech,' Pāli *jalūpika*, *jalūka*. Skt. *dadrūghna* 'remedy for leprosy,' Pāli *gaddūhana*. Skt. *pipīlika* 'ant,' Pāli *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. *aṭa*, Sinh. *vaḷa*. Skt. *durgādēvi* 'wife of Śiva,' Prāk. *duggāvī*. Skt. *dēvakula* 'temple,' Prāk. *dēula*, *dēvaūla*, *dēvakula*, Uṛ. *dēuḷa*, Bang., Hindi *dēval*, Panj. *dēvālā*, Sindhī *dēvilī*, Guj. *dēvaḷ*, Mar. *dēuḷ*. Skt. *dvādaśa* 'twelve,' Prāk. *vāraha*, Pāli *dvādasa*, *bārasa*, Kaśm. *bāh*, Uṛ. *bāra*, Bang. *vārō*, Bihārī, Hindi *bārah*, W. Hindi *bārā*, Panj. *bārām*, Sindhī *bārahām*, Guj. *bār*, Mar. *bārā*. Skt. *śīthila* 'slack,' Prāk. *siḍhila*, *saḍhila*, Māg. Prāk. *ḍhilla*, Pāli *sīthila*, *saṭhila*, Ass.

ḍhīl, Nāip. *ḍhīlō*, Ur. *ḍhīlā*, Bang. *ḍhīl*, Bihārī *ḍhīla*, E. Hindī *ḍhal*, Hindī *ḍhīlā*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Sindhī *ḍhīlō*, *ḍhīrō*, *ḍharō*, Guj. *ḍhīlum*, Mar. *ḍhīlā*, *ḍhīl*, *saḍhal*. Skt. *vimśati* 'twenty,' Prak. *vīsaī*, Pāli *vīsati*, *vīsa*, Kaśm. *vuh*, Bang. *viś*, Bihārī, Hindī *bīs*, Panj., Sindhī *vīh*, Guj., Mar. *vīs*. Skt. *anurūpa* 'parable,' Prak. *anurūva*, Pāli *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. *dērš*. Av. *antarō* 'within,' Old Pers. *qatar*, Phl. *andar*, New Pers. *dar*, *andar*. Old Pers. **duvitiyam kāram* 'for the second time,' Phl. *daṭīgar*, Pāz. *dadīgar*, New Pers. *dīgar*, *dadīgar*, N. Bal. *thī(h)*, Kurd. *dītar*, *dītra*. Av. *hizu* 'tongue,' Old Pers. *(h)izāva*, Phl. *(h)uzvān*, *zuvān*, *zavān*, New Pers. *zabān*, *zubān*, Gab. *izvūn*, Waxī *zik*, Šīyn. *zav*, Sarq. *ziv*, Afy. *žiba*, Kurd. *azmān*, Tag. Oss. *awzag*. Av. *angušta* 'finger,' Phl. *angust*, New Pers. *angušt*, Siv. *gus*, Vön. *unguss*, Māz. *angus*, Waxī *yanql*, Šīyn. *angašt*, Sarq. *ingaxt*, 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 :

$\check{u} + \check{a} > \bar{a}$; $a + \check{i} > \bar{a}i$; $a + \check{u} > \bar{a}u$; $\check{i} + \check{i} > \bar{i}$; $i + a > \bar{e}$; $\check{u} + \check{u} > \bar{u}$;

$u + a > \bar{o}$, but $\bar{a} + \check{i}$, $\bar{a} + \check{u}$, $\bar{u} + a$, $\check{u} + \check{i}$, and \bar{e} or $\bar{o} +$ long vowel ordinarily remain in hiatus.

a. Indian. Skt. *carmakāra* 'leather-worker,' Pāli *cammakāra*, Uṛ. *camāra*, Bang. *cāmār*, Hindī, Panj. *camār*, Sindhī *camāru*, Guj. *camār*, Mar. *cām̄hār*. Skt. *bhaginī* 'sister,' Prāk. *bahinī*, *bhainī*, Pāli *bhaginī*, Uṛ. *bhāṇī*, *bhainī*, Bang. *baīn*, Hindī *bahin*, Panj. *bhāin*, *bāin̄h*, Sindhī *bhēṇu*, Guj. *bēhēn*, Mar. *bahīṇ*, *bhāin̄*. Skt. *caturtha* 'fourth,' Prāk. *caūttha*, *caūt̄tha*, *cottha*, Uṛ. *cāud̄ha*, Bang. *cāudā*, Hindī, Panj. *cāuthā*, Sindhī, Guj. *cōthō*, Mar. *cāuṁthā*. Skt. *vyajana* 'fan,' Prāk. *viṇa*, Hindī *bēnā*. Skt. *rājakula* 'palace,' Prāk. *rāūla*, *rāaula*, *lāūla*, Pāli *rājakula*, Bihārī *rāūr*, Hindī *rāūl*. Skt. *nāpita* 'barber,' Prāk. *ṇhāvia*, *nāvia*, Śāk. Prāk. *nābida*, Bihārī, Mar. *nāū*, other New Indian dialects *nāī*. Skt. *nikāṭa* 'near,' Māg. Prāk. *niāḍa*, Pāli *nikāṭa*, Bihārī *nīyar*, *nēr*. Skt. *dviguṇa* 'twofold,' Prāk. *duūṇa*, Pāli *diguṇa*, Hindī, Panj. *dūnā*, Sindhī *ḍūṇā*, Mar. *dūṇ*. Skt. *sugandha* 'fragrant,' Prāk. *suaṁdha*, Pāli *sugandha*, Hindī, Panj. *sāuṁdhā*. Skt., Pāli *rōdana* 'lament,' Bang. *rōitē*, Hindī *rōnā*, Panj. *rōṇā*, Sindhī *ruaṇu*, Guj. *rōvuṁ*. Skt. *kōkila* 'cuckoo,' Prāk., Pāli *kōila*, Uṛ. *kōyila*, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *kōil*, Guj. *kōyal*, Mar. *kōkil*, Anglo-Ind. *koil*. Skt. *gōdhūma* 'wheat,' Apab. Prāk. *gōhūmu*, Pāli *gōdhūma*, Ass. *ghēṁhu*, Nāip. *gahūm̄*, Uṛ. *gahama*, *gama*, Bang. *gōm*, *gam*, Bihārī *gōhūm̄*, Hindī *gō(nū)huṁ*, *gēṁhuṁ*, *ghēūm̄*, Panj. *ghēūm̄*, Sindhī *gēhuṁ*, Guj. *ghaūm̄*, Gyp. *giv*.

b. Iranian. Phl. *dahišn* 'gift,' New Pers., Gab. *dāšn*. Old Pers. *naiba* 'beautiful,' Phl. *nēv*, *nēvak(ih)*, New Pers. *nēk*. Av. *haca* 'from' + *adairi* 'beneath,' Phl. *azēr*, Pāz. *ažēr*, New Pers. *zēr*, Sīv. *šī*, Zaf. *žēr*, other Central dialects *jēr*, Samn. *jēr*, Tāl. *jiar*, Judaeo-Pers. *zēr*, Kurd. *zīv*, Tag. Oss. *dala*. Av. *viḍu*, *viḍava* 'widow,' Phl. *vēvak*, New Pers. *bēvak*, Kāš. *vīgā*, *vīē*, Kurd. *bī*, Tag. Oss. *iday*. Av. *raoṇa* 'oil,' Phl. *rōyan*, *rōkan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *ruyūn*, *ruyn*, Sarq. *ravan*, Sangl. *roy*, Minj. *royan*, Kurd. *rōn*. Av. **dātubara* 'judge' (cf. the Aramaean loan-word 𐤠𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤓 , 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 Panjābī and Sindhī, 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,' Prāk., Pāli *khagga*, Ur. *khaṁḍā*, Bang. *kharag*, Hindī *kharag*, *khāg*, *khāṁḍ*, *ṣagg*, Sindhī *khanō*, Guj. *khārum*, Mar. *khāmā*, *khadga*. Skt. *dadru* 'ring-worm,' Pāli *daddu*, Hindī *dād*, Sindhī *ḍāḍh(r)u*, Guj. *dādar*, Mar. *dadāḍ*, *dād*. Skt. *sūrya* 'sun,' Prāk. *suḷja*, *sūria*, Pāli *sūriya*, Hindī, Panj. *sūraj*, Sindhī *sūriju*, *sūrju*, Guj. *sūraj*, *sūr*, Siṁh. (*h*)*iru*. Skt. *snāna* 'bath,' Apab. Prāk. *ṇhāṇu*, Pāis. Prāk. *sanāna*, Pāli *nahāna*, *sināna*, Bihārī *nahān*, Hindī *nhānā*, Panj. *nhāṇā*, Guj., Mar. *nahāṇ*. Skt. *ślēṣma* 'slime,' Prāk. *siṁbha*, Pāli *silēsuma*, *sēṁha*, Siṁh. *sem(a)*. Skt. *agni* 'fire,' Prāk. *aggi*, Pāli (*ag*)*gini*, *aggi*, Ur. *ṇia*, Bang. *āgun*, Hindī *āg*, Panj. *agg*, Sindhī *aḡi*, Guj., Mar. *āg*, Siṁh. *gini*, Gyp. *yag*. Skt. *ślāghā* 'praise,' Prāk. *salāhā*, Pāli *silāghā*, Bihārī, Hindī, Panj., Sindhī *sarāhnā*. Skt. *ratna* 'jewel,' Prāk. *rayana*, Śāur. Prāk. *radaṇa*, Pāli, Gāthā *ratana*, Hindī *ratana*, Sindhī *ratana*, *ratnu*, Siṁh. *ruvan*. Skt. *māyati* 'withers,' Prāk. *milaḷ*, Pāli *milāyati*,

