Descent with Variation

Bryan G. Levman

ABSTRACT—The Pāli canon contains thousands of different variants in the different recensions that have come down to us, principally Burmese, Sinhalese and Thai. Descent with variation, that is, diachronic change of a language over time from a common source, is one of the basic reasons why this happens, along with synchronic (dialect) variation, transmission errors, indigenous bilingual speakers constrained by a foreign phonological system, etc., to name only a few of the causes of linguistic change. Pāli also contains a lot of Sanskritizations where the words are "restored" to their Old Indic form, which results in different interpretations of the words' meanings depending on context and the tradents' expertise. This paper discusses sixteen different examples of these restorations from the early canon and in most cases demonstrates what the earlier transmission must have been in order to account for the variation. This reconstruction process is the same historical linguistic technique which led to the discovery of the Indo-European language family by William Jones in the late eighteenth century.

KEYWORDS: Pāli historical linguistcs, diachronic variation, Sanskritization, restoration, back-formation, hyper-Pāli-isms

Introduction

Descent with variation is a basic principle of life on earth. Life changes over time, evolves and gives rise to new forms with shared features from a common ancestor. This is not only how species originate, as Darwin observed in his 1859 monograph, *Origin of the Species*, but how all life forms evolve, including language. It was the observation of this principle—the shared features amongst language groups, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin—which led William Jones to the discovery of the Indo-European language family and the beginning of the science of comparative philology, which studies language variation over time as it evolves from a common source (Allen 2002: 62–63).

The Indo-Aryan language family—which itself evolved from the Indo-Iranian language group—is the easternmost branch of the Indo-European language family and continued the same process of development, from Old Indic (Vedic and Sanskrit) to Middle Indic (Pāli and the Prakrits) to New Indic (Hindi and the other languages of modern India). Pāli has been called "Old Middle Indic" both because it is the earliest of the Middle Indic forms—its lineage goes back to the time of the Buddha and earlier—and because most of its linguistic forms are foreshadowed in the Veda itself, which contains not only Prakritic elements but attempts to purify the Prakritic element by translating them back into Sanskrit from Prakrit. Vedic was the "language of the gods" and its phonetics was not to be muddied with the language of the *vulgus* (Bloomfield and Edgerton 1932: 20).

The earliest record we have of Middle Indic is the Asokan edicts and they show a fairly advanced evolution of the Prakritic element of the language (Levman 2016: §6). One may reasonably assume that the language in north India at the time of the Buddha, a century to a century and a half earlier, showed similar phonetic development, in terms of such common features as lenition and loss of intervocalic stops, replacement of aspirate stops by aspirates only, conflation of sibilants into one sound, interchange of labial consonants, etc. (Levman 2016, 2109); plus there is reason to believe that the Asokan inscriptions were more conservative than the colloquial languages of the day, which were more advanced phonologically (Lüders 1954: 9). We may reasonably expect, as Norman has intuited (1983: 4–5), that the language of the Buddha or his disciples used a similar phonological form as the other MI Prakrits preserved in the Asokan edicts, and that the "backwards" changes of intervocalic glides to stops or aspirates to aspirate stops, which regularly occurs in Pāli, are back-formations. This process is operant, as noted above, even within the Vedas themselves.

There are thousands of variants in the Pāli canon. Mark Allon has recently written a very informative and valuable monograph on the origin of some of them (2021). The picture is indeed very complex and includes several factors: 1) the many different dialects prevalent in India at the time of the Buddha 2) natural language change over time 3) linguistic diffusion (dialect variation) 4) Sanskritization 5) the influence of non-IA (Indo-Aryan) languages due to bilingualism and foreign word borrowing 6) oral transmission errors 7) conflicting commentarial data 8) written transmission errors 9) harmonization and standardization of the canon by the grammarians. In this article I am primarily interested in demonstrating the process of descent with variation and restoration, which has been variously called an "Übersetzung" ("translation") of an "Ur-kanon" with various "falsche Pālisierungen" ("false Pāli-izations" or "Hyperpālismen"; Lüders 1954: §122–48), "back-formation" (Norman 1983: 4–5), "Sanskritization" (Norman 1997/2012: 95–112), "backward transition" (von Hinüber 1996: 190 or διασκευαστής (*diaskeuastés*, "revision" von Hinüber 1982: 138), restoration or editings.[1] Reversing this process of linguistic evolution reveals what Lévi (1912) has termed a "langue précanonique du Bouddhisme", a dialect which has disappeared (which I have elsewhere called a "*koiné*" or common language of trade in use at the time of the Buddha and earlier), which by the time of the Buddha had attained an advanced level of phonetic erosion;[2]

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[1] Although many of these Sanskritizations are "fortitions" (strengthening of voiced consonants to unvoiced consonants or of a -*ẏ*- glide to a consonant), this term should not be used to describe this backwards process. Fortitions are a natural process, while restorations ar a deliberate attempt to interfere with the natural process of lenition. In Levman 2019: 89, I use the word "fortition" to describe the change of *g*- > *k*- in the word *kañjiya* which is clearly a natural language change as the other five exemplars all maintain the initial *g*- consonant; the tradent either spoke in a dialect which tended to devoice initial velars, and/or he/she was a bilingual Dravidian speaker where all initial velars were automatically voiceless. In Levman 2021: 288 I discuss the Pāli word *roga* ("illness"), which appears to be a back-formation from the Prakrit *roẏa* (attested in AMg), and which has an alternate form (Pāli *paloka*, "decay, illness") which has undergone fortition in the change of -*g*- > -*k*-. The occurrence of voiced and unvoiced intervocalic velars in parallel words suggests that this is also a "natural language change" (i.e. a fortition), although, because of the ambiguity, "strengthening" might be a better choice of words.

[2] Lévi gives many examples in his 1912 paper. One that he felt was "absolutely decisive" (*absolument décisif*) to demonstrate an earlier phonological layer underneath Pāli is the word *avādesi* ("he played (the lute") in *Jātaka* 62, while the Bharhut *stūpa* preserves the form *avāyesi* (Lévi 1912: 497; Cunningham 1879: p. 65f, plate 26). *avāyesi* > *avādesi*. The date of the Bharhut Jātakas (third century BCE, 250–200 BCE per Cunningham ibid: 14–17; "not later than 200 BCE" per Waldschmidt

Ardha-Māgdhī, the language of the Jains, continued this process of lenition while Pāli reacted in the exact opposite fashion, moving closer to the Sanskrit norm.[3] Norman asks the question as to whether the Sanskritic elements in Pāli are retentions or restorations and concludes that:

> ...[T]hese forms [*attaja*, "born from oneself"; *brūheti*, "grows"; absolutives in *-tvā*; and *br-* in *brāhmaṇa*] and probably all other Sanskritic features, are deliberate attempts at Sanskritisation, made at some time during the course of the transmission of the canon. It is therefore clear that it is not correct to speak of them as retentions. They are features which have been restored to the texts by scribes or reciters who were trying to change into Sanskrit the language which they had received in their exemplars. (1997/2012: 98)[4]

and Mehendale in Lüders 1963: xxx) is "much more ancient than the Pāli version of Ceylon" (Cunningham, ibid: 49), the earliest written recension of which dates to the first century BCE (Norman 1983: 5). The Pāli word *avādesi* is therefore a back-formation or Sanskritization of *avāyesi.*

[3] It is worth quoting Lévi's conclusions to this important article for the reader who doesn't have access to it (1912: 511–12): "Sanscrit et pali n'apparaissent plus que comme les héritiers tardifs d'une tradition antérieure, récitée ou rédigée dans un dialecte disparu, qui avait atteint déjà un stage avancé d'usure phonétique. Ici encore, la concurrence du Jainisme et du Bouddhisme apporte à la critique un instrument de contrôle. Né à la même époque que le bouddhisme et sur le même domaine, le jainisme a dû comme le bouddhisme employer d'abord un des parlers du pays de Magadha ou les consonnes subissaient une poussée de dégradation. Quand il s'est mis plus tard à rédiger ses textes sacrés, il a, pour ainsi dire, nivelé en bas la « demi-māgadhī » (adhamāgadhī) qu'il adoptait comme langue sacrée ; il a affaibli les consonnes intervocalique au point de les réduire à un phonème à peine articulé, la *ya-śruti.* Le bouddhisme a réagi dans un sens diamétralement opposé ; sans doute sous l'influence des éléments occidentaux qui avaient acquis la prépondérance dans l'Église, il s'est rapproché de la norme sanscrite." Translation: "Sanskrit and Pāli only appear as the late heirs of an earlier tradition, recited or written in a vanished dialect, which had already reached an advanced stage of phonetic erosion. Here again, the competition of Jainism and Buddhism provides the critic with an instrument of control. Born at the same time as Buddhism and in the same area, Jainism, like Buddhism, had to first use one of the dialects of the country of Magadha where the consonants were undergoing a significant amount of weakening. When Jainism later set about writing its sacred texts, it, so to speak, wore away the "half-māgadhī" (*ardhamāgadhī*) which it adopted as a sacred language; it weakened the intervocalic consonants to the point of reducing them to a barely articulated phonème, the *ya-śruti.* Buddhism reacted in a diametrically opposite direction; no doubt under the influence of Western elements which had acquired preponderance in the Church, it approached the Sanskrit norm."

[4] Or, more likely (as A. Wynne suggested to me in an email) the Buddhist tradents were adopting "a veneer of Sanskrit" perhaps to give the teachings more acceptability among the Brahmanical elite. Obviously they could have changed the teachings completely into Sanskrit

Given the evidence it is difficult if not impossible to argue that all variations in Pāli are the result of natural dialect variation or errors in oral and manuscript transmission; certainly these are important factors, especially the former where the whole theory of India as a "Linguistic Area" is based on bilingual Dravidian speakers in effect acting as a dialectal influence on IA languages, but it is a theory difficult, if not impossible to quantify or prove, as its opponents have noted (see Levman 2023: 66–67 for discussion); dialect variation and transmission errors are just two of many factors. Such an argument is an extreme view and unscientific, in that it reduces the whole field of historical phonology, descent with variation, to random and/or unquantifiable factors. Diachronic change over time or descent of cognate words from a common ancestor is also fully consonant with the Buddha's teaching of *anicca* and dependent co-arising. Everything changes, including language, but it changes according to certain identifiable causes and conditions. If that were not the case, then the whole Buddhist philosophy of liberation would be in vain.[5] The purpose of this paper is to illustrate this process, by comparing cognate groups in parallel passages and tracing them back to a common, shared source, either attested or not, but which must exist to account for the variation that is found.

