

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

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Languages by Louis H. Gray

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# INDO-IRANIAN PHONOLOGY

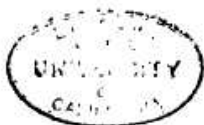
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE

## MIDDLE AND NEW INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES

BY

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

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## 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. 229-248), outlined the method which I have followed in this book. I advanced my views on the comparison of the Middle and New Indo-Iranian dialects before the Society in the following words :

'It is a well-known fact in linguistics that languages which are entirely without influence one on the other often show a striking similarity in their development. The Indo-Iranian group is especially instructive in this regard, for its time-limit extends from the period of Indo-Iranian unity to the present day, while its geographical area stretches from the Sinhalese in the south to the *Mazandarāni* in the north, and from the Kurdish in the west to the 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 miscellanee,' iii. 86, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1708), 'Nonnullae voces [linguae singalacae] cum Persicis conveniunt, uti *Aswajaa*, equus, اسپ *Asp*, *Rahasa*, arcanum, از, *Ras*, ܐܪܟܐ *Chaldaeis*, arcanum. *Bandinjai*, ligo, بند *Band*, *Dewijan*, Deus, Pera, دیو *Div*, Genius.' (Cf. also Benfey, *Gesch. der Sprachwissenschaft*, 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

saurseni. En 1819, Erskine fait du zend un dialecte sanscrit importé de l'Inde en Perse par le fondateur de Magiame, 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 Afghāns compared with the Irānian and North-Indian Idioms* revived the view that the later Indo-Iranian dialects were closely connected linguistically, even though his work was vitiated by his false theory that Afyān is 'an old independent language, forming the first transition from the Indo-Ārian to the Irānian family, and therefore partaking of the characteristics of both' (p. xii. Cf. the approving remarks of Hoernle, *Comp. Gramm.*, xxxiv-xxxv, as contrasted with Darmesteter, *Chants populaires des Afghans*, p. lix). Finally, in 1898, Horn, *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, i. b. 85 Anm., compared the Iranian change of *r* to *ē* in Skt. *vykṣa* 'tree,' Av. *varṣa* : Phl. *vēṣak*, New Pers. *bēṣah* with the Prākritic *geha* '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 Prākṛit. This group embraces Māhārāṣṭri, the Prākṛit *kar' ḍḥoḥṛu*, with Jaina Māhārāṣṭri, Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi (also called Āreṣa and Jaina Prākṛit), and Śāuraṣēni, the principal Prākṛit of the drama. These form the literary dialects called *bhāṣā* by Mārkaṇḍeya, while the lower Prākṛits used in literature, Śākari, Caṇḍali, Śābati, and others form Mārkaṇḍeya's *vibhāṣa* class. The other Middle Indian groups are Apabhraṁśa and Pāśāci. Apabhraṁśa denotes the Middle

Indian vernaculars as distinguished from the Prakrits or literary dialects of the period. Pāśāci together with Cūlikapāśāci seems to have comprised the dialects of the north and west of India (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prakrit-Spr.*, §§ 1-30, cf. also Hoernle, *Calcutta Rev.*, lxxi. 311-332; Grierson, *ibid.*, ci. 258-274). A somewhat peculiar position is held by the so-called Gāthā dialect of the Lalita-vistara, and by the Prakrit of the inscriptions (Pischel's 'Lēṇadialekt'). The Gāthā dialect is an artificial composition of Prakrit bases with Sanskrit inflections (Maconnell, *Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, 25-26), while the Lēṇa dialect, a popular Middle Indian *lingua franca*, shows many Sanskritisms in its Prakrit (or Apabhraṃśa) structure (Pischel, § 7). As Ardhamaḡadhī and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī became the sacred dialects of Jainism, so Pāli was the language of the southern Buddhist Church. From what district of India Pāli came is very uncertain. Geiger, *Lit. und Spr. der Singh.*, 90-91, very plausibly supposes that the country comprised by modern Gujarat was its home (for other views see E. Müller, *Pāli Gramm.*, viii-ix). The Middle Indian languages are not descendants of Sanskrit, but of the Vedic dialect and its neighbours. Buried for a time by the literary supremacy of Sanskrit, they emerged when the religious movements of Buddha and 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 Apabhraṃśas or folk-dialects of the Prakrits. Any attempt to trace rigidly Modern Indian dialects to specific Middle Indian predecessors is difficult with the sources now under our control. Pischel, § 5, derives Gujarātī, or Marwārī, from Śaurasēni-Apabhraṃśa, Marāṭhī from Māhārāṣṭrī-Apabhraṃśa, while Bihārī and Western Bangālī seem to come from Māḡadhī-Apabhraṃśa through the Lāṭ, or Pillar, dialect. The Indian basis of Sinhalese and Maladive 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.