Hindī *milnā*, Sindhī *milaṇu*. Skt. *klēśa* 'trouble,' Hindī *kalēs*, *klēs*, Panj. *kalēs*, Sindhī *kilēsu*, Mar. *kilēs*, *kilōs*. Skt. *strī* 'woman,' Prāk., Pāli *itthī*, *thī*, Gāthā *istrī*, Ur. *tirī*, vulgar Ur. *tiḷa*, colloquial Hindī *istrī*, *astrī*, Panj. *tirayā*, Sindhī *tiriyā*, *istrī*, Elu *itiri*, Sinh. *istrī*. Skt. *smaraṇa* 'recollection,' Apab. Prāk. *sumaraṇu*, Bihārī *sumīran*, *sumaran*.

b. Iranian. Av. *raoyna* 'oil,' Phl. *rōkan*, *rōyan*, Pāz. *raogan*, New Pers. *rōyan*, Kāš. *ruyan*, *rō*, Wāxī *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*, Šīyn. *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. *ašmāka* '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*, Wāxī *taym*, Šīyn. *tūym*, Sarq. *tōym*, Yidg. *tūyum*, Afy. *tōma*, Bal. *tūm*, *tōm*. Av. *sraoni* 'loin,' Phl. *sarīn*, *sarūk*, New Pers. *surūn*, *surīn*, Wāxī *šunj*, Šīyn. *šاون*, 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*, Wāxī *trui*, Šīyn. *arrai*, Sarq. *haroi*, Sangl. *trāi*, Minj. *šarai*, Yaṇ. *θarai*, Afy. *drē*, Kurd. *sē*. Av. *brvat* 'brow,' Phl. *brā*, New Pers. *abrū*, Gab. *burā*, Wāxī *varao*, Šīyn. *vruy*, Sarq. *varao*, Sangl. *vurij*, Afy. *vrāja*, Bal. *burvān*, *birvān*, Kurd. *burū*, *burī*, Dig. Oss. *arfuk*, Tag. *arfig*. Av. *draoγa* 'lie,' Old Pers. *drauga*, Phl. *drōg*, *drōγ*, New Pers. *darōγ*, *durōγ*, Māz. *darū*, *durū*, Tāl. *dū*, Sarq. *durū*, Afy. *darōγ*, Bal. *darōg*, *drōg*, N. Bal. *drōγ*. Av. *mərəθyu* 'death,' Oss. *malath*. Av. *mat-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.

I. SUBJECT-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

- Anaptyxis of *ā* 23, *u* 55.
 Anunāsika 953.
 Anusvāra 953.
 Aphaeresis of *a* 11, *ā* 21, *i* 31,
u 51, *ē* 93, *k* 127, *s* 422, *h* 455,
kṣ 491, *sr* 899, *sv* 907.
 Apocope of *a* 13, *ā* 22, *i* 33, *ī* 42,
u 53, *ē* 94, *k* 129, *y* 338, *ś* 402,
ṣ 431, *h* 457, *gn* 500.
 Assimilation of syllables 956.
 Consonants, single 113-459.
 Consonants, single : *k* 114-130,
kh, *x* 131-139, *g* 140-147, *gh*, *γ*
 148-153, *ṅ* 154, *c* 155-171, *ch*
 172-177, *j* 178-187, *jh* 188-190,
ñ 154, *ṭ* 191-198, *ṭh* 199-207,
ḍ 208-213, *ḍh* 214-217, *ṇ* 218-
 219, *t* 220-236, *th*, *ṭ* 237-245,
ḍ 246-263, *dh*, *ḍ* 264-274, *n* 275-
 286, *p* 287-294, *ph*, *f* 295-302,
b 303-310, *bh*, *w* 311-318, *m*
 319-329, *y* 330-348, *r* 349-357,
l 358-363, *v* 364-394, *ś* 395-402,
ṣ 403-409, *s* 410-422, *ṣ* 423-431,
z 432-438, *ṣ* 439-443, *h* 444-
 459.
 Consonant-groups 460-952.
 Consonant-groups, single, begin-
 ning with *k* 461-494, *g* 495-503,
gh, *γ* 504-505, *n* 506-511, *c* 512-
 514, *j* 515-527, *ñ* 528-537, *ḍ* 538-
 540, *ṇ* 541-558, *t* 559-597, *th*, *ṭ*
 598-599, *d* 600-618, *dh*, *ḍ* 619-
 631, *n* 632-664, *p* 665-689, *ph*, *f*
 690, *b* 691-696, *bh*, *w* 697-700,
m 701-712, *r* 713-796, *l* 797-806,
v 807-809, *ś* 810-821, *ṣ* 822-853,
s 854-907, *ṣ* 908-932, *z* 933-937,
ṣ 938-939, *h* 940-952.
 Contraction 959.
 Dissimilation of syllables 957.
 Epenthesis of vowels 960, *k* 130,
t 236, *d* 263, *n* 286, *f* 302, *b* 310,
m 329, *ṇ* 329, *r* 357, *v* 378, *h*
 459.
 Final syllables 961.
 Loss of syllables 958.
 Metathesis 955.
 Prothesis of *a* 14, *i* 34, *u* 54,
kh 139, *n* 285, *y* 340, *v* 377, *h*
 458.
 Sandhi 962.
 Syncope of *a* 12, *i* 32, *u* 52, *k* 128,
g 147, *gh* 153, *c* 171, *j* 187, *t* 235,
d 262, *dh* 274, *n* 284, *p* 294, *ph*
 301, *b* 309, *m* 328, *y* 339, *r* 356,
l 363, *v* 376, *ś* 402, *s* 422, *z* 438,
h 456, *gn* 500, *tr* 580, *tv* 590,
śc 813, *hn* 952.
 Visarga 954.
 Vowels 1-112.
 Vowels, single : *a* 2-14, *ā* 15-23,
i 24-34, *ī* 35-42, *u* 43-55, *ū* 56-
 65, *r̄* 66-82, *r̄* 83, *l̄* 84, *ē* 85-
 94, *āi* 95-98, *ō* 99-107, *āu* 108-
 112.

II. REVERSE-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

- a* = *a* 2, < *ā* 16, *i* 25, *ī* 36, *u* 44,
ū 57, *r* 68, *ē* 86, *ō* 101.
ar < *r* 67.
al < *r* 80.
ā < *a* 5, = *ā* 15, < *i* 26, *ī* 39,
u 46, *ū* 60, *r* 76, *ē* 88, *aya* 341,
āya 346, *āvā* 379, *āvi* 388, *uwa*
393.
i < *a* 3, *ā* 17, = *i* 24, < *ī* 37,
u 45, *ū* 58, *r* 71, *ē* 87, *ō* 102,
t 221, *d* 247, *iya* 345, *h* 451.
ir < *r* 70.
ī < *a* 6, *ā* 17, *i* 28, = *ī* 35, < *u* 47,
ū 61, *r* 77, *ē* 89, *āi* 97, *ō* 104, *iya*
345, *īva* 391, *ēvā* 392.
u < *a* 4, *ā* 18, *i* 27, *ī* 38, = *u* 43,
< *ū* 59, *r* 74, *ō* 103, *āu* 110, *v* 365,
ava 380.
ur < *r* 73.
ū < *a* 7, *ā* 18, *i* 29, *u* 48, = *ū* 56,
< *ō* 105, *āu* 111, *v* 365, *ava* 380,
uwa 394.
r = *r* 66.
ē < *a* 8, *ā* 19, *i* 30, *ī* 40, *u* 49, *ū* 62,
r 78, *ē* 85, *āi* 98, *ō* 106, *aya* 342,
ayō 344, *āya* 347, *ava* 381, *avi*
384, *āvay* 387.
ai < *ē* 91, *āi* 96, *āya* 348, *āvay*
387.
āi = *āi* 95, < *ayō* 344, *avi* 385.
ō < *a* 9, *ā* 20, *ī* 41, *u* 50, *ū* 63,
r 79, *ē* 90, *ō* 99, *āu* 112, *ayū* 343,
ava 382, *āva* 386, *ivā* 389, *ivē*
390, *uwa* 394.
- au* < *a* 10, *ō* 100, *āu* 109, *ava* 383.
āu = *āu* 108.
k = *k* 114, < *kh* 132, *g* 141, *gh* 149,
p 288, *v* 366, *h* 445.
k(k) < *kt* 461, *ky* 474, *kr* 475, *kv*
479, *ks* 480, *ṛkh* 508, *rk* 713, *lk*
797, *ṣk* 822, *sk* 854, *sv* 900.
kī < *k* 117.
kh < *k* 115, = *kh* 131, < *gh* 150,
ṣ 404.
(k)kh < *kṣ* 481, *ṛkh* 508, *rk* 714,
rśn 784, *ṣk* 823, *ṣy* 850, *sk* 855,
st 860, *sth* 866, *sph* 882, *sr* 893,
sv 901.
x < *k* 115, *d* 248, *bh* 312, *h* 446.
x(x) < *sv* 901.
xt < *ṣk* 913.
xn < *śn* 921.
xs < *ks* 482, *ṣk* 914.
g < *k* 116, = *g* 140, < *gh* 151, *t* 222,
d 249, *v* 367.
g(g) < *kṣ* 483, *gn* 498, *gy* 502, *gr*
503, *ṛg* 510, *jñ* 515, *dg* 538, *dg*
600, *dgh* 601, *rg* 717, *rggh* 719,
ly 798.
gy < *jñ* 516.
gv < *v* 369.
gh < *kh* 133, *g* 142, = *gh* 148.
(g)gh < *ghr* 504, *dgh* 602, *rgr* 718,
rggh 720.
γ < *kh* 133, *g* 142, *j* 179, *v* 368,
ṣ 440.
(γ)γ < *gn* 498.
γd < *kt* 462.

$\gamma m < km$ 472.

$\gamma z < ktz$ 463.

$\eta g < \eta k$ 506, $\hat{n}c$ 528, m 321.

$\eta gh < \eta kh$ 509, ηg 511.

$c < k$ 118, kh 134, = c 155, < ch 173, j 180, t 223, $\$$ 424, h 447.

(c) $c < k\$$ 484, cy 513, cv 514, $\hat{n}c$ 529, ty 564, ts 591, tsy 595, $\acute{s}c$ 810, sc 856, $\acute{s}k$ 908, $\acute{s}y$ 930.