The Pāli Canon and Sanskritization

The canon began to take its present shape by the mid-third century BCE or earlier and was completely closed by the first century BCE with the exception of minor emendations and harmonizations (Norman 2002: 140; Wynne 2005: 65–66). Anālayo (2012: 246) notes that the canon was "fairly closed" by the first century BCE and argues, along with Rhys Davids (1911: 174), Geiger (1916: 7) and

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if they wished, and indeed, that was later the case. See discussion in Salomon (1998: 83–86) and Pollock (2006: 56–59).

[5] The doctrine of fortuitous origination (*adhiccasamuppannavāda*) is one of the sixty-two wrong views. See DN 1, 28[20] = views 17 and 18 of the *Brahmajālasutta*. See also the *Saṃyutta Nikāya Nidāna-Saṃyutta, Dasabala-vaggo, Aññatitthiyā* ("those who belong to another sect"), where suffering created by oneself and others are two extremes, the first a view of eternalism, the second a view of annihilationism; the third view is that suffering is created both by oneself and another (partial-eternalism) and the fourth that suffering arises fortuitously (Bodhi 2000: 737, n. 37; text on p. 556–57).The correct teaching is that suffering is dependently arisen, through the causes and conditions of the twelve *nidānas* or links on the chain of *paṭicca-samuppāda*. Maintaining that all variation in Pāli is the result of dialect variation or transmissional mistakes is either equivalent to view two (caused by others) or view four (fortuitous or random origination). Fortuitous = "happening by accident or by chance".

Pande (957: 16) that the absence of the mention of King Asoka in the canon points to its completion prior to his reign, that is, the mid-third century BCE (p. 243). Von Hinüber (2006: 202) makes a similar observation with regard to the lack of mention of Pāṭaliputra in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* as the capital of the Maurya empire, suggesting that the text is likely pre-Mauryan. Epigraphical confirmation that a canon existed in Asokan and probably pre-Asokan times is provided by the Asokan Bhabra Edict, which mentions several canonical works by name and by near-coeval epigraphical evidence at the Sanchi and Bharhut *stūpas* where the terms *dhamma-kathika* ("preacher of the Dhamma"), *peṭakin* ("one who knows the *piṭaka*"), *suttantika/suttantakinī* ("a man/woman who knows a *suttanta* by heart") and *pañca-nekāyika* ("one who knows the five *nikāyas* by heart") are inscribed (Bühler 1894: 92; Rhys Davids 1911: 167–68). In the mid-third century Asoka's son Mahinda brought the commentaries (and undoubtedly an early version of the canon) to Sri Lanka where the commentaries were translated into Sinhalese.

According to Norman, Sanskritization of Pāli began as early as the third century BCE and is evident in the Asokan edict at Girnār where Norman attributes the use of conjunct consonants to insertions by a "Sanskritising scribe" (Norman 1997/2012: 97). By the first century BCE when the canon was written down, Sanskritization was likely fixed along with the canon itself (Norman 1983:5). Edgerton dates the earliest Sanskritization to the second century BCE (1953/1998: xxv, §1.35, p. 5, n. 13), citing the oldest parts of the *Mahāvastu* as an example. The earliest version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (Lotus) *Sūtra* was composed in a Prakrit or Sanskritized Prakrit in the first century BCE (Levman 2018: 142); all the mss that have survived since then have been heavily Sanskritized. Certainly by the turn of the common era fully Sanskritized works were being composed; Mäll, for example, considers the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* to be the earliest of this "perfection of wisdom" genre of works and dates it to the first century BCE (2005: 96); the earliest mss evidence we have for this genre is written in Gāndhārī, a Prakrit, dated to the first century CE (Falk and Karashima 2012, 2013), but probably much earlier in origin and perhaps one of the sources of the later Sanskrit works.[6] Others (Salomon 1998: 82; Cousins 2013: 124) date the start of Sanskritization to the early centuries CE, based on epigraphical evidence

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[6] See also Falk 2015 for a new Gāndhārī version of the *Dharmapada*, also from the Split Collection and also dated to the first century CE. Levman 2020 compares this text with the Khotan *Dharmapada* and the parallel Pāli and Prakrit recensions, showing numerous examples of Sanskritization from an underlying *koiné* in all the different transmissions.

(the so-called "Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit"); this generalization does not take into account the evolution of the oral and literary traditions, and at the same time Salomon acknowledges (1998: 84) that "hybrid Sanskrit arose in the course of a gradual Sanskritizing movement which had its origins in the late centuries B.C." and that "early tendencies toward Sanskritization, in the form of sporadic semi-Sanskritized orthography, appear in some Prakrit inscriptions of the pre-Christian era." Here he is probably referring to the Mathurā inscriptions which Waldschmidt and Mehendale (in Lüders 1963: xxiii) date to the early first century BCE and which show definite signs of Sanskritization (Norman 1983: 5).

There is apparently a lot of uncertainty about the timescale of Sanskritization. Norman himself seems contradictory on the subject. In his 1985 monograph he states, "It seems probable that the Sanskritisation of Pali was virtually fixed at the stage it had reached by the time of the commission to writing..." (in the first century BCE, p. 5), and he dates the first beginnings of Sanskritization to the time of Asoka (1985: 5; 1997/2012: 96–97), well before the canon reached Sri Lanka. Yet in the same work (p. 75) he states that "the greater part of the Sanskritisms were introduced in Sri Lanka" and that the start of Sanskritization was "not before the second century BCE." Another tentative timescale for Sanskritization is outlined in Levman (2020: 142–43). Sanskritization was a gradual process that happened over several centuries, so the timescale cannot be fixed with any exactitude. None of this, however, affects the overall validity or cogency of the argument outlined here, that is, descent with variation and restoration: descent from a common OI source to a Prakrit form and Sanskritization of the Prakrit through partial restoration of Sanskrit phonology and/or morphology (Norman 1997/2012: 97). This holds true regardless of when it happened, whether in the oral tradition before the writing down of the canon in the first century BCE, or afterwards, where Sanskritization would be included in the general rubric of "minor emendations and harmonizations" mentioned above.

Why Sanskritization? Sanskrit was the prestige language of religion, and, although it is clear that the Buddha specifically forbade his works to be composed in Sanskrit (Levman 2008/2009), his later followers were either unaware of, or ignored this injunction. As is well known, many of Buddhism's initial converts were highly learned Brahmans who naturally would have favoured the language of the gods and Vedas for a teaching which they believed encapsulated the ultimate truth. The use of Sanskrit increased its acceptance among their fellow

co-religionists. Another important factor was the large number of dialects in India at the time, not necessarily mutually intelligible, especially among those converts from the indigenous tribes who spoke MI as a second language. Regardless of what Prakrit they spoke, all who were educated would have learned the same Sanskrit from the grammar books; it is no surprise then that the oldest Sanskrit *Prajñāpāramitā* work (the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*) was apparently composed in Andhra, a Dravidian speaking area (Marasinghe 2003: 446). Sanskrit was a universal pan-Indic language, standardized from at least the time of Pāṇini, who is believed to have lived at approximately the same time as the Buddha. Sanskrit was a common denominator among diverse Indo-Aryan and Dravidian linguistic groups and increased the prestige of the speaker and content. Prakrit vernaculars were looked down upon by the "puritanical" brahmanical upper class of Indian society (Deshpande 1979: 7–21). For a generalized discussion of the various views on the origin of Sanskritization see Salomon 1998: 83–86.

Interpretation Problems

Descent with variation, which in the evolution of OI > MI often meant simplification, produced many homonymic forms, because of the assimilation of conjunct consonants and the weakening or elimination of intervocalic stops and aspirated stops. A word like Pāli *satta* could refer back to several OI words (*sapta*, "seven"; *śākta*, "power"; *sakta*, "devoted"; *satya* "truth"; *satvan* "warrior, hero"; etc. Levman 2009: 28), and when an intervocalic or aspirated stop was removed an element of ambiguity was added; the word *virayo*, where a *-ẏ-* glide has been substituted for an intervocalic stop could mean *virato*, "ceased" or *virajo*, "stainless" (Norman 1980: §3.2); *pahāna*, where the aspirated stop has changed to an aspirate (*-h-*) only, could mean abandoning (Pāli, *pahāna*) or *padhāna* "striving, exerting" (Levman 2012: 60). Usually the context made this clear, but not always. Some MI words are so malleable that we really don't know their exact meaning, such as *bodhisatta* (Levman 2009: 28; Norman 1997/2012: 104–05). This malleability led to what Norman called "hyperforms": forms (1989: 375) which "are unlikely to have had a genuine existence in any dialect, but which arose as a result of bad or misunderstood translation techniques." Much of this theory has already been discussed in Norman and von Hinüber's work above cited, and in Levman (2014, 2016, 2019, 2020 and 2021: 275–309). What follows are some new examples illustrating this fundamental process of variation in the Pāli canon, which accounts for scores, perhaps hundreds of variants: descent with variation and back-formation.

1. Theragāthā 19, Dhammapada 80

udakaṃ hi **nayanti nettikā**, *usukārā namayanti tejanaṃ.*
dāruṃ namayanti tacchakā, attānaṃ damayanti subbatā ti.[7]

"Truly canal-makers lead water, arrow-makers bend the bow,
carpenters bend wood, men of good vows tame the self."
(Norman 1969/1995: 3)

The Sanskritized version of this verse in the *Udānavarga* 17.10 reads
udakena nijanti nejakā ("washer-persons purify with water"),[8] which is quite
different from the Pāli ("canal-makers lead water" or "conduits lead water").
These variations point to an underlying form where the intervocalic stop
was represented by a -*ẏ*- glide (a common simplification in the *koiné*; hiatus
glide or Hiattilger per von Hinüber 2001: §171; Pischel §187, *laghuprayatnatara
yakāra*, "lightly articulated *ya*"). The Pāli version kept the -*y*- form, *nayanti*, but
the Sanskrit changed it to -*j*- resulting in *nijanti* ("they wash, purify"), with the
-*a*- changed to -*i*- because of the stress on the second syllable, *nijánti*; Pischel
§101). The subject must also have been transmitted with a -*ẏ*- glide (*néẏakā*)
which Pāli took as *nettikā* ("conduits" or "canal-makers", doubling the -*tt*-, and
changing the -*a*- > -*i*- because of the stress on the first syllable) and *Udānavarga*
took as *nejakā* ("washer-persons"). See Norman 1969/95 p. 125 who speaks of
"a dialect where -*y*- and -*j*- both became -*y*-" (that is, a *koiné*).

- Underlying transmission *udakaṃ naẏánti* (or *niẏánti*) *néẏakā*.

- Note also the alternation of *namayanti* and *damayanti*.

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[7] PTS editions are used, unless otherwise noted. The word *namayanti* has a Burmese variant
damayanti (both occurrences) in the *Theragāthā* edition. Se = Thai Syāmaraṭṭha edition, Ce =
Buddha Jayanti edition, Be = Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana edition.

[8] The word *nijanti* is present in the mss, but *nejakā* is a reconstruction based on the Tibetan
mss (*btso blag mkhan dag chus* "washer person cleans with water"). See text comparison at
https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=fulltext&vid=71&view=fulltext&cid=1108
80&level=2#N1024cn11. The Chinese is different again, showing the ambiguity of the underlying
transmission: 水工調舟船: "The sailors control their boats." Here *neyakā* has apparently been
interpreted as *nāvikā* ("sailors"), but where the word for "boats" (Chinese 舟 and 船 both mean
"boat"; Pāli *nāvā*) has come from is not clear. The Chinese word 調 ("controls") presumably
translates *nayanti* ("they lead, direct"). There is no Gāndhārī version of this verse.

2. Māradhītusuttaṃ, SN 1, 127

acchejja taṇhaṃ gaṇasaṅghacārī,
*addhā **carissanti** bahū ca **sattā**.*

"He has cut off craving, faring with his group and order;
Surely many other beings will cross." (Bodhi 2000: 219)

- PTS, Se, Ce and Be have *carissanti*. PTS, Se, and Be all list *tarissanti* as a Sinhalese variant. A parallel BHS verse in the *Mahāvastu* has *raktā kariṣyanti* (Mvu 3.284).[9]

- PTS and Ce have *sattā* ("beings") in the *mūla*, while Be and Se have *saddhā* (*aññe saddhā* "others who have faith", following the commentary).

The three different verbs *carissanti/tarissanti/kariṣyanti* point to an underlying *ẏa-śruti* substituting for the intervocalic stop between the *-ā* of *addhā/raktā* and the first vowel of the verb, *addhā carissanti/raktā kariṣyanti > addhāẏarissanti/raktaẏariṣyanti* (per Pischel §186, §187), the two words acting as a compound per Pischel §184.

The change of *-t- > -c-* or a dental for a palatal does occur sporadically in Pāli and Geiger attributes this to "dialectal influence" (§41.2; e.g. Pāli *tikicchati* "he cures" ~ OI *cikitsati* idem, desiderative of *cit, cetati*, "to attend to, be attentive, observe"; see also Kaccāyana's grammar sutta 19, change to *ti > cci* and the Asokan edicts widespread alternation between *cu* and *tu*, "but"; Pischel §215). This may also have been due to bilingual Dravidian speaker's influence where the *c-* sound was pronounced as an affricate *tš-* in proto-Dravidian and therefore sometimes represented in Dravidian with a *t-, s-,* or *š-* (Emeneau 1988). The reflexes do not seem to have any directional pattern (OI *cikitsati* > Pāli *tikicchati, c- > t-*; but Pāli *tiṭṭhanti* > AMg *ciṭṭhanti*, "they stand" *Uttarajjhāyā* 25, 17b in Bollée 1980: 46, *t- > c-*), which suggests dialect influence. However, when the Mvu reflex *kariṣyanti* is considered alongside the two Pāli reflexes, the three strongly suggest the existence of an underlying *-ẏa-śruti*

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[9] Mvu 3, 285,$_{6-7:}$ *ācchetva tṛṣṇāṃ guṇasaṃpracārī, bahv atra raktā kariṣyanti cchandaṃ*; "He who fares on with his groups and orders has cut off all craving. And many beings will make a resolve." (Jones 1956: 273, reading *sattvā* for *raktā*).

to account for the three consonants, *t-*, *c-* and *k-*, all from different points of articulation (and therefore unlikely to be of dialect origin), and more likely back-formations. Of interest as well is that two other potential reflexes of *-ẏarissanti*, would also work in the context: *jare(i)ssanti* ("to destroy (craving)") and *darissanti* ("to rend, divide, destroy"), with initial *j-* and *d-*. One wonders therefore whether such a polyvocality was intended by the speaker, where one word has several overtones of meaning (Levman 2014: 386–87 re: various meanings of *sabbato pahaṃ* at DN I, 223,$_{12}$; Levman 2023: 90, n. 58 with reference to various meanings of *pāṭimokkha*).

3. *Sutta Nipāta, Āmagandhasutta*, verse 250

sotesu *gutto* **vijitindriyo** *care*

"Guarded in the apertures [of the sense-organs], one should wander with one's sense faculties conquered..." (Norman 1992/2006: 30)

- Be, Se: *yo tesu gutto viditindriyo care*
- "Whoever is guarded in those [sense-faculties], having full knowledge of the faculties, should wander..."
- Ce: *sotesu gutto viditindriyo care*
- "Guarded in the currents [of the sense faculties], having full knowledge of the faculties, he should wander..."

The variation between *vijitindriyo* and *viditindriyo* points to an underlying form *viẏitindriyo*; the extant forms resemble what Norman calls a "wrong back-formation from a dialect or dialects where both *-j-* and *-d-* become *-y-*" (1992/1996: 208) or more simply, it points to dialects where most intervocalic stops are dropped or replaced by a *ẏa-śruti* (Pischel §186, §187), that is a *koiné*. Norman also wonders whether it could be a "Sinhalesism" since all *-j-* sounds > *-d-* in Sinhalese; however, this change bears the marks of an early oral transmission error, before the canon reached Sri Lanka. The commentary takes the "original" meaning as *vidita*: " 'Having understood the six faculties with full knowledge, having made them known, one should continuously wander' it is said" (*ñātapariññāya chaḷindriyāni viditvā pākaṭāni katvā careyya, vihareyyāti*

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vuttaṃ hoti, Pj II, 1, 292,₁₂₋₁₃).[10] Although not found in an ms, the compound also works with the word *vihita* ("practised, put in order, established, directed; "one should wander with his faculties put in order", where the aspirate *-h-* may have been interpreted as a substitute for an alif (') or *ẏ*-glide as occurs in Gāndhārī (Brough §39, *vihita = viẏita*; as Gāndhārī *ramahi= rama'i* = Pāli *damayaṃ*, "taming") and the Prakrits (Pischel §206, *-h-* written for *-k-*).[11] *-h-* also appears for *-c-* in Gāndhārī which would also make sense in this context (*vicita < vi + ci* "to collect, remove, cull," OI *vicinoti*; or *vi + ci* "to investigate, examine make clear" OI *viciketi*; "with collected faculties" or "with faculties examined"). In other words the ambiguity of the underlying *viẏita* with its several potential meanings may have been a deliberate polyvocality; and as Norman has noted with respect to the Sanskritization of *brāhmaṇa* (where the pun on *bahati* "to be strong", < OI *bṛ(m)h*, and *bahati* "to remove", < OI *bṛh*, is obscured because of the restoration of the *br-* conjunct; Norman 1997/2012: 103), information is lost when *viẏita* is "translated" or back-formed into one of the forms above, whereas leaving it in its underlying form preserves its semantic overtones. The varying consonants in dialect variation must be close in place and manner of articulation; so when one finds examples where this is not the case and where variants in cognate, parallel passages are quite different phonetically, the logical conclusion is that we are dealing with an underlying *koiné* (numerous examples in Levman 2014, 2019 and 2020),[12] providing proof that the underlying form is historical. In Pāli most of these forms were Sanskritized so only survive in rare cases, e.g. *khāyita* survives alongside *khādita* "eaten"; *sāyati* alongside *svādate* (OI), "he tastes"; *svādiyati*, "he enjoys himself"; Goyāna alongside Godāna, proper name; Pāli *tādi* alongside BHS *tāyi*, "such a one"; etc. See Lüders 1954: §107–15.

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[10] Although Lüders (1954: §116) considers the intervocalic *-j-* as the earlier form, at least in the Asokan edicts.

[11] *vihita* is attested in the Asokan edicts (Bloch 1950: 126,₂₆₋₈) in Kālsī, Mānsehrā and Shābāzgaṛhī, with the meaning "practiced, established."

[12] For example, **payedi* as the form underlying *pāceti* ("he brings to maturity") in Dhp 135 Ce, PTS, with Be, Se var. *pājeti* ("he drives forth" < OI *pra + aj*, "to drive"), PDhp 200 *prājeti* (idem) and *Udānavaraga* 1.17 *prāpayate* ("he leads"). The commentary gives *neti* as a synonym, so *prāpayate* is closest in meaning. Lüders (1954: §140) considers *pāceti* a "hyperpālismen", i. e. a wrong translation of an underlying *pāyeti* in the "Ostsprache" (eastern language of the underlying canon); this form is attested in GDhp 148 *pada* d (*aya payedi praṇina*, "thus old age and death drive the life of beings").

One other alternation between *viditā* (PTS, Be, Ce) and *vijitā* (Se) occurs in *Jātaka* 351, the *Maṇikuṇḍalajātaka*, *gāthā* 3, pada c): *viditā* (*vijitā*) *mayā sattuka lokadhammā* ("Oh my enemy! Worldly things I have known/conquered").

4. Maṇikuṇḍala Jātaka (Jā 3, 154,$_{6-7}$)

> *udeti āpūrati veti cando,*
> ***atthaṃ tapetvāna** paleti suriyo*

"The moon rises, becomes full and disappears.
After illuminating its home, the sun runs away."

- Be and Ce are the same, Se reads *atthaṅ gametvāna*; the verse also occurs in the *Mahāniddesa* 124,$_{12-13}$ (ad Sn 806) and 436,$_{21-22}$ (ad 950):

> *udeti āpūrati veti cando,*
> ***atthaṃ gametvāna** paleti suriyo*

- Here, Be has *andhaṃ tapetvāna* (ad Sn 806) "after illuminating the darkness" and *attaṃ gametvāna* (ad Sn 950);
- Se again reads *atthaṃ gametvāna*, "going home";
- Ce similarly has *atthaṅ gametvāna* and *atthaṃ gamitvāna*.

The *Jātaka* commentary reads: "Just as the sun destroying the darkness, after illuminating a large part of the world, runs home in the evening, goes home and is not seen, so (wealth arises and is destroyed)...".[13] It apparently glosses *gametvāna* (lit.: "having caused to go home").

The conflation of *attha* "home" (OI *asta*) and *andha* ("darkness, blind") looks dialectal, probably in part due to bilingual speakers who did not hear aspirates or voiced stops (both of which are lacking in most Dravidian languages and in Proto-Dravidian). The word *attha* would probably he heard by a Dravidian speaker as *atta* or *adda* (note the Be variant *atta*) and the replacement of a geminate by a nasal + stop was common in Proto-Dravidian (Levman 2022: §2.2); this also occurs in Pāli vis-à-vis OI: *saṃlāpa*

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[13] Se Jā-a 4, 420$^{18-20}$: *yathā ca sūriyo andhakāraṃ vidhamanto mahantaṃ lokappadesaṃ tappetvāna puna sāyaṃ atthaṃ paleti atthaṃ gacchati na dissati evam...*

"friendly talk" ~ Pāli *sallāpa*; or OI *saṃlekha* "abstinence" ~ Pāli *sallekha* (Geiger §52.6).

The change of *-t-* > *-g-* (*atthaṃ tapetvāna* and *atthaṃ gametvāna*) is unlikely to be dialectal as dental and velar stops are not proximal; it is more likely the result of differential interpretation of an underlying intervocalic *-ẏ-* glide where the *anusvāra* has disappeared (Pischel §183, §184), that is, *atthaẏapetvāna*. The interchange of *-p-* and *-m-* in *-(ẏ)apetvāna/-(ẏ)ametvāna* is a common dialect change, both being labial consonants (Pischel §248); it occurs several times in the Asokan edicts (Levman 2010: §G4).

5. *Sutta Nipāta, Attadaṇḍasutta*

There is a second example of a similar phenomenon to §3 above, also pointing to an underlying *-viẏita* transmission, in Sn v. 935:

> *saṃvegaṃ kittayissāmi yathā* **saṃvijitaṃ** *mayā*

> "I shall describe my agitation how it was experienced by me."
> (Norman 1992/2006: 116)

- PTS, Ce, Be, Se; PTS reports Sī var. *saṃviditaṃ*, also in Pj II, 2, 566, n. 5 in all Sinhalese mss:

- "I shall describe my agitation how it was known/perceived/ felt by me."

The verb *saṃvijita* is from a different root than *vijayati*, "to conquer" above (§3); < OI *saṃ + vij* in causative *saṃvejayati/saṃvejeti* "to terrify," p.p. *saṃvijita or saṃvejita*, "filled with fear or awe; felt, realized". The term *saṃvidita* has a different derivation, < *saṃ + vid* "to know, recognize, perceive, feel". The *Niddesa* commentary takes *saṃ + vij* as the "correct" reading ("As just myself was moved, agitated, made anxious");[14] however, as in case §3 above, both are readily derivable from an underlying *saṃviẏitaṃ*. Lüders considered *saṃvijitaṃ* "an amelioration (of the Sinhalese text) by the Burmese scholars ("eine Verbesserung der birmanischen Gelehrten" Lüders 1954: §118).

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[14] Nidd I, 406₁₉₋₂₁: *yathā mayā attāyeva saṃvejito ubbejito saṃvegamāpādito ti — yathā saṃvijitaṃ mayā.*

6. *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, DN 2, 107,$_{3–6}$

tulam atulañ ca sambhavaṃ bhavasaṃkhāram avassajī
*ajjhattarato samāhito, **abhida kavacam iv' atta**-sambhavan ti.*

"That which had come to be, both gross and fine,
Becoming's compound did the sage reject.
With inward calm, composed, he burst asunder,
Like a shell of armour, the self that had become."
(Woodward 1935: 78)[15]

- *abhindi* (Be, Ce, Se)

- *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Waldschmidt 1951: 212, §16.15):
  <u>tulyam atulyam ca saṃbhavaṃ</u>
  (*bhavasaṃskāram apotsṛjan muniḥ*
  adhyātmarataḥ samāhi)*to*
  h(*y **abhinat ko***)<u>*śam ivāṇḍa*</u>(*saṃbhavaḥ*)

The underlined words are from the ms; the bracketed parts reconstructed from the Tibetan. It is the last line that we are concerned with here: "He broke the shell as if arising from an egg" or "He broke the shell, like a bird (*aṇḍa-sambhava*, a *bahuvrīhi* meaning "bird"). This BHSD version seems to make much more sense than the Pāli (see discussion in Levman 2014: 315–18); the Tibetan and two of the Chinese versions also have the same simile.

The word *kośa* was apparently back-formed to *kavasa/kavaca* ("armour") by a Pāli tradent, as it is well known that -*ava*- > -*o*- in MI (von Hinüber 2001: §139), restoring it to what he/she thought was the "original" form. The underlying form for *aṇḍa/atta* is more complex. Since geminates were not noted in the earliest transmission (e.g. Asokan *ata* for *atta*, Levman 2010: §G4) and intervocalic consonants were voiced by both Dravidian speakers (always) and MI Prakrit speakers (often), the underlying transmission was probably *āda* or *āḍa* (Pischel §218, Geiger §64, dentals represented by cerebrals), interpreted as a geminate in Pāli *ādda* > *atta* (with the geminate devoiced and the long *ā*- > *a*- in MI because of the following double consonant), and by *ăṇḍa* by another

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[15] This verse was quoted in my 2014 dissertation (p. 315–16), without proper acknowledgement of Woodward.

tradent (*ăṇḍa* and *āṇḍa* both mean "egg" in OI), as geminates were often a sign that a nasal had been omitted (e.g. Gāndhārī *ad(d)a* for *anta*) and Pāli *sallekha* for Skt. *saṃlekha*, or Pāli *sallāpa* for Skt *saṃlāpa*, Geiger §52.6). This same phenomenon of VCC < VNC (V = vowel, C = consonant, N = nasal) was also quite prevalent in Dravidian (Levman 2022: §2.2, page 21).

7. *Brahmajālasutta*, DN 26,₂₈

> *yes' āhaṃ na **sampāyeyyaṃ**, so mam' assa vighāto.*

> "I might not be able to explain (my reasons) to those persons
> and that would be stressful to me."

- PTS, Ce, Se and Be all have *sampāyeyyaṃ* which was apparently not very well understood.

- Se has four variants: *sampāheyyaṃ*, *sampāpeyyaṃ*, *sampayeyyaṃ*, *sampādeyyaṃ*.

The PED has two possible derivations for this verb < *sam* + *pad* (from Kern) or *sam* + *pra* + *ā* + *yā*; *sampāyeyyaṃ* could be the optative of *sampāyati* = *sampādayati* < *sam* + *pad* in causative, "to cause to attain, to attain, to bring about, produce; to strive, to try to accomplish" which is how the commentary takes it: "having tried to accomplish, he is not able to explain" (Se Sv 108¹¹: *sampādetvā kathetuṃ na sakkuṇeyyan ti attho*). An alternate derivation is possible from *sampāẏāti* < attested as *sam* + *pra* + *yā*, "to go to any state or condition" where the meaning is less apt. The meaning is also off with *sampāpeyyaṃ* < *sam* + *pra* + *āp* in *caus.* "to cause to get or obtain" and *sampāheyyaṃ*, the optative causative of *sam* + *pāheti* (< OI *sam* + *pra* + *hi*) "to send forth," only attested as *pāheti*. Of all these the most cogent meaning is as per the commentary, i.e. a causative < *sam* + *pad*, "I might not bring about" (*sampādeyyaṃ*), which in dialect or *koiné* would be transmitted as *sampāẏeyyaṃ* with the -*ẏ*- glide as a hiatus bridge; this was then (mistakenly) interpreted as derived from the verb *yā* and also taken as a substitute for -*pāp* (OI -*prāp*) as above, both of which are less convincing than a derivation from *p(r)a* + *pad*. Occasionally, in Gāndhārī at least (Brough 1962: §39) the -*h*- is used as a Hiattilger, which is perhaps how the form *sampāheyyaṃ* came about (as an alternate glide form).

sampāẏeyyaṃ/sampāheyyaṃ

sampāpeyyaṃ   *sampādeyyaṃ*
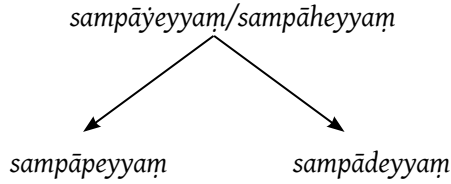
8. *Sattajaṭilasutta,* SN 1, 79,$_{8\text{-}10}$ and Ud 66,$_{6\text{–}7}$

*mama purisā carā ocarakā janapadam ocaritv' āgacchanti. tehi paṭhamaṃ ociṇṇaṃ ahaṃ pacchā **osāpayissāmi**[16]*

"These men are my spies, undercover agents, coming back after having reconnoitred[17] the country. That which they have first reconnoitred, afterwards I will deal with."

- PTS: *osāpayissāmi* (with var. *oyāyissami, obhāyissami*)

- Be: *osāpayissāmi* (with var. *oyāyissami, ohayissami*)

- Se: *ohayissāmi* (with var. *oyāyissāmi, obhāyissāmi, osāpayissāmi*)

- Ce: *oyāyissāmi* (with var. *osāpayissāmi, ohayissāmi*)

- Ud PTS: *otarissāmi* (with var. *obhāyissāmi, otāyissāmi,* and *osāyissāmi* glossed as *paṭipajjissāmi karissāmi*)

- Ud Be: *osārissāmi* (with var. *otarissāmi, oyāyissāmi, osāpayissāmi*)

- Ud Se: *otarissāmi* (with var. *oyāyissāmi, osārissāmi*)

- Ud Ce: *osarissāmi* (with var. *osādissāmi, osādhissāmi*)

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[16] Other variants: *ocaritvā, var. ocaritā and otaritvā; ociṇṇaṃ, var. otiṇṇaṃ* (not discussed).

[17] PED sv *ocarati* "to search, reconnoitre, investigate"; BHSD: 71, sv *avacarati* "busies or occupies oneself with (intellectually), may perhaps be rendered investigates."

We therefore have about eleven variants, all five syllables except for the first which has six, and all phonologically related. Dialect variation intuitively seems wrong, as they are phonetically far apart, though related in overall sound structure. The multiplicity of variants is a sign of the tradent lineage struggling to understand the meaning of the word, and also suggests a malleability in the underlying transmission which allowed for such diverse interpretations.

Lemma	Derivation	Meaning and Notes
osāpayissāmi[18]	Causative of **ava + sā* (CPD) = *so* ("to destroy, kill, finish") *ava + so, avasyati*, caus. *avasāyayati* = "to cause to take up one's abode; to complete; to cause to finish, bring to an end".	Translated by Bodhi (2000: 174 and n. 223 on p. 404) as "make them disclose" (based on Norman 1969/95: 149 ad Th 119), who recognises a verb *oseti* "to deposit".[19] The *-paya-* insertion is a regular causative suffix for verbs ending in *-ā*. For other verbs ending in a consonant it is a "double causative" (Edgerton 1946).
oyāyissāmi	< *ava + yā*, "to go away" in normal future is *oyissāmi*; causative *oyāpayissāmi*, with *-āpaya-* > *-āya-* (non-standard).	"I will cause it to go away."
obhāyissāmi	< *ava + bhā* "to shine, to appear, to become eminent"; future *obhāsissāmi*; in causative *obhāpayissāmi* with *-āpaya-* > *-āya-* (non-standard).	"I will make it eminent."

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[18] Pāli forms its future from the uncontracted stem of class 10 and causative OI verbs, so *oseti/osemi* (*osayāmi* "I cause to deposit" and *osayissāmi* "I will cause to deposit), and *osāpayissāmi* "I will cause (someone to cause) to deposit." Geiger §154.3. Pischel (§528) notes that the *-y-* is usually elided (*-ayi-* > *aï*) and here we see many forms of *-ayi-* > *-i-* where the *-ay-* is elided. Often the future (of denominatives) are formed without a causative suffix, to which the future ending is attached (e.g. OI *mārayiṣyasi* > Māgadhī *māliśśasi* "you will cause to die" < *māra*, "death").

[19] However there is no "them" as an object of the verb in the Pāli; the only object is *ociṇṇaṃ*, "what has been investigated".

Lemma	Derivation	Meaning and Notes
ohayissāmi	< *ava* + *hṛ oharati* "to remove, to take away; to do away with; to bring down"; future *oharissāmi*; caus. *ohārayissāmi*, with non-standard -*āra-* > -*a-*.	"I will take it down, I will remove it."
otarissāmi	< *ava* + *tṛ*, *otarati*, "to enter, penetrate, understand, comprehend"; future *otarissāmi*; or causative form *otārayissāmi*, "to remove, bring downwards, introduce, make current, begin, expound" with non-standard -*ayi-* > -*i-*, and -*ā-* > -*ă-*.	"I will penetrate/understand/apprehend it."
otāyissāmi	? < *ava* + *tāyati* "to protect" but not attested with this prefix. *otāyayissāmi*, with non-standard -*ayi-* > -*i-*. Or caus. of previous *otarissāmi otārayissāmi* with -*ayi-* > *i-*.	"I will protect/preserve it" or "I will cause to apprehend."
osāyissāmi	Same as *osāpayissāmi* (< *ava* + *so*), with non-standard -*āpa-* > -*ā-*.	
osārissāmi	*ava* +*sṛ* ("deposit, put away; expound, propound; cause to visit, enter, go away") in caus. *osārayati*, *osārayissāmi*, with non-standard change of -*ayi-* > *i-* > *osārissāmi*	Sadd (1224, 426): *avasarati* = *avāsari* = *upagacchi*, *upavisi* "he approached, he entered." Comm. to Ud-a 333,$_{25}$ glosses *osārissāmi* as *paṭipajjissāmi*, *karissāmi* "I will enter upon, I will act."
osarissāmi	Same as *osārissāmi* with -*ă-*. Also, BHSD *avaśirati*, *ośirati*, *ośireti*, also spelled *oṣarati*, *osarati* "to clear away; send off, send forth; throw down, let loose, release; abandon, renounce; approach enter (sv *avasarati*, *osarati*); future *osarissāmi*; caus. *osarayissāmi* with non-standard change of -*ayi-* > *i-*.	"I will release it."

Lemma	Derivation	Meaning and Notes
osādissāmi	< *ava* + *sīdati*; future *osīdissāmi*; in caus. *osādayissami*, with non-standard change of -*ayi*- > *i*-.	"I will sink it."
osādhissāmi	"herb, plant, medicine; star" denominative *osādhi* (v. l. for *osadhi*) + future -*issāmi* > *osadhissāmi* (footnote 18).	"I will heal it"; "I will make it a star" (but probably only a spelling mistake for *osādissāmi* above).

Only a few of these forms are grammatically correct. The first *osāpayissāmi* ("I will [cause to] deposit") is a correct future causative form but the meaning makes no sense. *otarissāmi* ("I will penetrate, understand comprehend") is a correct future form, as is *osarissāmi* ("I will clear away"). The other forms all require a shortening of -*ayi*- > -*i*- or -*āpa*- > -*ā*- or -*āra*- > -*a*-. None of these are attested to my knowledge, although the change of -*ayi*- > -*e*- or > -*aï*- does occur (Pischel §528; von Hinüber 2001: §146 and §147).

Of all these eleven forms, there are only two that make sense in the context, *otarissāmi* and *osarissāmi*, which I have translated as: "(That which they have first reconnoitred, afterwards) I will deal with." Both Bodhi's and Sujato's translation take "they" (the spies) as the object of the verb, which it is clearly not;[20] the object is *ociṇṇaṃ* ("that which has been reconnoitred" or var. *otiṇṇaṃ* ("that which has been apprehended"). Either of these variants work in the context, the latter providing some support for the *otarissāmi* reading as from the same verb root *o-tarati*. The phrase "I will deal with" is a compromise translation which tries to capture the meaning of *otarissāmi* ("I will comprehend, penetrate") and *osarissāmi* (BSHD "I will clear away"). King Pasenadi will deal with the intelligence received from his spies by comprehending its significance and removing any threats to the nation's security, as required. *otarissāmi* occurs in the *mūla* of the PTS and Se versions of the parallel story in the *Udāna*. *osarissāmi* occurs in the *mūla* of Ce, and *osārissāmi* occurs in the *mūla* of the Be recension, but with a long -*ā*-, so it is

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[20] Bodhi (2000: 174) has "First information is gathered by them and afterwards I will make them disclose it." There is no personal pronoun in the accusative plural in the Pāli, but it does occur as the second word of the next sentence (in the nominative). Sujato (2023: 112) has "First they go undercover, then I have them report to me." Levman (2014: 352) made the same mistake, taking the *jaṭila* spies as object of the verb: "I will release them/let them go (back to the household life)."

the causative form, and as noted above, should read *osārayissāmi*, so it has been shortened (*osārissāmi*, with *-ayi- > -i-*).[21]

How to account for all these variant forms? The one form that underlies all of them is *oyayissāmi* which occurs in the *mūla* in Ce and as a variant in PTS, Be, and Se. It also occurs as a variant in Ud Be and Se. Presumably here the *-y-* consonant represents not a derivation from the verb *yā*, "to go" but it is a *ẏa-śruti*, (*oẏaẏissāmi*) indicating a consonant dropped off. The *ẏa-śruti* is not usually a substitute for a sibilant or an *-r-* sound. There are instances where an intervocalic *-y-* is apparently replaced by an *-s-* (e.g. *avāhayi ~ avāhasi* in *Jātaka* 271 verse 61d), but this can also be interpreted otherwise;[22] *-y-* as substitute for *-r-* is not very common but does occur (Pischel §255). Nor can these different forms (in SN) be considered dialect changes as the variants are for the most part not phonetically close.

A more likely scenario is that the earliest transmission was *otarissāmi* with the intervocalic *-t- > -ẏ-glide* or Ø (as AMg *oāra* = *avatāra*, "descent", or AMg. *oiṇṇa* = *avatīrṇa*, "descended, reincarnated"; see Pischel §154), and the *-ẏ-glide* was interpreted as an *-s-*, at least in the Sinhalese tradition, probably because in MI a stop was often weakened to a fricative dialectically (e.g. Gāndhāri, Brough 1962: §43a) or because Sinhalese *-s-* regularly represented MI *-c-* (Geiger 1938: §44); because a *-t-* sometimes changed to a *-c-*, both medially, *Kaccāyana* §19 *iti + etaṃ > iccetam*, (Thitzana 2016, vol. 2: 136); as well as initially in Pāli, (e.g. *carissanti*, var. *tarissanti*, example 2 above and here), and in the Prakrits (e.g. Asokan edicts *tu* and *cu*; Levman 2010: 69–70); and because bilingual speakers of Dravidian and IA pronounced an initial *c-* as both *t-* and *s-* (and sometimes *š-*), because proto-Dravidian **c-* was phonetically an affricate *ts-* or *tš-* initially and possibly also intervocalically (Emeneau 1988; Levman 2022: §2.4). The

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[21] This form is attested in *Jātaka* 540, v. 327 (Jā 6, 83,₇) as *sārayissati* ("remind" from the homonym *sarati*, "he remembers").

[22] The "original" word may have been *avāhadi* ("defecated") which weakened to *avāhayi* in the Prakrits (or, as Lüders 1954: §109 suggests, "ist aus der Sprache des Urkanons stehen geblieben"). PTS has *avāhayi*, Be and Ce *avāhasi* ("mocked, scorned") and Se *apāhasi* (idem with change of *-v-* > *-p-*) which also works in the context. It is quite possible that the change of *-y- > -s-* was through *-d-*; i.e. intervocalic *-d-* weakened to fricative δ (written *-dh-*, *-s-* or *-z-*), a phenomenon which occurs occasionally in Gāndhārī (Brough 1962: §43a, §43b). See for example Sn 955 *visosehi* ("dry up" < causative of *visussati* "it dries up") and a repeat of this verse in the commentary at Sv 3, 747, as *visodhehi* ("purify" < *vi + śudh* "he purifies") where the following evolution appears to have taken place: *-dh- > -s- (dh > -δ- > -z- > -s-) -δ-* = voiced dental fricative (as in English "the").

other exemplars can be understood as attempts to make sense of these two verbs *otarissāmi* and *osarissāmi*, which were obviously not very well understood in these meanings, resulting in several wrong back-formations:

Summary and reconstruction (not in chronological order)

*oẏarissāmi > otarissāmi (*otārissāmi*, incorrect caus.)[23], *osarissāmi* (*osārissami*, incorrect caus.) *osǎrissāmi > osāpayissāmi* (caus., incorrect back-formation from verb *sā* or *so*) > *osāyissāmi* with -*āpa*- > -*ā*-

*oẏarissāmi > oyāyissāmi (incorrect back-formation from verb *yā*) > *osādissāmi/osādhissāmi* (incorrect back-formation from verb *sīdati*) and addition of aspirate -*dh*- (spelling mistake).

oyāyissāmi > ohayissāmi (incorrect back-formation from verb *harati* or simply -*h*- as a substitute *ẏ*-glide as in Gāndhārī (Brough 1962: §39)

ohayissāmi > obhāyissāmi (incorrect back-formation from root *bhā*, taking the -*h*- as an aspirate substitute, Pischel §188)

A possible time-line and derivation chart might look like this. The numbers after each word represent the number of times each exemplar occurs in the various recensions (as noted above); they may be of help to establish diachronic priority. Where two lines of descent go to one form, both are possible routes.

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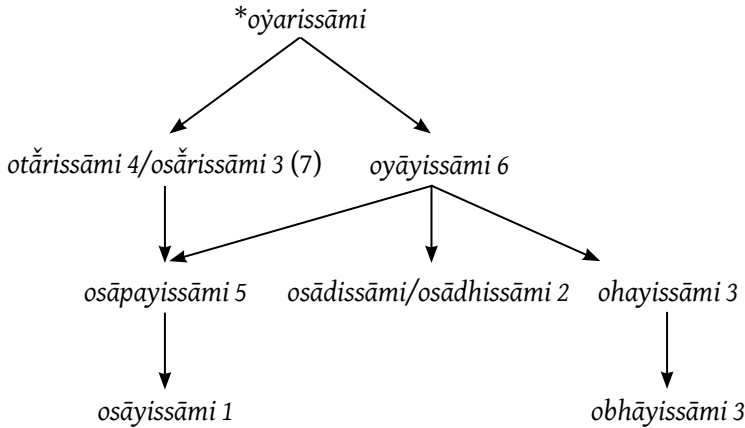
[23] But see footnote 18. If the future causative in Prakrit may be formed without the causative suffix (which is the case in denominatives per Pischel §528) and also sometimes appears to be the case in the Asokan edicts (see Shāhbāzgaṛhī *vaḍhiśati* on page 31 below, for Girnār and Dhauli *vaḍḍhayissati*, "will cause to grow, will promote"), then these forms may be considered "correct."

There are two Chinese versions of this sutta, neither of which have translated this word.[24]

9. *Saṅgītisutta*, DN 3, 210,$_{10}$

> *cara vāda-ppamokkhāya*

> "Go on, save your doctrine." (Sujato) [25]

- Be, Ce and PTS have *cara vādappamokkhāya* ("Go on, save your doctrine"; Walshe 1995: 427)

- Se has only *paravādapamokkhāya*

which appears to go with the next phrase *nibbeṭhehi vā sace pahosī ti*, "Unravel yourself if you can, from the bondage to others' wrong views"; here taking *apamokkhāya* in the sense of *appamokkhāya* (as in the comm.), a negative (the -*pp*- should be a geminate because of the *pr*- in *pramokṣa* from which it is derived). Yet the Se commentary retains the word "*cara*" (in Be, Ce and PTS): *cara vādappamokkhāyā ti bhattapuṭaṃ ādāya taṃ taṃ pūgaṃ upasaṅkamitvā vādappamokkhatthāya uttariṃ pariyesamāno vicari. nibbedhehi* (so Se; *nibbeṭhehi* in PTS, Se and Ce) *vāti athavā mayā āropitadosato attānaṃ mocehi* (Se Sv 3 94,$_{13–15}$); "*cara vādappamokkhāya* (means): Taking a parcel of food, and approaching this group or that one, go about looking beyond the bondage of your views. 'Or, unravel yourself' means or free yourself from the faults, refuted by me." The *cara/para* alternation points to an earlier transmission with the intervocalic stop disappearing (or a -*ẏ*- glide, taking its place, Pischel §184, §186, §187), so *niggahito tvam asi-*(*ẏ*)*aravādapamokkhāya* > *tvam asi-para-* (Se) and *tvam asi-cara-* (Be and Ce) are reconstructions based on what the tradent deduced the -*ẏ*- glide to represent. One of the hallmarks of the MI *koiné* prevalent before and at the time of the Buddha was this disappearance or simplification of intervocalic stops (see Levman 2016: §6.1). The BHS version has *apahara vādaṃ vāda vipramokṣāya* ("remove views for the release from views"; Waldschmidt 1955),[26] which expresses the same sentiment as the Pāli but the morphology is

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quite different, although the words appear to be all phonetically related (*cara-para-(apa)-hara*).

10. *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, DN 2 138,$_{27}$

> *atha Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ* **apasādesi** *kho*

"Then the Bhagavā dismissed Ven. Upavaṇa."

- PTS has *apasādesi*, an aorist, whereas Se and Ce have the present tense *apasādeti*: "he rejected" or "he rebuked", a causative form meaning "reject, repulse; censure, rebuke"; the BHS equivalent is *ava + sad*, with change of *apa- > ava-*.

Be has *apasāresi.* The Be form is the aorist of *apasāreti* "to cause to send away" (< *apa + sṛ* in caus., "to make go away"), which is more consistent with the context: the Buddha tells Upavāṇa, who is fanning him, to move aside so that the gods who have come to see him have a clear view. The BHS version (Waldschmidt, 1950–51: vol. 3: 356) does not have this word, only *ma me purastāt tiṣṭha* ("don't stand in front of me"), which is the same as the Tibetan. Ānanda is taken aback by the Buddha's statement because Upavāṇa had been the Bhagava's attendant for a long time. Both words make sense in the context but the commentary and Ānanda's reaction suggest *apasāresi* as the right choice,[27] as *apasādeti* does have the meaning of "disparage, belittle, put down, rebuke," which would be out of character for the Buddha.

The change of *-d- > -r-* (a weakening) is unusual, but not that uncommon (in the Prakrits: Pischel §245; in the Vedas: Bloomfield and Edgerton 1932/1979: §272a; in Pāli: Geiger §43.1): e.g. Dhp 151 *pravedayanti* ~ GDhp v. 160, *praverayadi*, "they make known" Brough §43b; UV has *nivedayanti* ("proclaim"), with the same meaning but a different prefix; or Pāli *dasa/ rasa*, "ten" in compounds; Dhp 305 *damayaṃ* ("taming") Patna Dhp 313 *ramayaṃ*, Gāndhārī Dhp 259 *ramahi*). The directionality is also not clear as *ruciraṃ* ("attractive") in Dhp 51 = *ruyida* in GDhp 290 with strengthening of *-r- > -d-* Pāli/OI > Gāndhārī or OI *śarvarī* (also *śatvarī*, idem, but not attested) > GDhp 256 *śadvari* ("night"); OI

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reconstruction (from the Tibetan).

[27] The commentary glosses *apasāreti* with *apanesi* ("he removed him, he excluded him"), which could go with either verb as Se Sv 2, 185,$_1$ has *apasādeti = apanesi* and Be Sv 2, 170 has *apasāresi = apanesi*. The *ṭīkā* specifically says *na pana nibbhacchi* ("but he did not rebuke").

puraṃdara "destroyer of fortresses; epithet of Sakka" ~ Pāli *purindada* (idem); or *-r-* > *-t-*, Pāli *paribāhirā* ("sensual perceptions kept at bay" Bodhi 2000: 219) ~ BHS *paribhāvito* ("kept outside of him" Jones 1956: 271).

These are either dialect changes, elocution peculiarities ("a reflection of the tendency *d* > *r* in rapid speech" per Brough 1962: 255), mistakes, and/or back-formations from an intervocalic *-ẏ-*-glide replacing an elided consonant, or a combination of all. The possibility of back-formations is increased by the presence of such variants as *hitvā rāgañ* ("passion abandoned") alongside var. *hitvā yāgañ* ("sacrifice abandoned") in *Therīgāthā* 18, with an alternation of *-y-* and *-r-*; OI *pariruddha* "obstructed" alongside Pāli *palibuddha* (idem) and *aparigodhāya* ("with a view to the absence of greed"; Woolner 1924/2015: 63) in Girnār and Shābāzgaṛhī (Bloch 1950: 104), with *-r-*, *-b-* and *-g-* alongside each other, which seem to point to an underlying malleable consonant differentially interpreted (i.e. *apasāẏesi*, in the present instance).

10. *Mahāsamayasutta*, DN 2, 261,[11]

> *candaṃ va* **asitātigaṃ**

> "like the moon which has overcome darkness"

- Be and Ce are the same as PTS (above)
- Se has *asitātitaṃ* quoting a Cambodian and Be/Mon var. *asitātigaṃ* and a European variant *asitātikaṃ* which is not in PTS.

The variation between *atiga* ("overcome") and *atita* ("gone past") does not amount to much; both mean basically the same thing. The alternation of *-t-*, *-g-* and *-k-* in the last syllable suggest that the early transmission was a *koiné*, where the stop was omitted, viz., *asitātiẏaṃ* where *-ẏ-* represents a weakly articulated glide (Pischel §187) which replace consonants. While the change of *-k-* >< *-g-* might well be a dialect phenomenon (in dialects which tend to voice or unvoice intervocalic stops), the appearance of the dental stop alongside a velar stop confirms an underlying glide interpretation, as they are not related dialectically. Other changes of *-t-* >< *-k-* (or *-g-* with *-t-* > Ø as in AMg *Uttarajjhayaṇasutta* 10, 5 *aigao* < *atigato*), like *niyato* > *niyako* (*Padarūpasiddhi* 42), or OI *saṃśayita* > Gāndhārī *saśayike* ("doubtful," also in Shābāzgaṛhī and Mansehra at Bloch 1950: 116,[19–20]) also point to the same conclusion.

11. *Poṭṭhapādasutta,* DN 1, 186,₁–₂

> *oḷārikam kho ahaṃ bhante attānaṃ paccemi rūpiṃ*
> *cātummahābhūtikaṃ* **kabaḷiṅkārāhāra-bhakkhan** ti

"Bhante, I take the self as material, composed of form, made up of the four great elements and feeding on mouthfuls of food."

- Se: *kavalī-kāra-bhakkhan-ti.*

- Be, Ce and Ee: have an extra word: *kabaḷī-kār-āhāra-bhakkhan-ti.*

The corresponding OI word is *kavala* with variant MI spellings *kavaḍa* (BHS), *kapaḍa* (BHS var), *kabaḷī* (Be, Ce), *kavalī* (Se), *kabala* (Geiger 46.1), *kabaḷa/kavaḷa.* The word also occurs in the *Pāṭimokkha* as a technical term from *Sekhiya* 39 (*Nātimahantaṃ kabaḷaṃ* [*kavaḷaṃ* var.] *karissāmī ti, sikkhā karaṇīyā* "I shall not take an overlarge morsel [of food], thus the training is to be done," (Ñāṇatusita 2014: 178). Mayrhofer (M1 vol. 1: 187) suggests the term is a proto-Munda word **kabaḍa,* cp. Santali *khabo̱l,* "mouthful, handful" (Kuiper 1948: 34f). Burrow (1945: 91) provides Dravidian cognates *kavaḷam, kava̠ram* "morsel, mouthful" < *kavvu* "to bite". See DTS p. 167, n. 12 where no less than 14 different variants of the first part of the compound are given as *kav-, kab-, kap-* and *kac-.* If M1 (vol. 1: 187) is correct in asserting that the "ground form" (Grundform) is **kabaḍa,* this would account for the weakening of *-b-* > *-v-* (Pischel 201; von Hinüber 2001: 183) and *-ḍ-* > *-l-* (Pischel §240) which has occurred, but not the strengthening of *-b-* > *-p-* or the change of *-b-* > *-c-* in one Burmese ms (DTS above). These latter suggest an early *koiné* transmission as **kaẏ-* where the *-ẏ-* glide was back-formed to *-p-* or *-c-,* or an earlier transmission of **kav-* where the *-v-* itself was treated as a glide (Pischel §254; von Hinüber 2001: §171 re: exchange of *b* and *v* in OI and Pāli); in this case the Grundform would be **kaẏaḍa* or **kavaḍa* which would account for all exemplars. If we omit the one change to *-c-* (which in any case is not straightforward as an extra syllable has been added, viz., *kacapaḷi-*), then it is possible to interpret the alternation of *-b-, -p-* and *-v-* as of a dialectal nature as they are all close phonetically.

12. *Ambaṭṭhasutta*, DN 1 89,₉

*loke **vivatta-cchaddo***

"roll back the veil of illusion in the world"

***vighuṣṭa-śabdo*** loke (*Mahāvadānasūtra*)

"whose name has been loudly proclaimed" **(**Waldschmidt 1953: 95)

- PTS and Ce *vivatta-cchado*, with dental stop
- Se *vivaṭa-cchado*
- Be *vivaṭṭa-cchado*

Both forms (with dental and retroflex stop) are derived < *vi + vṛt*, "turn back, roll back". Other minor variants in DTS 80, n. 1. The parallel BHS version of this compound is *vighuṣṭa-śabda* ("whose name has been loudly proclaimed"); this and the variant forms point to an underlying *koiné* form **viaṭṭa-cchada*. The Pkt. form *vivaṭṭa* or *viŷaṭṭa/viaṭṭa* (with the *-ŷ-* glide or Ø replacing the *-v-*; Pischel §254; AMg *viaṭṭa* = OI *vivṛtta*, while *viaṭṭha* = OI *vikṛṣṭa*; Mylius 2003: 552) which, as well as being a derivative of Skt. *vivṛtta* ("uncovered"), is also (in the form *viaṭṭha*, with the aspirated form *-ṭṭha-* replacing *-ṭṭa-*, attested in the Pāli variants, at PTS DN 2, 16, n. 10, *vivaṭṭhachado*; Levman 2014: 416, n. 1050) equivalent to Skt. *vikṛṣṭa* ("extensive, vast, sprawling, long, far, sounded"; *vikṛṣṭa > vikaṭṭha > viŷaṭṭha > viaṭṭha*) and it is this word that was "mistaken" for *viaṭṭ(h)a* = OI *vikṛṣṭa* ("extended, sounded"), interpreted as *vighuṣṭa* ("proclaimed loudly"; *vikṛṣṭa > vikʰuṣṭa > vighuṣṭa*; vocalic *-ṛ- > -a-*, *-u-* or *-i-* in the Prakrits, Pischel §47–55). The change of *-chada > -śabda* is a hyper-Sanskritism in a Prakrit dialect where OI *ś > ch-* (von Hinüber 1983: 33). This compound *vivatta* (*vivaṭṭa*)*-cchaddo* is an exact phonological equivalent of *vighuṣṭa-śabda* ("sound proclaimed loudly" an epithet of the Buddha which occurs in three BHS texts (*Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu* and *Mahāvadānasutta*). See Levman (2014: 414–17) for full discussion.[28]

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[28] Norman (1985: 112; *Collected Papers* 3: 99) postulates that the original transmission was **vivṛtta-chadman* ("the veil uncovered"), but the evolution of **vivṛtta > vighuṣṭa* requires a fairly tortuous phonological pathway (see the article). We cannot be sure of what the earliest OI form was (or indeed, if there was an OI form, as the earliest form might have been a Prakrit); but

A possible derivation chart based on the above evidence:

$$*vi\dot{y}att ha/viatt(h)a$$

vivaṭṭa/vivatta   viaṭṭa/viaṭṭha   vikṛṣṭa > vighuṣṭa
Pāli   AMg   BHS
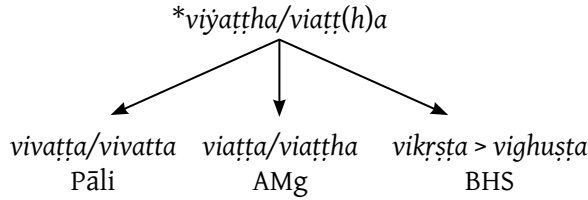
13. *Mahāvastu* 3.435,$_{21-22}$

> *yo ca varṣaśataṃ jīve agniparicaraṃ caret /*
> ***patrāhāro** chavāvāsī karonto vividhaṃ tapaṃ //*

> "A man may live a hundred years in careful attendance of the sacred fire, eating from his bowl, dwelling among corpses and performing many a penance." (Jones 1956, vol. 3: 437–38)

Roth (2000: 25) notes that Senart's reading *patrāhāro* (var. *paḍāhāro*) may reflect *pātra-ahāra* or Pāli *patta-ādhāra* ("whose support of livelihood is the bowl") or *pattra-āhāra* ("whose food consists of leaves"). The form *patta-ādhāra* is particularly interesting as Pāli does have the form *patta-ādhāraka* (in the Vinaya)[29] which is generally translated as "stand for a bowl". This suggests that the earlier form was indeed *patta-āhāra*, where the *-h-* was interpreted as a weakened form of an aspirated stop, very common in the Prakrits and the *koiné* (Pischel §180).

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both *vivatta* (Pāli) and *vighuṣṭa* can be readily derived from *viatt(h)a*, which, as noted above, is an attested from. The alternation of geminates like -ṭṭ- and aspirated geminates (-ṭṭh-) is very common in the Pāli canon (for discussion, see Levman 2021: 298; Geiger §40).

[29] For a discussion of which see Sp 6, 1203. The Buddha allowed monks a bowl-stand, as the bowls were being broken, when left in the open air and tossed around by the wind (Vin 2, 113).

14. Theragāthā 451

amoghaṃ divasaṃ kayirā, appena bahukena vā.
*yaṃ yaṃ **vijahate** rattiṃ, tadūnaṃ tassa jīvitaṃ.*

"Daily one should do what is fruitful, little or much; whatever night he wastes that is one less (night) of his life."

There are several different variants for the word *vijahate* in pada c:
• PTS, Be and Ce *vijahate* with Ce var. *virahato* and *viharate.*

• Se *vivahate* with Sī var. *virahate*

• Other variants in PTS include *vijahata, viharate, viṭahate* (glossed as *atināmeti khepeti* at Pd 2, 190,₅) and *vivasate* (? question mark in PTS text).

The Be comm. (Pd 2, 119) glosses *vijahate* with *vijahati* ("abandons") *nāseti* ("eradicate, kill, ruin, destroy"), *khepeti* ("spend, waste"); the Ce comm. is the same. The PTS comm. (Pd 2, 190,₅) reads *viharate*, glossed as *atināmeti* ("spend, waste"), *khepeti* (idem), with variations on *viharate* as *vijahate, vivahate* ("perhaps *viṭarate*"), *viṭahate.* The Se comm. reads *vijahati nāseti* (var. *sayati*, "he sleeps") *khepeti.*

• *vijahate < vi + hā*, "abandon, forsake, leave, give up".

• *virahate < vi + rah*, "to separate" the verb not attested in Pali, just the p.p. *virahita*, "empty, exempt from, rid of, without" but late (*Milindapañha*).

• *vivahate < vi + vah* "to remove, carry off", only *vivāha* attested in Pāli in the sense of a marriage.

Other variants per PTS: *vijahata* (< *vi + hā* as above), *viharate* (< *vi + hṛ* "cut off, sever, separate, remove"), *viṭahate* (< ?), *vivasate* (< *vi + vas*, "to spend time").

As Norman says (1969/95), *vijahati* is a "strange verb to use of time" and he thinks the original reading was *vivasate* ("he spends time") but the clear sense of the passage is "wastes" as the commentary has it in *atināmeti* and *khepeti.* This points to the verb *vyay* in OI, "to expend, spend, waste" which is perfect in the context, *vyayati* or in caus. *vyayayati.* One does not usually find the verbal form in Pāli but *vyaya* or *vaya* is quite common in the sense of "loss, want,

expense" (*samudayavayadhammā*, "the nature of rising and falling away") and *vyayati* is a denominative from this noun. This points to an earlier form in the Th verse (of the exemplars handed down): *v^{i}yayati* with epenthetic -*i*- inserted between the *v*- and -*y*- to avoid the conjunct *vy*-; the -*y*-was misinterpreted as a -*ẏ*–glide and replaced with various consonants (-*j*-, -*v*-, -*r*-, -*ṭ*-) to make sense of it, none of which were quite right. The second -*y*- appears also to have been understood as a -*ẏ*-glide; the change > -*h*- is also very unusual, although sometimes -*y*- can be a substitute for -*r*- (Pischel §255).

The verb *vyayati* is actually attested in Pāli in the form *viyeti* (*Jātaka* 476, Jā 4, 216,$_8$), with several variants listed in Be (Be/Ce *viyeti*, PTS *viheti*, Se *vineti*, Cambodian *aṭṭhakathā vigeti*): "But having seen (the loved one) desire for that one is gone" (*disvā pan' ekassa viyeti chando*), with the commentary glossing *chando vigacchati pemaṃ antarādhāyati*, "desire goes away, affection disappears". The other variants on *viyeti* here are obviously back-formation attempts to make sense of it, but it was not understood, in the same way that *vijahati* and the other exemplars above were apparently an attempt to make sense of *viyayati*. The Jā verse is an unusual case in that a -*ẏ*- glide is not usually replaced by a nasal or an aspirate: *viheti* < *vi* + *hā*, *vihāyati*, "is abandoned"; *vineti* < *vi* + *nī* "he removes", a transitive verb in an intransitive context, so one would have to take *chando* in the accusative to make sense of it, "he removes desire for him"; *vigeti* < *vi* + *gai vigāyati*, "he decries, reproaches," also a trans. verb. The term *chando* is in OI a neuter noun, but Cone shows it as both neuter and masc. The comm. (above) treats it in the nominative case.

One might argue that these (Th and Jā) are dialect changes, but the wide variation in place and manner of articulation points to an underlying malleable form which replaced consonants with a glide (or nothing), that is a *koiné*. In the case of Th the underlying form was in fact an actual verb form (*viyayati*), but it was (mis-)interpreted as a *koiné* form and six incorrect back-formations were attempted.

15. *Therīgāthā 24*

> *rāgañ ca ahaṃ dosañ ca*, **cicciṭi cicciṭī ti vihanāmi.**
> *sā rukkhamūlamupagamma, aho sukhan ti sukhato jhāyāmi* (Be)

"I remove passion and anger with the sound '*cicciṭi*' (imitating the sound of dry bamboo sticks splitting). Having gone to the root of a tree, I meditate out of happiness, 'Oh! happiness!'"

- Be, Ce: *cicciṭi cicciṭī ti vihānami* (Ce var. *vihanāmi*)

- Se and PTS: *vicchindantī viharāmi*, "Cutting off passion and anger, I abide" or "Continuing to cut off passion and anger" (interpreting it as an explicator compound structure per Levman 2022: §3.3).

Other variants listed in PTS include *vichindati* (=*vicchindatī*, "cutting off"), *vicchindi* ("he cut off"), *vichindanti* (var. spelling of *vicchindantī* "cutting off"), and *vihanāmi* ("I remove, eliminate"), *visānāmi* and *visānami* (for *viharāmi*) < *visa + ā + nam* in caus. aor. *visa-ānāmayi* (Geiger §168.4), "He subdued the poison", contracted to > *visānāmi* (-*ayi* > -*i*; as in Asokan rock edict four Bloch 1950: 99,$_{29}$ *vaḍḍhayissati* > *vaḍhiśati*, "it will grow"; normal is -*ayi*- > -*e*-, von Hinüber 2001: §147).

Norman (1995: 63) opined that the original word was *viharāmi* in the sense of "remove, get rid of" which meaning was not understood by a scribe, so he/she changed it to *vihanāmi*. This, however, does not explain the alternation of *vicchindantī* with *cicciṭi cicciṭī ti*. It is an old Ārya metre (16 *matta*s) per Norman (1995: §54), which, per Warder (1967: 47) has been "corrupted into *vicchindantī*", ten *mattā*s > eight *mattā*s. There is clearly a sonic relationship between the two groups, so it is not difficult to understand how the sound *cicciṭi* which is non-IA and derived from Dravidian,[30] might morph into something more intelligible to a tradent who didn't speak the indigenous language, i.e. *ciṭiciṭi* > *vicchindantī*. That the earlier form was *ciṭiciṭi* etc., is confirmed by the presence

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[30] DED #2509–11: Tamil *ciṭuciṭuppu onom.* expr. of hissing noise, as of a burning wick when it contains particles of water. *ciṭiciṭi* the sound of sparks or flames bursting forth and crackling; *ciṭil* the crackling of flames. Tulu *ciṭiciṭi* a crackling noise. Telugu *ciṭaciṭa* the crackling noise of burning; cracklingly. Cp OI *ciṭiciṭāya*, "to make a hissing sound" Pāli *ciṭiciṭāyati*, "to hiss, fizz, sizzle".

of the words in the commentary, and the explanation by the comm. as the detested sound of the splitting of dry bamboo and sticks that the nun used to make boxes, baskets and umbrellas.[31] This particular example shows that a back-formation (or perhaps better, "re-formation") can take place when the exemplar (an unknown indigenous word) was not understood by the receiver and he or she recast it in a phonetically similar form (itself imitative of the sound of splitting bamboo), which semantically fit the context. Even then the tradent was struggling with the new word as the three variants show.

16. *Therīgāthā* 106

> *pañca kkhandhā pariññātā tiṭṭhanti chinnamūlakā*
> **dhi tavatthu jare jamme** *n'atthi dāni punabbhavo* (Be, Se)

"The five aggregates have been understood, they remain, but are
cut off at the root.
Oh wretched old age, fie on you! Now there is no renewed existence."

Sometimes the only explanation is sonic confusion. For *pāda* c there are several different variants that have come down to us for the eight syllables:

- Be, Se: *dhi tavatthu jare jamme*

- Ce: *dhī tavatthu jare chamme*

- PTS: *ṭhitavatthuj' aneja mhi*

- Burmese var.: *thitivatthuṃ jane jammi*

- Burmese comm. var.: *tita (ṭhita)vatthujareja mhi*

- Burmese var.: *dhīta (thiti)vatthu jane jammi*

- Sinhalese var.: *thitivattuṃ janejamehi*

- PTS var. per Ce: *ṭhitivata thujanejamahi*

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[31] Pd VI, 28,$_{21-3}$: "I remove passion and anger with the sound '*cicciṭi*'. With this sound '*cicciṭi cicciṭi*' I remove, destroy, abandon, passion and anger which are the greatest of the afflictions."
rāgañ ca ahaṃ dosañ ca cicciṭi cicciṭī ti vihanāmi (Ce var. *vicchandantī viharāmi*, noted in PTS) *ti ahaṃ kilesajeṭṭhakaṃ rāgañca dosañca cicciṭi cicciṭi ti iminā saddena sadhiṃ vihanāmi* (PTS var. *viharāmi*) *vināsemi, pajahāmi* (Se var. *vijahāmi*) *ti attho.*

Norman (1995: 16) translates the PTS version as "Born from an enduring foundation, I am immovable." The Be version may be translated as "Oh wretched old age! fie on you!" The commentary supports this reading (Pd 97[14–16]): *aṅgānaṃ sithilabhāvakaraṇādinā* **jare jamme** *lāmake hīne* **tava** *tuyhaṃ* **dhi atthu**, *dhikāro hotu* "Oh wretched (low, inferior) old age! Fie on you for making my limbs weak..." Oldenberg & Pischel (1883/2006: 184) note that the commentator's reading is "quite out of place here", but then so is their reconstruction, about which they say, "I am not sure whether I have hit the correct reading."

Here all the readings are phonetically similar and the variants occur for the most part by the arbitrary division of the sounds into different words and a confusion of voiced and unvoiced stops and aspirated stops (*dhi/thi/ti*; *j/ch*) and retroflexes (*thiti/ṭhiti*); some of this may be dialect issues, or due to Dravidian speakers of IA who do not make a phonemic distinction between voiced and unvoiced stops. But most of the variation seems to result from an attempt to make sense of a continuous sonic stream through word division. It is impossible here to ascertain the earliest transmission and the different variants are a sobering reflection on the sometimes unpredictable and erratic nature of an oral transmission.

Conclusion

The simplification of various consonants in the evolution of OI > MI resulted in various ambiguous homonymic forms with different potential meanings. It was up to the tradent to pick the right meaning for the right context and in the case of Pāli many of these forms were partially restored towards their OI orthography (like a glide restored to a stop). However this process did not take place in the other Prakrits, where the forms were not artificially restored but continued to evolve. In more complex situations, where the meaning was not obvious, several different back-formations were attempted and preserved, as no one was sure what the "correct meaning" was, or indeed whether a certain polysemy was intended by the creator, since several potential meanings fit the context. The examples given above show that in most cases the variants came from a single underlying source which was malleable and subject to interpretation—what has been called a "*koiné gangétique*" (Smith 1952: 178), and/or malleable *vohāra* (< OI *vy-ava-hṛ* "to carry on commerce, trade, deal with")—a simplified dialect used for trade and government where dialect peculiarities were removed and "common denominator" phonemes were used,

like glides for stops, aspirates for aspirated stops, geminates for conjuncts, where three sibilants become one, and liquids were interchanged, to name a few of the prominent features. Often this underlying transmission can be restored (at least hypothetically) by tracing back the variants to a common denominator source. Sometimes, as in example 16 above, this is impossible; although all the variants obviously belong to a common sonic stream, there is not enough data to determine diachronic priority. The influence of bilingual Dravidian/Munda speakers (who had to adapt the IA phonology to their own very different series of phonemes) has only been touched on here, and will be dealt with in a separate monograph.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMg	Ardha-Māgadhī
Be	Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana Burmese recension
Ce	Buddha Jayanti Sinhalese recension
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary (Edgerton 1953/98)
DED	*Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (Burrow and Emeneau 1984)
DTS	Dhammachai Tipiṭaka Series
DN	Dīgha Nikāya
Geiger	Geiger 1916/2005
GDhp	*Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (Brough 1962)
IA	Indo-Aryan
Jā	*Jātaka*
M1	Mayrhofer 1956–76
MI	Middle Indic
Nidd	*Niddesa*

non-IA	non Indo-Aryan
OI	Old Indic
Pd	*Paramatthadīpanī* VI (*Therīgāthā-aṭṭhakathā*)
Pischel	Pischel 1900/1981
Pj II	*Paramatthajotikā* (*Sutta Nipāta aṭṭhakathā*)
PTS	Pali Text Society
Se	Thai Syāmaraṭṭha recension
Sī	Sinhalese variant
Sn	*Sutta Nipāta* (4th-5th centuries BCE)
SN	*Saṃyutta Nikāya*
Sp	*Samantapāsadikā* (*Vinaya-aṭṭhakathā*)
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī
Th	*Theragāthā*
Ud	*Udāna*
Uv	*Udānavarga*

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