

SANDHI

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SANDHI

THE THEORETICAL, PHONETIC, AND HISTORICAL
BASES OF WORD-JUNCTION IN SANSKRIT

by

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PREFACE

This study was originally intended as a guide for students; but as its preparation proceeded the need for further research and re-thinking became increasingly evident. The result is something between a handbook and a monograph, which, whilst it will undoubtedly prove less attractive to the student, may appeal to a wider range of interests in Indian and general linguistics. One particular aim has been to give due weight to certain rare or “anomalous” occurrences, which are statistically and pedagogically of minor importance, but which preserve valuable evidence for systematic statement and explanation.

As a result of distinguishing the various descriptive and historical levels of statement, it may seem that sandhi has been made an even more complicated subject than before. If so, it is perhaps a salutary consequence; for in traditional philology factual simplicity has often been achieved at the price of conceptual confusion. The following, for example, is a typical 19th-century statement:

Final *m* is a servile sound. being assimilated to any following consonant... It remains unchanged only before a vowel or a labial mute.

Though acceptable in the climate of its age, such a formulation, quite apart from its terminology, will hardly bear scrutiny in a period of more sophisticated theory. A restatement on the following lines, whilst it is admittedly longer and states no more in the way of “facts”, could at least claim to be conceptually more disciplined:

Final *M* has a variety of alternants, which are largely homorganic with a following consonant.... The terminal alternant is *m*, but this otherwise occurs only before vowels (and homorganically before labial stops).

In many cases the extra length results in greater generality, and so is justifiable by the Indian grammarian’s principle of economy,

that "The multiplication of rules is more prodigal than prodigality of words".¹ There will in fact be occasion to note that our treatment has sometimes been anticipated, in detail or principle, by Pāṇini, rather than by traditional western grammars or even the ancient Indian phoneticians. This circumstance reflects both Pāṇini's remarkable modernity and a certain community of purpose between his work and the present, which is concerned not to teach every detail of sandhi but to trace whatever more or less general principles underlie them; in P. Thieme's words,² "The Prātiśākhya, if they wanted to do justice to their task, could not but state the case in full; Pāṇini's interest, on the other hand, which is a scientific and not a practical one, centres on such grammatical phenomena as are determined by definable conditions.... The Prātiśākhya introduce general characteristics solely, it seems, in order to save labour.... Pāṇini characterizes for the sake of characterizing."

Certain of the more specialized problems might normally have been better suited to individual discussion in the journals. But since a somewhat untraditional framework had to be erected for the present study, it seemed both more economical and more coherent to discuss them within it, rather than to multiply theoretical preliminaries by restating them for each of a number of separate articles.

It is inevitable that one who is not primarily a Sanskritist should rely for much basic material on the works of past and present Sanskrit scholars. Numerous references to these appear in the text and footnotes, but one may mention with a sense of particular indebtedness Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* and editions of the *Atharvaveda*- and *Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya* (JAOS vii and ix); Macdonell's *Vedic Grammar*; Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik* (I. *Lautelehre*) with Debrunner's *Nachträge*; Renou's *Grammaire de la Langue Védique*, *La Grammaire de Pāṇini*, and *Terminologie Grammaticale du Sanskrit*; Thieme's *Pāṇini and the Veda*; M. D. Shastri's edition of the *R̥gveda-Prātiśākhya*; Lanman's *Vedic Noun*

¹ Nāgojibhaṭṭa, *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (ed. Kielhorn), cxxi ("padagauravād yogavibhāgo gariyān").

² *Pāṇini and the Veda*, 60f.

Inflexion (JAOS x); Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*; Oldenberg's *Die Hymnen des Rigveda* (I: *Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena*); and Bloomfield & Edgerton's *Vedic Variants* (II: *Phonetics*).

I am grateful to Professor Sir Harold Bailey, who read the work in manuscript and made a number of valuable comments, particularly on the Iranian side; and to the Editor and Publishers of *Janua Linguarum* for accepting it into that series.

Trinity College, Cambridge
March, 1961

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

When this study was being written in 1960, Chomsky's **Syntactic Structures** had already appeared (as No. 4 in this series); but the growth of generative grammar which Chomsky's work heralded was still in its initial stages, and its impact on phonology was yet to come. If one had been writing the present book in the context of subsequent developments, its idiom would certainly have been influenced by these; but a reissue in its original form may compensate in historical perspective for what it lacks in contemporaneity. For the process model adopted in the description, the importance of rule-ordering, the theoretical status of the basic forms, and the relationship of these items to historical data foreshadow in their general principles much that was later to characterize generative phonology; and the introductory chapter in particular may thus prove of historical-theoretical interest even to the non-Sanskritist. It may also be salutary to re-emphasize that any external influences which may have helped to determine the method were not so much derived from recent theory as from the practice of ancient Indian grammar.

Trinity College, Cambridge
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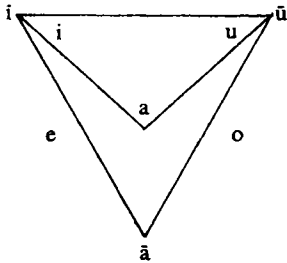
THE PHONEMES OF SANSKRIT

(Bracketed are elements for which, though they are recognized by special symbols in the Devanāgarī script, phonemic status is not established: cf. p. 16 n.10)

CONSONANTS:

| | | | Velar | Palatal | Retrofl. | Dental | Labial | | |
|------------|------------|-----------|--------|---------|----------|--------|--------|-----------------|--|
| stops | oral | Voiceless | Unasp. | k | c | ṭ | t | p | |
| | | | Asp. | kh | ch | ṭh | th | ph | |
| | | Voiceless | Unasp. | g | j | ḍ | d | b | |
| | | | Asp. | gh | jh | ḍh | dh | bh | |
| | | Nasal | ṇ | (ñ) | ṇ | n | m | | |
| | Semivowels | | | y | r | l | v | (cf. p. 35n.16) | |
| Fricatives | | | ((h)) | ś | ṣ | s | ((h)) | (cf. p. 78) | |
| Breathings | Voiceless | (h) | | | | | | (cf. p. 75n.18) | |
| | Voiced | h | | | | | | | |

VOWELS:



plus 'semiconsonants'

ṛ, ṝ and ḷ

and diphthongs ai, au (cf. pp.31ff.)

Also nasalized (aṁ), (ṛṁ) etc.

(cf. p. 81n.31).

ABBREVIATIONS (OTHER THAN JOURNALS)

AP — *Atkarvaveda-prātiśākhya*.

Oldenberg — H. Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des R̥gveda*, I.

P. — Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

PAI — W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*.

Renou — L. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue Védique*.

RP — *R̥gveda-Prātiśākhya*.

RV — *R̥gveda*.

Thieme — P. Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda*.

TP — *Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya*.

Variants — M. Bloomfield & F. Edgerton, *Vedic Variants*, II.

Wackernagel — J. Wackernagel (-A. Debrunner), *Altindische Grammatik*.

Whitney — W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*.

On typographical conventions see pp. 22, 23f. (and notes 35f.), 24f., 33f.