$\acute{c} < c$ 170.

$\acute{c} < k$ 118, c 156, $\$$ 424.

(\acute{c}) $\acute{c} < cv$ 514, tr 567, $\acute{s}y$ 930.

$ch < c$ 157, = ch 172, < \acute{s} 396, $\$$ 405, s 411.

(c) $ch < k\$$ 485, ts 592, tsy 596, thy 598, ps 684, $\acute{s}c$ 811.

$j < c$ 158, = j 178, < jh 189, y 331, r 350, s 412, $\$$ 425, \acute{z} 441.

(j) $j < k\$$ 486, $j\hat{n}$ 517, jy 521, ju 524, $\hat{n}c$ 530, dy 607, dr 609, bj 691, rj 722, ry 763, hy 947.

$\check{j} < c$ 159, z 433.

$jh < j$ 181, = jh 188, < d 250, s 412.

(j) $jh < k\$$ 486, ju 522, ju 525, dhy 619, dhr 626, dhw 629, rjh 725, sy 890, hy 948.

$\hat{n} < n$ 276.

(\hat{n}) $\hat{n} < j\hat{n}$ 518, $\hat{n}c$ 532, ηy 554, ηy 661, $\acute{s}n$ 838.

$\hat{n}j < \hat{n}c$ 531, ηy 553, ηy 660.

$\check{t} < ch$ 174, = \check{t} 191, < $\check{t}h$ 200, \check{d} 209, t 224.

(\check{t}) $\check{t} < nt$ 541, tt 559, tr 568, nth 641, rt 730, rth 739, $\acute{s}t$ 824, $\acute{s}tr$ 828, $\acute{s}th$ 834, st 861, sth 867.

$tr < tr$ 569.

$\check{t}h < c$ 160, ch 175, = $\check{t}h$ 199, < t 225, th 238.

(\check{t}) $\check{t}h < tr$ 570, ddh 603, rth 740, $\acute{s}t$ 825, $\acute{s}tr$ 829, $\acute{s}th$ 835, sty 865, sth 868.

$\check{d} < \check{t}$ 192, $\check{t}h$ 201, = \check{d} 208, < t 226, d 251, dh 265, l 359, \acute{s} 397.

(\check{d}) $\check{d} < dg$ 539, nt 542, nd 546, ndh

549, tr 571, dr 610, pt 665, rt 731, rd 743, rdh 749, $\acute{s}t$ 826, $\acute{s}tr$ 830, $\acute{s}th$ 836, sth 869.

$\check{d}h < \check{t}$ 193, $\check{t}h$ 202, th 239, dh 266, r 351.

(\check{d}) $\check{d}h < ddh$ 604, dr 611, rd 744, rdh 750, $r\acute{s}$ 777, $\acute{s}t$ 827, $\acute{s}tr$ 831, $\acute{s}th$ 837.

$n < n$ 277.

(n) $n < k\$n$ 492, $j\hat{n}$ 519, $\hat{n}c$ 533, ηy 555, ηv 557, ηy 662, $r\eta$ 726, $r\eta$ 754, $\acute{s}n$ 839.

$nt < nth$ 544.

$ntr < ntr$ 637.

$nd < nt$ 543.

$ndr < ntr$ 638, ndr 648.

$ndh < nth$ 545.

$n\hat{h} < \acute{s}n$ 840, sn 874, hn 940.

$\acute{t} < k$ 119, c 161, ch 176, \acute{t} 194, = \acute{t} 220, < th 240, d 252, dh 267, s 413.

(\acute{t}) $\acute{t} < kt$ 464, gdh 495, tm 561, ty 565, tr 572, tv 581, nt 632, nth 644, ndh 651, pt 666, rk 715, rt 732, st 862, sth 870, $\acute{s}t$ 915.

$tr < rk$ 716.

$th < c$ 162, t 227, = th 237, < d 253.

(t) $th < kth$ 469, nt 633, ndh 652, rth 741, st 863, sty 865, sth 871, $\acute{s}t$ 916.

$\theta < c$ 162, t 227, s 414.

$\check{d} < c$ 163, j 182, \check{d} 210, t 228, = d 246, < dh 268, r 352, s 415.

(\check{d}) $\check{d} < gdh$ 496, ju 526, tv 582, dy 608, dr 612, dv 616, dhy 620, dhr 627, dhw 630, nt 634, nth 645, ndh 653, pt 667, bd 694, rt 733, rd 745, $\acute{s}n$ 922.

$dr < tr$ 573.

$dh < th$ 241, d 254, = dh 264.

(\check{d}) $\check{d}h < gdh$ 497, dhy 621, dhr 628, dhw 631, pt 668, bdh 695, rd 746, rdh 751, $rdhw$ 752.

$\delta < d$ 254.

n < *n̄* 218, *d* 255, = *n* 275, < *m*
 320, *r* 353, *l* 360, *v* 370.
(n)n < *kn* 470, *k̄sn* 492, *gn* 499,
ĵn̄ 520, *ñc* 534, *dġ* 540, *nd̄* 548,
ndh 550, *ny* 556, *nv* 558, *nt* 636,
ndr 650, *ndh* 655, *ny* 663, *nv*
 664, *rn̄* 727, *rn* 755, *r̄sn* 785, *sn̄*
 841, *sn* 875, *šn* 923, *hn* 941.
nd < *nd̄* 547, *nt* 635, *nth* 646, *ndr*
 649, *ndh* 654, *šn* 922.
ndh < *nth* 647, *hn* 942.
(n)nh < *ndh* 656.
nm < *dm* 606, *sv* 902.
nv < *sv* 902.
nh < *sn̄* 842, *sn* 876.
p < *k* 120, *t̄* 195, = *p* 287, < *ph*
 296, *b* 304.
p(p) < *km* 473, *tp* 560, *tm* 563, *tv*
 583, *pn* 675, *py* 679, *pr* 680, *mp*
 702, *rp* 758, *rv* 767, *lp* 799, *sp*
 844, *sp* 877.
pt < *tm* 562.
ps < *fs* 690.
ph < *p* 289, = *ph* 295.
(p)ph < *sp* 845, *sp* 878, *sph* 883,
sv 903.
f < *p* 289, *bh* 313, *m* 322, *v* 371,
h 448.
f(f) < *tv* 584, *pn* 676, *sv* 903.
ft < *kt* 465, *pt* 669.
fth < *pt* 670.
fr < *tr* 574.
b < *n* 278, *p* 290, *ph* 297, = *b* 303,
 < *bh* 314, *m* 323, *y* 332, *v* 372.
b(b) < *ĵv* 527, *tv* 585, *dv* 617, *pt* 671,
bj 693, *br* 696, *bhr* 698, *mb* 704,
rb 759, *rv* 768, *lv* 805, *vy* 807.
bċ < *bj* 692.
bz < *ps* 685.
bh < *k* 121, *dh* 269, *ph* 298, *b* 305,
 = *bh* 311, < *y* 333, *v* 373, *h*
 449.
(b)bh < *bhy* 697, *bhr* 699, *rdhv* 753,
rbh 760, *rv* 769, *sm* 847, *hv*
 949.

m < *n* 279, *p* 291, *b* 306, *bh* 315,
 = *m* 319, < *v* 374.
m(m) < *km* 471, *gm* 501, *dm* 605,
nm 659, *pm* 677, *pm̄y* 678, *mn̄*
 701, *mb* 705, *mbh* 706, *mr* 710,
mv 711, *rm* 761, *lm* 801, *sm* 814,
sm̄ 848, *sm̄* 925, *hm* 944.
mb < *mp* 703, *mr* 709, *lm* 800, *hm*
 945.
mbh < *hm* 946.
mv < *m* 327.
mh < *bh* 316, *mbh* 707, *sm̄* 849, *sm̄*
 884.
mz < *ps* 686.
y < *ē* 92, *k* 122, *kh* 137, *g* 143, *c* 164,
j 183, *t̄* 229, *th* 242, *d̄* 256, *dh* 270,
p 292, *b* 307, = *y* 330, < *v* 375,
ś 398, *ś* 406, *h* 451.
y(y) < *dhy* 622.
yah < *ū* 64.
r < *r̄* 81, *t̄* 196, *d̄* 211, *d̄h* 215, *t̄* 230,
d̄ 257, *n* 280, *y* 334, = *r* 349, <
l 361.
r(r) < *kr* 476, *ghr* 505, *tr* 575, *ntr*
 639, *pt* 672, *pr* 681, *rn̄* 728, *rt*
 735, *rd* 747, *rn* 756, *rm* 762, *ry*
 764, *rv* 771, *rś* 778, *r̄sn* 786, *rh*
 795.
ra < *r̄* 69.
ri < *r̄* 72.
ru < *r̄* 75.
rj < *ry* 765.
rth < *rt* 729.
rd < *rt* 734.
rbh < *rv* 770.
rs < *r̄sn* 787.
rz < *rj* 723, *rś* 779, *r̄sn* 788.
rh < *th* 203.
r < *d̄* 211.
r̄h < *th* 203, *d̄h* 214.
l < *t̄* 197, *th* 204, *d̄* 212, *d̄h* 216,
n 219, *t̄* 231, *th* 243, *d̄* 258, *dh*
 271, *n* 281, *y* 335, *r* 354, = *l* 358,
 < *ś* 426.
l(l) < *kl* 478, *tr* 576, *tv* 586, *dr* 613,

- dhy* 623, *ntr* 640, *rt* 736, *rd* 748,
m 757, *ry* 766, *rz* 794, *rh* 796, *ly*
 803, *lv* 806, *št* 917.
lx < *ktr* 467.
ld < *rt* 737.
ls < *sr* 894.
lh < *th* 205, *dh* 216.
(l)lh < *ly* 804.
l < *t* 198, *d* 213, *dh* 217, *n* 219, *th*
 244, *d* 259, *n* 282, *r* 355, *l* 362.
l(l) < *str* 832.
lh < *dh* 217.
v < *k* 123, *kh* 138, *g* 144, *j* 184,
t 232, *d* 260, *dh* 272, *n* 283, *p* 293,
ph 299, *b* 308, *bh* 317, *m* 324,
y 336, = *v* 364, < *s* 399, *s* 416,
h 450.
v(v) < *tv* 587, *dv* 618, *pt* 673, *rv* 772,
vy 808, *vr* 809, *sv* 904, *šm* 926,
hv 950.
va < *ū* 65, *ō* 107.
vd < *pt* 674.
vr < *bhr* 700.
vs < *ps* 687.
ś = *ś* 395, < *ṣ* 407, *s* 417.
ś(ś) < *rṣ* 780, *śr* 818.
śc < *cch* 512.
sch < *cch* 512.
ṣ = *ṣ* 403, *s* 418.
ṣ(s) < *rṣ* 781, *sy* 851.
s < *kh* 135, *c* 165, *ch* 177, *t* 233,
m 325, *ś* 400, *ṣ* 408, = *s* 410, <
ś 427, *z* 434, *h* 452.
s(s) < *kṣ* 487, *ñc* 535, *ty* 566, *tr* 577,
ts 594, *tsy* 597, *thy* 599, *ps* 688,
rś 774, *rśv* 775, *rṣ* 782, *śc* 812,
śm 815, *śr* 819, *śl* 820, *śv* 821,
ṣy 852, *sc* 859, *st* 864, *sp* 879, *sm*
 885, *sy* 891, *sr* 895, *sv* 905, *šk* 909,
št 918.
sk < *šk* 910.
st < *sth* 872.
str < *pstr* 689.
sp < *tv* 588.
sf < *sp* 880.
sb < *sp* 881, *sm* 886.
sm < *šm* 927.
sr < *dr* 614.
sl < *sr* 896.
š < *k* 124, *c* 166, *s* 419, = *ś* 423,
 < *z* 435, *ž* 435, 442, *h* 453.
š(š) < *kṣ* 488, *tr* 578, *ts* 593, *pš* 683,
rš 781, *ršn* 789, *sc* 857, *sth* 873,
sy 892, *sr* 897, *šk* 911, *šm* 928,
šy 931.
šk < *sc* 858, *št* 919.
šč < *šk* 912.
št < *šty* 920.
šn < *kšn* 493, *ršn* 790.
šv < *ršv* 792.
z < *k* 126, *c* 167, *j* 185, *jh* 190,
s 420, *ś* 428, = *z* 432, < *ž* 443,
h 454.
z(z) < *kṣ* 490, *jy* 523, *dhy* 624, *sm*
 887, *šn* 924, *zd* 934, *žd* 938.
zy < *ktz* 463.
zd < *žd* 939.
zm < *sm* 888, *zv* 936.
ž < *k* 126, *g* 145, *c* 168, *j* 186, *ś* 429,
z 436, = *ž* 439, < *h* 454.
ž(ž) < *jy* 523, *rj* 724, *ršn* 791, *šy*
 932.
žg < *zg* 933.
žb < *zb* 937.
žm < *sm* 889, *šm* 929.
h < *k* 125, *kh* 136, *g* 146, *gh* 152,
c 169, *th* 206, *t* 234, *th* 245, *d* 261,
dh 273, *ph* 300, *bh* 318, *y* 337,
ś 401, *ṣ* 409, *s* 421, *ś* 430, *z* 437,
 = *h* 444.
h(h) < *kṣ* 489, *ñc* 536, *tv* 589, *dhy*
 625, *rggh* 721, *rśv* 776, *rṣ* 783, *štr*
 833, *šn* 843, *sp* 846, *sy* 853, *sr*
 898, *sv* 906, *hn* 943, *hv* 951.
ht < *kt* 466.
hn < *kšn* 494.
hm < *mbh* 708.
hr < *ktr* 468, *kr* 477, *tr* 579, *dr*
 615.
hr < *th* 207.

<i>hl</i> < <i>pr</i> 682, <i>rt</i> 738, <i>rth</i> 742, <i>rs</i> 793.	<i>ṁdh</i> < <i>nth</i> 643.
<i>ṁ</i> < <i>m</i> 326.	<i>ṁd</i> < <i>ṅj</i> 537.
<i>ṁgh</i> < <i>nkh</i> 509.	<i>ṁr</i> < <i>ṅdh</i> 551.
<i>ṁj(j)</i> < <i>ndhy</i> 657, <i>śr</i> 816.	<i>ṁv</i> < <i>lm</i> 802.
<i>ṁj(j)h</i> < <i>ndhy</i> 658, <i>śr</i> 817.	<i>ṁs</i> < <i>rś</i> 773.
<i>ṁth</i> < <i>nth</i> 642.	<i>ṁz</i> < <i>śn</i> 924.
	<i>ṁh</i> < <i>ṅdh</i> 552, <i>ṁgh</i> 712.

III. WORD-INDEX

(Numbers refer to §§.)

A. Sanskrit.

a.
akṛṇavam 74.
akṛṇōt 74.
akṣapāta 193.
agni 498, 960.
agra, 503.
anākōtha 204.
anākōl(l)a 204.
anaga 34.
anagāra 3, 355.
anagulikā 4.
acalā 158.
acyuta 513.
ajagara 187.
añjana 537.
aṭavī 192.
atasī 11, 410.
atyunnata 565.
atra 458.
atha 241.
athavā 245.
adya 607, 608.
adhas 11.
adhījya 522.
adhvan 631.
anurāga 11.
anurūpa 958.
anusāsana 417.
antahkaraṇa 954.
andhakāra 656.
anya 661, 663.
anvēṣaṇa 664.
anvēṣanti 407.

api 290.
apriya 680.
apsarā 684.
abhimanyu 324.
*abhisāṇa 313.
abhyantara 697.
abhyayana 341.
amātya 11, 565.
araghatta 152.
araṇya 11, 554, 556.
arka 713.
argha 720.
artha 739, 740.
arbuda 759.
alanakāra 11.
alika 37.
avakāśa 128.
avajñā 380.
avaṭa 11, 958.
avatāra 383.
avatrāṇa 11.
avāra 382.
avalambati 381.
avavāda 382.
avaśyāya 382.
avasthita 380.
aśīti 395, 400.
aśōka 11.
aśru 816, 817, 819.
aśva 821.
aśvatara 879.
aṣṭi 8.
aṣṭāu 825.
astamanaya 958.

asthi 867, 869.
asmi 884.
ā.
ākāra 122.
ākāśa 125.
āgata 147.
ācārya 163, 164.
ājñā 516.
ājñācakra 475, 519.
ātapa 232.
ātman 561, 562, 563.
ādēśa 256.
āpāta 227.
āpīda 291.
*ābhātāpa 16, 312.
āma 139.
āmālaka 324, 358.
āmra 709, 710.
āyudha 336.
ārabdha 351.
āryaputra 294.
ālabhiṣyanti 407.
ālabhana 361, 705.
ālāna 955.
ālōka 19.
āvarta 732.
āvīrbhutvā 340.
āviṣkṛta 388.
āsā 19.
āścarya 8, 810.
i.
ikṣu 26, 27, 29, 487.
ītara 229.

<i>iti</i> 25.	<i>uṣman</i> 847, 849.	<i>kaṇṭaka</i> 541, 542, 543.
<i>idānīm</i> 31, 328, 458, 953.	<i>ū</i> .	<i>kaṇva</i> 557.
<i>iva</i> 24.	<i>ūnavimśati</i> 65.	<i>kathana</i> 245.
<i>iṣu</i> 27.	<i>ūrja</i> 63.	<i>katham</i> 328.
<i>iḥalōka</i> 456.	<i>ūrṇa</i> 727, 755.	<i>kathayati</i> 114, 342.
<i>ī</i> .	<i>ūrṇavābhi</i> 313.	<i>kathā</i> 240.
<i>īśvara</i> 37, 821.	<i>ūrdhva</i> 752, 753.	<i>kadamba</i> 258.
<i>u</i> .	<i>ūrmi</i> 83.	<i>kadalī</i> 260, 261, 262.
<i>ukta</i> 377.	<i>ṛ</i> .	<i>kanyā</i> 660, 661.
<i>ucchiṣṭa</i> 512.	<i>ṛkṣa</i> 72, 485, 487.	<i>kapardikā</i> 747.
<i>ucyatē</i> 377.	<i>ṛtu</i> 74, 220.	<i>kapāta</i> 8, 191, 290, 293.
<i>udhya</i> 211, 213.	<i>ṛtvij</i> 70.	<i>kapāla</i> 293.
<i>uta</i> 228.	<i>ṛddhā</i> 72.	<i>kapinjala</i> 28, 293.
<i>utkanthā</i> 461.	<i>ṛṣi</i> 71, 82.	<i>kapittha</i> 294.
<i>utpadyantē</i> 560.	<i>ē</i> .	<i>kapōta</i> 290.
<i>utsada</i> 594.	<i>ēka</i> 86, 92, 114.	<i>kabandha</i> 306, 307.
<i>utsava</i> 48.	<i>ēkaśaṣṭi</i> 409.	<i>kampati</i> 703, 953.
<i>utsuka</i> 594.	<i>ēkasaptati</i> 421.	<i>kambala</i> 704, 705.
<i>udaka</i> 51, 122.	<i>ēkādaśa</i> 9, 86, 87, 257.	<i>kambōja</i> 180.
<i>udumbara</i> 51.	<i>ētadrśa</i> 257.	<i>karīṣa</i> 406.
<i>udūdḥā</i> 216.	<i>ēdrśa</i> 458.	<i>karōṭi</i> 195.
<i>udghāṭayati</i> 601, 602.	<i>ēnas</i> 281, 282.	<i>karakaṭa</i> 713.
<i>udghōṣa</i> 602.	<i>ēraṇḍa</i> 93.	<i>karakaṭikā</i> 4, 713.
<i>udvōṣṭati</i> 618.	<i>ēva</i> 340.	<i>karkara</i> 713.
<i>udvōḍha</i> 216.	<i>ō</i> .	<i>karṇa</i> 727.
<i>undara</i> 45.	<i>ōjas</i> 103.	<i>kartari</i> 732.
<i>undura</i> 45.	<i>ōṣṭha</i> 458, 835.	<i>karpāsa</i> 18, 410, 421.
<i>unmārga</i> 659.	<i>āu</i> .	<i>karpūra</i> 349, 758.
<i>upaṭṭhāyaka</i> 346.	<i>āutsukya</i> 110.	<i>karbura</i> 44.
<i>upaḍhyāya</i> 51, 293, 619.	<i>āupamya</i> 112.	<i>karman</i> 761.
<i>upaviśati</i> 51.	<i>āupaśivi</i> 28.	<i>karṣaṇa</i> 777.
<i>upaviṣṭa</i> 376.	<i>āuśadhi</i> 273.	<i>kalpa</i> 799.
<i>upasthāna</i> 51.	<i>k</i> .	<i>kalpatē</i> 799.
<i>upasthūpitvā</i> 16.	<i>kaṁsa</i> 890.	<i>kalya</i> 803, 804.
<i>urvaśī</i> 809.	<i>kakkōla</i> 119, 957.	<i>kāmsya</i> 890.
<i>ulūkhala</i> 50.	<i>kaṁkaṇa</i> 506.	<i>kāka</i> 116.
<i>ulkā</i> 50, 797.	<i>kaṁchapa</i> 5, 291.	<i>kāncana</i> 535.
<i>uṣita</i> 377.	<i>kaṭaha</i> 192, 196, 197.	<i>katara</i> 229.
<i>uṣtra</i> 828.	<i>kathina</i> 25.	<i>kārya</i> 763, 765.
<i>uṣṇa</i> 838, 839, 840, 841, 842.		<i>kārsāpaṇa</i> 783.
		<i>kāla</i> 362.
		<i>kātāyasa</i> 346.
		<i>kāsa</i> 115.

kiñculaka 363.
kiñva 557, 558.
kiyant 345.
kirāta 118.
kisalaya 339.
kīṭa 37, 192.
kīḍṛśa 40.
kīra 116.
kīrti 37.
kīla 37.
kiñcikā 530, 531, 953.
kuṭumba 45.
kuṭumbaka 194.
kuṭhara 205.
kuṭhārī 200, 202, 203,
 205, 206, 207.
kuddāla 50, 127.
kunda 118.
kupyati 679.
kubja 115, 691, 692,
 693.
kumāra 327.
kumbhakāra 706, 707,
 708.
kurkura 715, 716.
kula 48.
kuṣṭha 50, 836, 837.
kuṣṭhin 50.
kūṭa 198.
kūpa 59, 115, 294, 329.
kr̥ta 71, 228, 231.
kr̥tvā 80.
kr̥pana 71.
kr̥ṣi 76, 118, 119.
kr̥ṣṇa 840, 841, 842.
kl̥pta 84.
kēyūra 88.
kēśarī 401.
kāiṭabha 193.
kāivarta 98.
kōkila 122, 123, 128,
 959.
kōṭi 357.
kōṣṭha 834.
kāñkṣyaka 110.

kāumudī 112.
kr̥ḍa 40.
kr̥ḍati 212.
kr̥ḍaka 115.
kl̥iṣṭa 478.
kl̥ēśa 960.
kṣaṇa 487.
kṣatriya 485.
kṣamā 3, 319.
kṣaya 342.
kṣāra 355, 491.
kṣīṇa 486.
kṣīyatē 486.
kṣīra 35, 37, 480, 490.
kṣudra 484, 610.
kṣudhā 264, 268.
kṣētra 485, 572.
kṣēpana 955.

kh.

khaṭvā 5.
khadya 538, 539, 540,
 960.
khaṇḍaka 546, 548.
khanēt 277.
khara 131.
khalu 132, 363.
khalvāṭa 806.
khā 132.
khādati 16, 131, 256.
khādana 262.
khādita 256.

g.

gaccha 512.
gaja 183.
gaṇḍaka 548.
gatā 228.
gadgada 257.
ga(m)bhīra 37, 141.
garuḍa 141.
garjana 722.
garjita 722.
garta 731.

gardabha 140, 743, 744,
 745, 746, 955.
garbha 760.
garbhinī 25, 42.
garha 795, 796.
gala 358.
gahvara 949.
gāthā 245.
gunaganayukta 218.
guhya 947, 948.
gr̥dhra 71, 626, 627,
 628.
gr̥ha p. ix, 67, 68, 78,
 82 (bis), 142.
gr̥hagōdhikā 271.
gr̥hastha 72, 872.
gr̥h̥tvā 40.
gēha p. ix, 67, 78, 142.
gēhinī 456.
gāirika 27, 98.
gōdhūma 101, 106, 142,
 273, 274, 959.
gōṣṭhika 118.
gōṣṭhī 835.
gōsvāmika 324, 326.
gāura 112.
gāurava 109.
grantha 642, 643, 644.
granthi 641, 642.
grāma 16, 319.
gr̥iṣma 847, 848, 849.

gh.

ghaṭa 148, 192.
ghṛta 71.
ghōṭaka 151.

c.

cakōra 122.
cakra 165, 169, 475.
cakṣu 9, 10.
cañcu 9, 160, 162.
caturtha 235, 739, 740,
 741, 959.
caturdaśa 745.

- catvāri* 155, 156, 581,
 587.
catvārimśat 354, 355.
candra 648, 649, 650.
campaka 702.
carana 354.
carmakāra 128, 959.
carman 761.
corrayati 767, 768.
calati 358.
calana 5.
cāṇakya 474.
cāmara 12, 328.
cikitsā 161.
cihna 941, 942.
 √*cuṭ* 191.
cūrṇa 59, 728.
cēṭa 196, 197.
cōra 106, 169.
cāurya 110.
cyavatē 513.

 ch.
chagala 141.
 √*chap* 172, 173, 174,
 175, 176, 287.
chardati 743.
chāyā 22, 177, 329, 337,
 378.
chidra 613.
 √*chut* 191.
chupati 43.

 j.
jāgat 143.
jaṅgala 181, 511.
jaṅgha 178.
jana 8, 181.
janman 659.
jananu 287.
jambuka 705.
jambūla 360.
jarāyu 332.
jala 185.
jalūkikā 120, 957.
- jāgarati* 12.
jāmātrka 81.
jālma 801.
jihvā 28, 182, 185, 949,
 950, 951, 952.
jīra 38.
jīva 35, 376.
jīvita 35.
jugupsati 182, 684.
jūta 235.
jñāti 520.
jñāna 516, 517.
jyā 522.
jyōti 220.
jyōtsnā 103.
jvara 527.
jvalati 525.
jvāla 524, 526, 527.

 jh.
jhampa 188.
jhalla 189.
jhāulika 112.

 ṭ.
ṭalati 362.

 ḍ.
 √*ḍap* 210.
ḍākinī 397.

 t.
takta 462.
takṣan 226.
tataḥ 228.
tathā 241.
tapas 289, 294.
tapta 667, 670.
tapyatē 679.
tamasa 3.
taru 53.
talē 94.
taskara 854.
tādrśa 257.
tāmbūla 63.
- tāmra* 224, 709, 710.
tāmraparṇa 727.
tāla 359.
tāvat 228, 374.
tāntidī 27, 30.
tiraścīna 39.
tilaka 224.
tiṣṭhati 223.
tikṣna 37.
tīrṭha 41, 83.
tuccha 233, 234.
tunḍa 220, 225.
tulādhāra 272.
 **tusya* 890.
tūrya 59, 764.
trṇa 66, 82.
trpyati 227.
trṣṇā 71, 82, 843.
tē 228.
tējas 182.
tāila 98.
trayaścattvārimśat 813.
trayastrimśat 336.
trayōdaśa 8, 13, 344.
trayōvimśati 376.
trimaṇḍala 572.
trṇi 569.
truṭati 191.
trāilōkya 474.
tvarita 581.

 ḍ.
damṣṭrā 830, 831, 832,
 833.
daka 122.
dakṣiṇa 481, 489.
dadru 610, 611, 960.
dadrūghna 249, 957.
dadhi 953.
 √*dam* 9.
dayālu 330.
darśana 773.
daśa 246, 401.
daśati 246, 251.
dahati 251.

dādīma 212.
dāman 322.
dālīma 212.
dāva 375.
divasu 25, 376, 421.
divā 375.
dirgha 35, 83, 720, 721.
duḥkha 954.
dukūla 57.
dugdha 495, 496, 497.
duṇḍubha 546.
duṇḍubhi 315.
durōsārīta 356.
durgā 252.
durgādēvī 958.
durbala 12, 44, 759.
duṣkrta 822.
duḥkītar 52, 250, 254.
dūta 251.
dūrvā 22.
dr̥m̐hita 254.
dr̥dha 217.
dr̥ṣṭi 33.
dr̥ṣṭha 55.
dēva 85, 365.
dēvakula 958.
dēvara 87, 375, 392.
dēvālaya 16, 339.
dēśīya 395.
dēhalī 360.
dōgdhum 495.
dōlā 251.
dōhada 258, 259.
dōhala 258, 259.
dāwārīka 110.
dyuti 607.
dyūtakara 3.
dyōtayatī 335.
dr̥āksā 612.
dvādaśan 617, 958.
dvādaśanavārṣa 398.
dvāra 616, 617.
dvi 616.
dviguṇa 147, 959.
dvitīya 37.

dvibhāga 30.
dvīpa 616.
dvēṣas 617.

dh.
√dhakk 266.
dhattūra 268.
ghanu 4.
dhamatī 268.
dharma 268.
dhavala 264, 383.
dhārayatī 15, 267, 342.
dhāvaka 264.
dhūma 59, 61, 326, 328.
dhṛta 80.
dhṛṣṭa 265, 266.
dhēnu 277.
dhāīrya 97.
dhyāna 619 (bis).
dhr̥va 628.
dhvaja 629, 630, 631.

n.

nakula 123, 128.
nakta 462.
nakha 5, 131, 956.
nagara 141, 143, 144.
nagna 5, 278, 498.
nadī 262, 277.
nabhas 317, 329.
nayatī 342.
nayana 342.
nartakī 730.
nava 'new' 281.
nava 'nine' 374.
navaka 129, 281.
navatī 364.
navanavatī 370, 956.
navanīta 281.
nahyatī 948.
nāga 143.
nāpita 290, 959.
nābhi 315.
nāman 275, 326, 327.
nāmayatī 275.

nārikēla 122, 128.
nīhśvāsa 954.
nikāṭa 959.
nikāṣa 125.
nītya 565, 566.
nīdrā 22, 30, 609, 612.
nīmba 281, 705.
nirgrantha 718.
nirghṛṇa 720.
nirjhara 725.
niṣkarṣaṇa 822.
niṣputra 844.
nīcē 155.
nīḍa 40.
nīpa 291.
nīla 55, 281.
nūnam 57, 59.
nūpura 62, 955.
nēmi 328.
nāiraṅjana 280, 956.
nāu 108.

p.

pakta 466.
pakva 2, 3, 5, 287, 479.
pakṣa 481, 487, 489.
paṅkti 507.
pacatī 165.
pañca 535, 536.
pañcadaśa 263.
pañcaviṃśatī 4.
pañcāsata 529, 532, 533,
 534.
pañjara 3.
paṭhati 202, 203.
paṭhana 201.
paṭatī 226.
paṭākā 226.
pattana 559.
pathya 598.
pāḍa 256.
padīka 262.
pantha 647.
param 356.
parampara 702.

paraśu 399.
parasvant 290.
parigha 289.
paridhīyatē 955.
parīkṣā 36.
parut 5.
paraśa 289.
parē 356.
paryanaka 506, 766.
paryāna 766.
parvata 768, 772.
parvan 770.
palāyati 347.
palāśa 359.
pavana 364, 365.
paśu 401.
paścāt 287, 810, 811,
 812, 813.
**paścē* 94.
pādika 261.
pāpa 293.
pāribhadra 289.
pārśva 775, 776.
pāśa 289, 401.
picumanda 955.
pitara 235.
pipāsā 292.
pipīlika 288, 957.
pippala 358, 361.
pibati 309.
pītha 201, 202.
pīdana 208, 211, 213.
puṅya 554, 555.
putra 568, 571, 572.
punar 44, 291.
pupphusa 49.
pura 48.
purandara 352.
puravāsin 372.
puruṣa 43, 45, 408.
puškara 823.
puṣpa 289, 844, 845.
puśya 851, 852, 853.
pustaka 50, 863.
pūgaphala 12.

pūya 332.
pūrāna 350.
pūrṇa 728.
pūrva 62.
pr(c)chati 177, 512.
prthaktra 4.
prth(i)vī 9, 74, 245.
prdāku 68, 82, 329.
prstha 71, 76, 77, 82
 (bis), 835.
pāura 109.
pāuśya 851, 852, 853.
prati 224, 680.
pratibhāti 311.
prativāsin 389.
prativēśaka 87.
prativēśayati 390.
prathama 4, 238, 244,
 245.
prathamaputra 570.
**prathara* 3.
pradakṣiṇa 5.
pradipta 258.
pradēśa 252.
prabhavāmi 379.
pravatā 382.
pravartati 375.
pravāda 251.
pravāsin 38.
prasūda 422.
prastara 863.
prasthāpana 680.
prahara 3.
prāpmōti 675, 677.
priya 345.
prēma 85.

ph.

phadīṅga 296.
phaṇu 295.
phalgu 8, 296.
phāla 361.
phupphusa 49.
phēna 87.

b.

baḍiśa 209.
badura 9.
badhira 8, 273.
badhnati 303.
bandhyā 308, 658.
balivarda 363, 748.
balvaja 304, 805.
bahurūpa 61.
bāḍha 304.
bāśpa 308, 844, 845,
 846.
bāhu 53.
bidāla 955.
bindu 27.
bilva 806.
bīja 37.
bībhatsa 591.
budhyatē 303, 619, 624.
bubhukṣā 480.
brhaspati 305, 456,
 879.
brahmaṇya 553.
brāhmaṇa 218, 696,
 944, 945, 946.

bh.

bhakta 464.
bhaginī 28, 147, 314,
 959.
bhaṅgā 315.
bhata 192.
bhanati 316.
bhadra 613.
bhaya 342.
bharati 2.
bhavati 318, 382.
bhaviśyāmi 853.
bhaviśyāsi 418.
bhaviśyē 384.
bhasvara 905.
bhāgadhēya 147.
bhāginēya 16, 146.
bhāṅda 318.

bhānumatī 46.
bhāṣā 404.
bhāṣya 357.
bhinudmi 606.
bhīma 40.
bhīṣma 36.
bhūmi 56, 311, 326.
bhōga 140.
bhōjana 99.
bhramara 325, 698, 699.
bhrātar 699.
bhrātrja 178.
bhrātrjāyā 178.
bhrāmukha 57.

m.

makṣikā 481, 485, 487.
maga 141.
maṭha 199.
matsya 595, 596, 597.
mathana 237.
madgu 600.
madhu 268.
madhura 270.
madhya 8, 319, 619, 620, 621, 624, 625.
madhvalū 629.
manōrama 4, 323.
mantra 637, 638.
manmatha 324.
manyāmi 663.
mayūra 343.
marakata 116.
masūraka 60.
mahārāṣṭra 829.
mahārgḥa 16, 444, 719.
mahiṣa 323, 329.
māca 158.
mātar 232, 235.
mātrka 81.
mātra 19.
māna 459.
mānanā 276.
mānuṣa 4, 404.

mārga 16.
mārgayati 717.
mārgaśira 16.
mārgaśirsa 778.
mītra 580.
mīthyā 598, 599.
mīmāṃs 324.
mukta 461.
muktā 50, 464.
mukha 44, 131, 136, 138.
mugdha 497.
mucanti 163.
mudga 600.
mudgara 4, 13, 600.
mudrā 43, 612.
muṣala 48.

muṣṭi 48.
mūhūrta 732.
mūḍha 214.
mūḍhatva 215.
mūḷya 58, 59, 804.
mūṣ 58.
mūṣa 403.
mṛga 71.
mṛgaya 336.
mṛgāṅka 71.
mṛṅālu 74.
mṛta 68, 319.
mṛttikā 68, 82 (*bis*), 559.
mṛśā(vādin) 79, 82 (*bis*).
mṛṣta 824.
mēgha 89, 150, 152.
māuli 109.
māyati 960.
mleccha 86.

y.

ya 331.
yaḥṇa 515.
yat prabhṛti 329.
yathā 3, 331.
yadi 246, 252.

yantragṛha 331.
yabhati 330.
yāmala 324, 361.
yaṣṭi 335, 825.
yāna 331.
yāvat 374.
yuga 50, 142.
yugala 140, 147.
yugma 501.
yuṣmākam 338.
yūkā 338.
yūtha 237.
yōktra 99.
yōgya 331, 502.
yāuvana 112, 331.

r.

rakta 464.
raṇḍā 547, 548.
ratna 960.
ratnī 354.
ratha 242, 245.
raṇaṅjaya 337.
raraṭa 359, 360.
raśmi 815.
rājakula 959.
rājan 180, 183, 184, 187, 349.
rājila 27.
rājñī 519.
rājya 521.
rātrī 19, 572, 580.
rāyati 348.
rukmaratī 471.
rukminī 473.
ruṣṭa 827.
rēkhā 133, 349.
rējju 354.
rēpha 298.
rēhmi 358.
rōcati 103.
rōdana 959.
rōmun 310, 326.
rōhita 106.

l.
lagna 358, 498.
lagyatē 502.
laghu 152.
laghuka 955.
lāṅgūla 510.
lajjā 329.
labdha 695.
labhati 318.
labhyatē 697.
lalāṭa 359, 360.
lavana 360, 380, 382.
lašūna 402.
laharī 8.
lāṅgala 360, 510.
likṣā 361, 955.
likhati 131, 137.
lipi 290.
limpati 358.
luṅ(h)ā 360.
lēṣṭu 826.
lēhmi 358.
lōṭyām 103.
lōpāśu 16, 17, 290, 293,
 361.
lōha 444.
lōhakāra 103.

v.
vaṅgana 8.
vacana 171, 277.
vaḍiśu 209.
vatsa 5, 7, 591 (*bis*), 592,
 593, 594.
vatsara 592.
vadhū 59, 270, 273.
vana 281, 282.
vanaspati 877, 879.
varkara 3, 9.
varga 717.
virtakā 374, 730, 734.
virtikā 364, 732.
vardhaki 750.
vardhatē 749, 750, 751.
varṣa 781.

valkala 797.
valgā 798.
valgulī 798.
vahni 940, 943.
vāñija 219.
vāmana 328.
vāyu 339.
vālukā 45.
vāṣpa 372, 373.
viṃśati 28, 958.
vikarōti 123.
vikāśatē 123.
vighatātē 151.
viññaptika 374.
viññāna 518, 519.
vidyut 24, 607.
vidhyati 620.
virala 372.
vilāsa 417.
viśa 409.
viśmaya 884, 885.
viśvāla 949, 951.
vr̥ksa p. ix, 69, 75.
vr̥tta 559.
vr̥tti 225.
vr̥ddha 68, 74, 82, 103,
 372.
vr̥ddhatva 583.
vr̥ddhi 604.
vr̥nta 82.
vr̥ścika 364, 811.
vr̥ṣa 70.
vr̥ṣabha 68, 408.
vr̥ṣṭi 74.
vēdanā 87.
vēṣṭa 372, 373.
vēṣṭaka 826, 827.
vēṣṭana 90.
vāidya 608.
vāiśravaṇa 374.
vāihāyasa 346.
vāihāra 449.
vyamśana 807.
vyakti 33.
vyagra 503.

vyajana 187, 959.
vyatīta 807, 808.
vyathayati 241.
vyāghra 15, 16, 504,
 807, 808.
vyāsa 357.
vyutsarga 594.
vrajati 180.
vr̥hi 456.
vrudati 955.

ś.
śakatikā 193.
śakrt 396, 419.
śakthi 469.
śaknōti 470.
śakta 461.
śaṇa 396.
śata 235, 395, 400.
śapharī 298, 300, 301.
śabara 303, 306.
śabda 694.
śayana 955.
śayanāsana 342.
śayyā 8.
śaraḍ 262.
śarkara 713, 714.
śāka 397.
śākinī 397.
śākhā 133.
śāṇa 419.
śādvāla 616.
śālūka 59.
śālmali 800, 801, 802.
śāvaka 396.
śīthila 25, 239, 958.
śilā 400.
śiśira 402.
śisya 850.
śikara 121.
śighra 504.
śīta 841.
śīrṣa 37, 395, 401, 402,
 780, 782, 783.
śūka 123.

śuṅṭhi 544, 545.
śuddha 603.
śuśruṣa 400.
śuṣka 822, 823.
śuśyati 852.
śūnya 662, 663.
śrākhala 133, 508, 509,
 953.
śrāga 71.
śśa 396.
śāikṣa 489.
śāilā 98.
śōbhati 400.
śāurya 111.
śmaśāna 814, 815.
śmaśru 9, 814, 819.
śyāmala 324, 361.
śraddhā 604.
śravaṇa 818, 819.
śrāmanēya 334.
śrikā 125.
ślāghā 960.
ślēṣma 820, 960.
śvaśura 349, 401.
śvaśrū 5, 818, 819, 821,
 895, 897.
śvāsa 821.
 ṣ.
ṣaṭpada 405.
ṣaṇḍha 408, 549, 550,
 551, 552, 953.
ṣaṣ 405.
ṣaṣṭi 824, 825.
ṣōḍaśa 212, 213, 403,
 408.
 s.
sakaṭa 955.
sakala 116.
sakhi 136.
sarṅgē 94.
saṭā 193.
satya 5, 13, 564, 566.
samnirundhati 269.

sandhi 8, 656.
sandhyā 657, 658.
sapādika 291.
saptacatvarimśat 8.
saptati 230.
saptan 410, 666.
saptaṣaṣṭi 665, 672.
saphala 298.
sabhika 417.
samaja 183.
samavasrṣṭa 382.
samudra 4, 48, 955.
samrddhi 5.
sambhavanti 379.
sammarsa 9.
sarayu 333.
sarpa 421, 758.
sarva 768, 769, 772.
sarvajña 517, 518, 520.
sarṣapa 5.
sahasra 415, 895.
sādhu 273.
sārdha 749, 750.
sāsnā 18.
simha 28, 410, 712,
 953.
sikha 469.
siṅcati 411.
sindūra 30.
sirā 411.
sīdati 422.
sīvyati 807.
sukumāra 115.
sukṛta 66.
sugandha 959.
sudhā 411.
supta 666, 667.
suruṅga 44.
suvarṇa 726, 727.
suvrṣṭi 372.
sūci 171.
sūtra 569.
sūtradhāra 411.
sūrya 58, 764, 765, 960.
syāla 34, 147.

srjaṇakāra 125.
sāinya 96.
skandha 654, 656, 854,
 855, 953.
stana 276, 863.
stambha 860, 861.
stuti 45 (bis).
stāinya 862.
styāna 865.
strī 14, 34, 960.
sthala 362.
sthavira 384, 385.
sthāṇu 866.
sthāna 14, 280, 284, 868,
 871.
sthāpayati 19, 290.
sthāli 870.
sthira 870, 871.
sthūra 54, 57.
snāna 14, 275, 874, 876,
 960.
snāyu 334.
snūsar 875.
snēha 452, 875.
snāihika 452.
spandana 878.
sparsa 877, 878.
sparsana 5, 774.
sphaṭika 125, 197.
sphuṭa 883.
sphurati 44.
sphōtaka 882, 883.
sphōṭati 198.
smaraṇa 960.
smarati 885.
smṛti 885.
syāla 891.
sruc 158.
srōtas 895, 898, 899.
svaka 905.
svapant 291.
svajna 675.
svajampati 337.
svāṅga 905.
svāmīn 905, 906.

<p><i>h.</i></p> <p><i>haṁsa</i> 412, 953. <i>hatyā</i> 564. <i>haridrā</i> 25.</p>	<p><i>hasta</i> 444, 455, 862, 863. <i>haridrā</i> 354. <i>hintāla</i> 445. <i>hiranya</i> 556.</p>	<p>*<i>hṛdaka</i> 251. <i>hṛdaya</i> 71, 256, 330, 339, 444. <i>hyastana</i> 862. <i>hrada</i> 955.</p>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

B. Iranian.

(O.P.= Old Persian, which is cited in the Index only when no Avesta equivalent is found.)

<p><i>a.</i></p> <p><i>aiwirocayeiti</i> 313. <i>axšaēna</i> 12, 87, 89. <i>angušta</i> 11, 510, 913, 915, 917, 918, 958. <i>antarə</i> 958. <i>anya</i> 3, 663. <i>āp</i> 20, 287, 290, 293, 294. <i>apərənāyu</i> 11, 67, 82. <i>apəs</i> 11. <i>awra</i> 700, 955. O.P. <i>amānaya</i> 17. <i>arajah</i> 723, 724. <i>arša</i> 67, 71, 139, 429. <i>awa</i> 371. <i>awaða</i> 382. O.P. <i>avākanam</i> 328. <i>avivanta</i> 365. <i>asaya</i> 177, 330. <i>asənga</i> 11. <i>aspa</i> 2, 5, 340, 458, 879. <i>asman</i> 11, 886, 889. <i>asru</i> 9, 236, 894, 896, 897, 955. <i>ašəmaoya</i> 149. <i>ašta</i> 8, 377, 914, 915, 916, 919. <i>azəm</i> 377. <i>azdā</i> 11. <i>aži dahāka</i> 357. <i>ahmāka</i> 11, 15.</p>	<p><i>ahmākəm</i> 115. <i>ahmi</i> 340.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ā.</i></p> <p><i>āgəmat</i> 501. <i>ātarš</i> 3, 21, 222, 340. <i>āfrīna</i> 279. <i>āyapta</i> 21.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>i.</i></p> <p><i>ištya</i> 24, 28, 920.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>u.</i></p> <p><i>uairi</i> 51, 293. <i>uši</i> 50. <i>uštra</i> 44, 51.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>aē.</i></p> <p><i>aēxa</i> 89, 92, 131. <i>aēθrapaiti</i> 458. <i>aēva</i> 92. <i>aēšma</i> 86, 887, 888. <i>aēšma</i> 139.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>ao.</i></p> <p><i>aošah</i> 458.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>k.</i></p> <p><i>ka</i> 116, 118. <i>kata</i> 117, 118, 221. O.P. <i>καπίθη</i> 168. <i>kafa</i> 115, 295, 296. <i>kamna</i> 701. <i>karana</i> 955. <i>karəta</i> 733, 734, 735. <i>karəna</i> 754, 755.</p>	<p>✓<i>karəš</i> 8. <i>karšayən</i> 781. <i>karšta</i> 74. <i>karšvar</i> 792. <i>kasu</i> 410, 421. <i>kahrkāsa</i> 16, 115. <i>kāvaya</i> 387. <i>kərəta</i> 118. <i>kərənəoiti</i> 74, 82, 114. <i>kərəma</i> 67, 70, 82. <i>kušaiti</i> 429. <i>kū</i> 59. <i>kaofa</i> 103, 114, 117, 296, 297, 299, 300.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>x.</i></p> <p><i>xara</i> 131, 132, 134, 135, 136. *<i>xara-gaoša</i> 144. <i>xrafstra</i> 689. <i>xraosōit</i> 960. <i>xšap(an)</i> 289, 290, 293, 481, 482, 488. *<i>xšapacara</i> 484. <i>xšafriya</i> 678. O.P. <i>xšayaθiya</i> 346, 488. <i>xšira</i> 488. <i>xšudra</i> 614. <i>xšmāka</i> 115, 338, 960. <i>xšvaš</i> 428. <i>xšvašti</i> 8.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>g.</i></p> <p><i>gaða</i> 142.</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

gainti 636.
garah 358.
garəma 140, 141, 145,
 762.
gāu, gāv 140, 145, 376.
gātu 15.
gərəpta 71.
 O.P. *gādumava* 328.
gūθa 59, 237, 243, 245.
gaēθanəm 245.
gaona 105.
gaospənta 880.
gaoša 34, 99, 102, 103,
 107, 141, 142, 423,
 426, 427, 429, 431.

c.

cazra 155, 477.
caθwārō 4, 18, 156, 170,
 583, 584, 585, 586,
 587, 589, 590.
carəman 762.
cašman 155, 156, 157,
 925, 926, 928, 929.
 **ci-gaona* 147.
ciθra 155, 165, 575, 579.
ciθ 24.
ciryā 764.
 O.P. *ciy* 30.
 O.P. *cišciy* 28, 161.
cvant 514.

j.

jaini 3, 6, 7, 178, 179,
 183, 185, 186, 275,
 281.
jainti 178.
jafru 185, 186, 682.
 O.P. *jivāhy* 37.
jya 459, 523.
jvaiti 185, 186, 391.
jvant 635.

t.

tucaiti 167.
tanu 220.

tancišta 528.
tafnu 676.
tauruna 354.
taršti 8.
taršna 4, 7, 71, 220,
 784, 785, 786, 789,
 790, 791, 955.
tava 228.
taša 302.
tašat 357.
tāpayeiti 227.
tərəsaiti 18, 227.
taθra 5, 639, 640.
 O.P. *tigra* 13.
tiyri 505.
tusən 45.
tüm 581, 582.
tuoxman 471, 472, 960.

θ.

θātairi 413, 414.
 O.P. *θura-vāhara* 444.
θwāša 588.
θrayō 960.
θri 573, 577, 578, 579.
θrisata 958.
θraētaona 574.

d.

daya 149.
dairšhu-paiti 52.
dadaiti 253, 254.
dantan 246, 633, 634,
 635.
darəya 13, 83, 253.
darəna 756.
dasa 13, 254, 258, 410,
 416, 421.
dāta 227, 233.
 **dātabara* 959.
dāna 263.
 O.P. *dārayavanš* 341.
 O.P. *dārayāmiy* 353.
dərəzu 434.
 O.P. *dubāla* 358.

duydar 43.
duma 44, 47, 310.
 O.P. **duvitīyam kārā-*
ram 958.
dužaka 439, 441.
dužah 439, 440, 442,
 443, 446.
duždah 938, 939.
dūra 56, 61.
daēman 89, 246, 324.
daēva 85, 364.
daēzu 87.
drājah 186.
draoγa 105, 147, 960.
drvatāt 394.
dvar 616, 617.

t̄.

t̄baēšah 617.

n.

naxa 131, 132, 136.
nar 354.
nairya 275.
nava 275, 364, 382.
navaiti 382.
navudasa 255, 956.
navani 381.
nazda 934.
nāfah 315.
nāvaya 108.
nəmah 12, 324, 453,
 454, 457.
nəman 20, 275, 319,
 320, 321.
 **ni + √dub* 248.
 O.P. *naiba* 87, 308,
 309.
naēma 324.
nyāka 115, 663.

p.

pacata 10.
pacaiti 156, 161, 162,
 289.
paitidāna 279, 958.

paitidīta 220.
paṭhana 12, 237, 243, 245.
pāda 15, 246, 247, 254, 258, 287.
panca 9, 531.
pantan 645, 646.
parəna 289, 754, 755, 756, 757.
parəsu 793.
pairi 3.
 **pairi* + √*varəz* 374.
 **pairi-vazaiti* 324.
 O.P. *parthava* 742.
paršti 74, 77, 82.
pasu 4, 420, 421.
pašca 287.
pascaṭ 5, 856, 857, 859.
pāθra 577.
pāšna 921, 922, 923, 924.
pəṛətu 48, 736, 738.
pəṛəna 73, 755.
pəṛəsahi 73, 82.
pitar 24, 229, 231.
puθra 45, 48, 50, 567, 575, 576, 577, 579, 955.
paēsa 410.
 **paourva-ayarə* 342.

f.

fra 681.
fratərəsaiti 74.
frathanjayeiti 237, 240.
frapiθwa 589.
frasaocayāhi 158, 159.
frasnāyanta 348.
frazgadaiti 258.
frāymaṭ 501.
fraš 681.
frya 345.
fšarəma 683.
fšu 955.
 **fšu-pāna* 683.

b.

baxta 357.
baxdra 468.
baxšaiti 303.
 O.P. *Bayίσταρον* 152.
banha 315.
badra 615.
bandāmi 651, 652, 653, 655.
baraiti 2.
barəša 779, 781.
barəziš 794.
bavāt 379.
 O.P. *bāxtri* 467, 955.
 O.P. *bāji* 178.
bāzu 437, 438.
barəz(a) 73, 303.
barəzant 633.
 O.P. *badaka* 129.
buna 45.
būmi 56.
būza 59, 308.
baēvarə 376.
baēšaza 425.
baoidi 99, 264, 268, 271.
brātar 14, 221, 227, 228, 233, 700.
bvaṭ 14, 960.

m.

O.P. *magu* 144.
maxši 480, 483.
mayna 278.
maḍu 9, 270.
maidya 620, 621, 622, 623.
maidyaṇa 7, 319.
maṭ-patiḥrasa 23, 960.
marəta 5.
mazga 933, 955.
mātar 229, 235, 356.
māh 451.
məṛəya 73, 142, 144.
məṛəta 319.
məṛəθyu 960.

miθaoxta 130.
 O.P. *Μιθραδάτης* 576.
mīšda 38, 939.
maēya 148.
maēθana 240, 245.
maēzənti 432.
maoiri 103, 354.

y.

yava 330, 331, 365, 376, 383.
yaska 330.
yazatanam 12.
yākarə 3, 116.
yāna 16, 330.
yāma 331.
yuxta 331, 465.
yuvan 44.
 O.P. *yuyiyā* 331.
yušmāka 115, 960.
yušmākəm 927.
yvan 393.

r.

raya 153.
rāi 95.
rāna 18.
rāsta 349, 864.
raēcayaṭ 35 4.
raēšah 423.
raoxšna 492, 493, 494, 960.
raoyna 105, 349, 498, 499, 500, 959, 960.
raocah 99, 105, 107, 159, 166, 167, 168, 171, 349.
 O.P. *rautah* 220.

v.

**vaδwaka* 394.
vana 4, 372.
vafra 5, 364, 955.
varəka 80.
varəcaəhvant 364.
varətata 367, 368.

varāda 366.
varāmi 83.
varāša p. ix, 78.
varšni 787, 788, 790.
 O.P. *vasiy* 369.
vāta 20, 228, 230, 235,
 364, 369, 372.
vāidi 15.
vāra 372.
vārayna 354.
vicinōdī 28.
vidava 274.
vidu 274, 959.
vītarāta 367.
vītasti 955.
vīra 35.
vīsaiti 12, 31, 221, 367,
 372, 376.
vārāḍka 74, 80.
vārāzeyiti 367.
vāhrka 367, 369.
vohuni 456.
vaēti 85, 86, 228, 231,
 372.
vaēna 89, 283.
vaēnaiti 365.
vaocaṭ 158.

 s.
saxvārē 413, 901.
sacaiti 167.
sata 3.
safa 295, 299.
sarah 410.
sarāta 5, 67, 410, 729,
 735, 737.
sarāda 13, 748.
sukuruna 116.
 **suxta-zaranya* 463.
suxra 47, 48, 50, 414,
 476, 477, 955.
suši 419, 427.
sūka 62, 118, 124, 126,
 419.
sūriya 420.

saēna mārəya 659.
saokantavant 100.
saocayāhi 101, 105.
scindayciti 858, 859.
 **staxma* 471.
staxra 310, 471.
stārə 14, 54, 349.
 -*stāna* 871, 873.
stāna 54.
snavurə 875.
snaoda 875.
span 123, 125, 129, 879,
 881, 960.
spāda 16, 960.
spərəza 877.
spiš 25, 27, 54, 426,
 431.
spaēta 34, 89, 880, 881.
syāva 383, 891, 892.
srāvayciti 379.
sraoni 101, 893, 960.
srva 955.

 š.
šaiti 931, 932.
šavaite 4, 49, 423, 424,
 427, 930, 931.

 z.
zanva 433.
zayata 330.
zayciti 342.
zairi-gaona 32, 143.
zavarə 386.
zānu 18, 432.
zrāḍaya 67, 71, 432.
zimō 25, 27, 319, 436.
zrayah 935.

 h.
haca 166, 455.
 **haca-adairi* 33, 85,
 158, 274, 959.
hanjamana 455.
hapta 444, 450, 455,
 668, 669, 671, 673, 674.

hama 444.
haurva 771.
 O.P. *haldita* 358.
hazavra 5, 286.
hampāfrāiti 703.
hištaiti 31.
hizu 958.
hizva 25, 27, 936, 937.
huciθra 28, 168.
husravah 372.
huška 43, 446, 448, 450,
 455, 908, 909, 910.
hū 446.
haētu 89, 446.
haēna 444.
haoma 105.
hvarə 901, 902.

x^v.
x^varəhar 8.
 ✓*x^van* 4.
 ✓*x^vap* 666.
x^vasura 420, 422.
x^vafsata 688, 690, 900,
 903, 907.
x^varaiti 349, 901, 903,
 904, 906.
x^varənah 756.
x^vaēda 91, 254, 906.

C. Greek.

κόπος 413, 414.
λείχω 358.
ώών 139, 377.

D. Latin.

gula 358.
labium 358.
ovum 377.
sturnus 862.
vespa 329.

E. Old High German.

kēla 358.

kiucan 521.
leckón 358.
stára 862.
wafsa 685.

F. Anglo-Saxon.
lippa 358.
G. Old Bulgarian.
živati 521.

H. Lithuanian.
lėziù 358.
vapsà 329, 685, 686.

CORRIGENDA

- 2, 1. 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 *paścaṭ*.
 16, l. 12 for *upasthāpitva* read *upasthāpitvā*.
 68, l. 18, § 82, l. 15 for *ṛṭaku* read *ṛṭākū*.
 71, l. 8 for *mṛdāṅka* read *mṛdāṅkā*.
 79, l. 5 for *mṛṣāvādin* read *mṛṣāvādīn*.
 82, l. 20 for *mṛttika* read *mṛttikā*.
 87, l. 14 for 'green' read 'blue.'
 91, l. 2 for *x^vaēda* read *x^vaēdā*.
 115, l. 21 for *niyāka* read *nyāka*.
 133, l. 3 for *rēkha* 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 *hr̄*.
 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. *maeṇiyam*.
 372, l. 5, § 373, l. 4 for *vaṣpa* read *vāṣpa*.
 374, l. 12, § 734, l. 4 for *vartikā* read *vartakā*.
 395, l. 10, § 401, l. 12 for *śīṛsa*, *śīrsa* read *śīṛṣa*.
 396, l. 6 for 'once' read 'excrement.'
 423, l. 3, § 424, l. 3, § 427, l. 2 for *śavaiti* read *śavaite*.
 458, l. 4 for *idānim* read *idānīm*.
 459, l. 5 for *jyā* read *jyā*.
 464, l. 6 for *mukta* read *muktā*.
 472, l. 3 for *taoxmān* read *taoxman*.
 486, l. 4 for *kṣīyate* read *kṣīyatē*.
 495, l. 5 for *dōgdhum* read *dōgdhūm*.
 562, l. 1 for assimilation read change.
 612, l. 5 for *drākṣa* read *drākṣā*.

Read throughout *Āvantī*, *Waxī* for *Avantikā*, *Wāxī*.



GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY



8000205633

102358

