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## UN-PĀNINIAN SANDHI IN THE RĀMĀYANA<sup>1</sup>

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(Communicated by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee)

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*Note.*—The following editions of the Rāmāyana have mainly been used in the preparation of this paper:—

- (1) The edition published by the Nirnaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, in pothi-form in the Śaka era 1848. (By.)
- (2) The edition published by R. Nārāyaṇasvāmi from Madras in 1933 A.D. (M.)
- (3) The edition published by T. R. Krishnācārya. (K.)

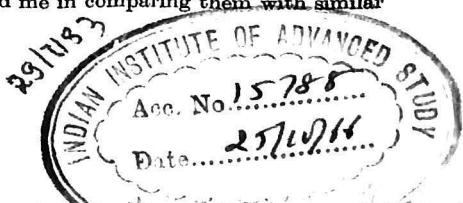
Besides these, a few other editions have also been consulted.

If not mentioned otherwise, the references to the cantos and ślokas are given after the Bombay edition.

Sandhi or euphonic combination in Sanskrit, based mainly on the principle of avoidance of hiatus and laws of assimilation, whether progressive, regressive or mutual, is classified by the native grammarians under three heads, viz. vowel, consonant and visarjaniya, according as the final sound of the first word in the combination (and also the initial sound of the second word in the case of vowel sandhi) is a vowel or a consonant or a visarjaniya. The consonant sandhi in the Rā., however, does not show, excepting two or three cases, any noteworthy feature differing from the norms laid down by the great grammarian Pāṇini about 450 B.C.; and it is remarkable that the Mbh. also shows no, or hardly any, case of un-Pāṇinian consonant sandhi. Excepting a large number of cases of hiatus and a few cases of 'double sandhi' and other sporadic un-Pāṇinian forms, which will be noted below, the vowel sandhi also in the Rā. generally conforms to the types sanctioned by Pāṇini. But the visarjaniya sandhi in the Rā., as also in the Mbh., shows quite a good number of cases of double sandhi and other un-Pāṇinian forms.

A comparison of the un-Pāṇinian sandhi-forms in the Rā. with those in the Mbh. reveals the fact that almost all the different types occur in both the epics; the only difference, if it can be called a difference at all, lies in the fact that while the cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi are quite large in number in the Mbh., they are not so in the Rā. This is probably due to the fact that the Rā. is more an ornate epic than the Mbh.; and although

<sup>1</sup> The publication of the critical edition of the Mbh. by the Bhāndārkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has given a fresh impetus to the study of the epic forms and the usages in the Mbh., and a band of Marathi scholars are studying the same from different points of view. But apart from a few isolated papers, notably that of Dr. Michelson, no systematic and comprehensive work has yet been done on the language of the Rā., and the present paper is the first outcome of my detailed study on the epic linguistic forms of the Rā. Dr. Kulkarni's papers on the un-Pāṇinian forms and usages in the Mbh. have greatly helped me in comparing them with similar forms in the Rā.



sandhi was quite flexible in the epic, as in the Vedic, period, the poet of the genuine portions of the Rā. did not take too much license with it, and it is noteworthy that the largest number of cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi occur in the first and the last books.

A few types of un-Pāṇinian sandhi in the epics show a close affinity with Pāli; but it would be unwarranted to think that such forms in the epics are entirely due to Pāli influence, for most of these types occur in the Vedic language as well; and it must be assumed that they were quite common in the older dialects from which were derived Epic Sanskrit on the one hand and Pāli on the other, although it may be true that direct Pāli influence can be found in a few sporadic cases.

Below is given a complete and systematically arranged list of all the cases of un-Pāṇinian sandhi occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay Recension).

### 1. IRREGULAR VOWEL SANDHI

As already said before, cases of irregular vowel sandhi, apart from those of hiatus, are not numerous in the Rāmāyaṇa. They, however, may be broadly divided into four classes, viz. (a) double sandhi, (b) sandhi of Pragṛhya vowels, (c) irregular loss of ā after -e, and (d) miscellaneous.

#### (a) Double Sandhi

Only ten cases of irregular double sandhi of vowels are found in the Rā. It is to be noted here, as also in the Mbh. (the first five books containing seven such cases), that the first word always ends in -e and excepting once the second word is 'iti'. All the cases in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot. Examples are:—

i.21. 8	..	..	pratiśrutyā karisyēti (M., saṁśrutyāivam kari-
M., By., ii. 37. 34	..	..	syāmi). (Cf. karisyēti—Mbh., v. 105. 8.)
M., By., iii. 60. 35	..	..	na cīram asyāḥ pravidhiyatēti.
iii. 61. 29 (M., 30)	..	..	hā Sitēti punah punah.
M., By., iii. 69. 14	..	..	hā priyēti vicukroṣā.
M., By., iv. 6. 17	..	..	ehi ramṣyāvahēty uktvā.
M., By., v. 25. 11	..	..	hā priyēti rудan.
M., By., v. 36. 45	..	..	hā Sumitrēti bhāminī.
vi. 103. 65 (M., vi. 104. 27)	..	..	bahuśo hā priyēty evam.
vii. 96. 13 (M., 14)	..	..	yugāntōlkeva saprabhā (< yugānte+ulkeva).

#### (b) Irregular Sandhi of Pragṛhya Vowels

Certain final vowels which do not combine with the following vowel are termed as Pragṛhya by the Sanskrit grammarians. Such vowels in Classical Sanskrit are: (1) the vowels i, ū, e as both declensional and conjugational endings of the dual number, (2) the nom., accu. dual and the masc. nom. pl. of the pronoun *adas* (i.e. amū and ami), (3) 'the final o made by the combination of a final or an only vowel with the particle u', e.g. atho, uto, etc., (4) 'the final or only vowel of an interjection', e.g. aho, he, etc., and (5) the *pluta* (protracted) accent.

The treatment of Pragṛhya vowels is quite anomalous in the RV., for sandhi in the RV. depends entirely on metre, and as such Pragṛhya vowels on many occasions enter into sandhi in the RV. *metri causa*, while for the same reason many non-Pragṛhya vowels do not coalesce with the following vowel. Though in several instances the contraction of the so-called

Pragṛhya vowels is not shown in our text of the RV., still, as the metre shows, it must be pronounced as such. But already in the later Vedic period the special character (i.e. non-contraction) of the Pragṛhya vowels gradually came to be fixed (and finally Pāṇini prohibited their contraction with the following vowel for Classical Sanskrit). It is, therefore, not surprising that irregular sandhi of Pragṛhya vowel is very rare in the epics.

While comparing and contrasting the language of the Rā. with that of the Mbh., Dr. Michelson (JAOS, vol. 25, pp. 89ff.) remarked that contraction of the Pragṛhya vowel is unknown in the Mbh. This is entirely wrong. The critical edition of the Mbh. contains no less than 11 cases of contraction of Pragṛhya vowels in the first five books alone—a number which is much higher than that found in the entire Rā. Out of six such cases in the Rā., four are with the interjection *aho* (but twice only in the first five books of the Mbh.), one is with a nominal formation and another with a verbal formation.

M., By., ii. 3. 2	.. ahō' smi paramapritah.
iii. 58. 17 ..	.. ahō' smi vyasane magnah (M., aho'smin°.)
M., By., vi. 98. 1	.. sarasīva mahāgharme.
vii. 27. 7 ..	.. ahō' tibalavad rakṣo (M., asau hi°.)
M., By., vii. 30. 3	.. ahō' sya vikramaudāryam. (Cf. Mbh., III. 40. 29, ahō' Yam.)
M., By., vii. 102. 15	.. na jajñātē' tidhārmikau. (Cf. Mbh., i. 57. 88, jajñātē'straviśāradau.)

(c) *Irregular Elision of ā after -e*

There are a few instances in the Rā. in which the vowel ā is irregularly dropped after -e just as the vowel a drops after -e. This type of irregular vowel sandhi occurs in the Mbh. also where it is very common, occurring at least 12 times in the first five books. Dr. Michelson (*op. cit.*) gives a very rational explanation of this type of irregular sandhi; first, the vowel ā irregularly becomes ā—as in Pāli and Prākṛit—before two consonants and then the regular sandhi between -e+a takes place. These cases are on a par with those instances in which the combination -as+ā results in o. Examples in the Rā. are:—

{ vi. 73. 26 ..	.. khe' ntardadhē' tmānam anantaviryah. (Cf.
{ M., vi. 73. 29	.. Mbh., amalē'tmānam, i. 68. 64; manyatē'-tmānam, i. 198. 19.)
M., By., vii. 34. 2	.. yuddhē'hvayati darpitah.
vii. 67. 13 ..	.. na tē' jñām kurute' nagha (M., nājñām te). (Cf. Mbh., sthāsyāmi tē'jñayā, i. 70. 41; gaccha tē' jñām, iii. 158. 58.)

It may be mentioned in this connection that attempts have been made to explain these forms in the Rā. in another way. Thus it is held that in the above instances tmānam (a Vedic variant for ātmānam), hvayati (without upasarga) and jñām (a supposed variant for ājñām) should be substituted for ātmānam, āhvayati and ājñām respectively. But occurrences of such cases in the Mbh. as garte' rtāṁs trānam (i. 45. 5), vavire' ