

## Notes

1. Although the *-tvā* structure apparently did change to *-ttā*, as von Hintüber has pointed out, and it was later re-Sanskritised back to *-tva* to prevent confusion with the *nomen agentis* (1994 188f.)
2. Captial letters (F, etc.) refer to location of the text with the rock inscription as per the Hultzsch system of notation, found in his *Inscriptions of Aśoka* monograph (1969).
3. The *appa-* form of *ātman* (P. *atta-*) is well attested in ArdhaMāgadhi and Māgadhi (Pischel ¶277). In the REs, the Brāhmi script shows a conjunct consonant with a *pa-* on top of a *ta-*, which is normally read *ātpa*. Pischel says that it should be read *āpta-* by way of transposition of stops *ātma-* > *\*atva-* > *\*ātpa-* > *āpta-* *atta* (P.), based on the rule of consonant assimilation that between equals (*-p-* and *-t-* being equal; Woolner ¶33, Pischel ¶270) the second prevails. If the reading were *ātpa* as Hultzsch has interpreted it in RE 12 Gir., then the normal derivation is *appa*, which is only found in AMg. most reflexes (P. and the other REs) are *atta-* or *atva* in M. and *ātpa* in Gir.. The change of *-m-* > *-v-* is fairly common in Middle-Indo Aryan (MIA, Pischel ¶251) but the change *-v-* > *-p-* is uncommon, it usually being the other way around, as a form of intervocalic lenition (Pischel ¶199). Munda characteristically has an interchange of *-m-* and *-p-* (Kuiper 1991, 37). We find a similar change with aspiration, in RE 13 B (K.) *tasmāt* > *taspāt* > *tapphāt* > *tapphā* ("therefore") and in Separate Edict 2, I, L: (Skt.) *asma* > *\*aspa* > (Jaughada = J., Dhauli = D.) *appa* ("we", written as *apha*) and (Skt.) *tuūma* > *\*tuūpa* > *tuppha* ("you" pl., written as *tupha*). The *-v-* > *-p-* phenomenon seems to be most prevalent in the west and northwest. See, for example, RE 4 B: (Gir.) *dassayitpā* < (Skt.) *dar-ayitvā*; RE 9 H also attests to this change in Sh. and M. where (Skt.) *svāmika* > (Sh. M.) *spamika* ("master") and RE 6 L shows the same change in (Skt.) *svarga* > (Sh. M.) *spagra*, > (Gir. K. Dh.) *svagga* ("heaven"). RE 10 A has (Gir.) *tadātpano* < (Skt.) *\*tadātvanam* > (K. Dh.) *tadātvaṇe*, and > (Sh. M.) *tadātvaṇe* ("present time"). In RE 12 F *passim*, the Mānsehrā edict shows several versions of *atva-*, while Gir. has *atpa-*, K Sh. and Eçç *ata* ("self"). In the minor rock edicts - MRE 1 G, - several locations, Brāhmagiri (Br.), Eçç., Pānguōāriyāū (Pān.), Rājula-Maōōagīr (Raj.), and Uōōgolaū (Ude.) have *mahāpa* for (Skt.) *mahātmā* ("great soul") which Mehendale sees as a northwest influence on these southern rock edicts (1955, 90); in the same section there is also a (common) *-p-* > *-v-* change: (Skt.) *prāptum* > (Sahasrām=Sah.) *pāvataṇe* with other versions showing *pāpotave* ("to achieve").
4. Pillar Edict (PE) 7 SS: (Skt.) *dharmalipi* > *dhamūalipi* > *dhamūalibi* ("religious edict"), also > RE 1A, et al. (Sh. M.) *dhramadipi*, with an unusual *t-* > *d-* change which Woolner (1924, 97) says is Iranian in origin. See Pischel ¶226 (*-ōa-* > *-ēa-*, but not

vice-versa; this only happens in Mundan (see Kuiper 1948, 6 which shows equivalence of *d/r/l* in proto- Mundan). For change *-l- > -ḍ-*, see also PE 5 B where (Skt.) *ḍali > ḍaḍi* (Delhi-Toprā=Top.), but (Allāhābād-Kosam=All.) *> duḍi* ("turtle"). PE 5 C also has another example of change *-ḍ- > -l-*, i.e. (Skt.) *eḍaku > (Top.) eḷakā* ("ram"). Also RE 2 A: (Skt.) *kerata > (Sh.) keruḍa* (Proper Name = PN) and RE 9 C: (Skt. *mahilā > (Gir.) mahiḍā* ("woman").

5. Patna Dhammapada = PDhp
6. The different reflexes of the word Brāhmaṇa in the Aśokan edicts, whether in compound or as a single word are as follows:
  - I. Gīrnār: *bāmhaṇa* (3D), *brāmhaṇa* (4A), *bramaṇa* (4C), *bāmhaṇa* (8E), *bamhaṇa* (9G), *bāmhaṇa* (11C), *bāmhaṇā* (13G),
  - II. Kālsī: *baṃbhānaṃ* (3D), *baṃbhānaṃ* (4A), *bambhana* (4C), *bambhanibbhesu* (5K), *bambhanānaṃ* (8E), *bambhanānaṃ* (9G), *bambhanānaṃ* (11C), *bābhanā* (13G), *baṃhmane* (13J),
  - III. Dhaulī: *bambhana* (3D), *bābhnesu* (4A), *bābhnesu* (4C), *bābhni- bhiyesu* (5K), *bābhanānaṃ* (8E), *bābhanānaṃ* (9G),
  - IV. Shāhbāzgarhi: *bramaṇa* (3D), *bramaṇanaṃ* (4A), *bramaṇa* (4C), *bramaṇibhesu* (5K), *bramaṇanaṃ* (8E), *bramaṇana* (9G), *bramaṇa- na* (11C), *bramaṇa* (13G),
  - V. Mānsehrā: *bramaṇa* (3D), *bramaṇana* (4A), *bamaṇa* (4C), *brama- ṇibhesu* (5K), *bramaṇana* (8E), *bramaṇana* (9G), *bramaṇana* (11C), *bramaṇe* (13J),
  - VI. Eṛṛaguḍī: *bambhanānaṃ* (3D) *bambhan[ā]na[ṃ]* (4A), *bambhan- ānaṃ* (4C), *bambhan[i]bhiyesu* (5K), *bambhanānaṃ* (8E), *[bambha]nanaṃ* (9G), *bambhanāna[ṃ]* (11C), *bā[bha]nā* (13G), *[bā]bhane* (13J).
  - VII. Delhi-Topra: *bābhnesu* (7<sup>th</sup> Pillar Edict Z), *bābhana* (7<sup>th</sup> PE HH)

We note the following phonological changes. All locales except Sh. and M. (and five out of seven times in Gir.), change *brāh- > bābu*. This is a normal MIA conjunct simplification at the beginning of a word (Pischel ¶268). *brāhmaṇa* is derived from the Vedic root  $\sqrt{brh}$  or  $\sqrt{brmh}$  (to grow great or strong, to increase). The *-h-* is usually not retained, but is often progressively assimilated to the initial consonant with the formation of the bilabial aspirated stop *-bh-*, so *brāh- > bābh-*. Sometimes, as in the northwest Sh. and M. it is simply dropped (*-h- > Ø*). In the latter case, the second syllable *-ma-* is preserved (*brāhma- > bamaṇa* or *bramaṇa*); however with the change to *bābh-*, the second syllable loses its initial *m-*: *brāhma- > bābhu-*, sometimes with an *anusvāra* after the *-ā-*: *brāhma- > bāmbhu-*, which is presumably a retention from the Vedic root  $\sqrt{brmh}$  or a metathesis from the second syllable. Peculiar to Gīrnār is the reversal of *-hm- > -mh-*, *brāhma- > b(r)āmha-*, and there is one case in K 13J where (*brāhmaṇa > baṃhmane*) where *-hm-* is

retained but the preceding vowel nasalized. The normal Prakrit reflex of *brāhmaṇa* is *bambhaṇa* (Pischel ¶250 in ArdhaMāgadhī and Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī; for other dialects the reflex is *bamhaṇa*, in Māgadhī and Śauraseni, per Pischel ¶250, 287). The question then arises, since the “normal” Prakrit form for *brāhmaṇa* is either *ba(m)bhana* (prevalent a Central area, Dhaurī in the east, Eṣṣagaḍī in the south and Delhi in the centre) or *bamhaṇa* (used at Girnār in the west) or *b(r)umaṇa* (in the two north west sites, Sh. and M.): why did the authors of the Pāli recension chose the Sanskrit version, using a form which is closest to the Sh. and M. reflex? This seems to corroborate the composite nature of the Pāli language, formed by monks in “conscious interference with the natural development of this language” (von Hinüber 1994, 187).

7. *Pratyayabuddha* (Skt.) > *paccayabuddha* > \**pacceyabuddha* > (palata- lization -a- > -e- in the presence of [-ANT] cons. -cc-), P. *paccekabuddha*. In this case the -y- form encountered by the translator was interpreted as an intervocalic glide replacing a consonant (often represented as a -y- with a dot over it, -ỵ-, as per Pischel ¶187), common in the north-west Prakrits, and the missing consonant (thought to be -k-) was mistakenly replaced.
8. See Norman 1990B, 151. The consonant -ỵ- represents a weakly articulated intervocalic glide which replaced consonants in intervocalic position, first in Gāndhārī and then in the other Prakrits.
9. Generally, I considered consonantal similarity to be more important than vowel, esp. at an ending. Therefore, for example, I consider K. *piyadassine* to be closer to P. *piyadassino*, than Gir. *priyadassino*. When the only difference between forms is in a long or short vowel (as in *bahūni/bahumī*) I treat them all as equal.
10. *Divya* is the verse form, *dibba*, the prose form, per PED.
11. Percentages total more than 100% because of multiple answers (Pāli is similar to more than one rock edict form). “All” and “None” were omitted from count.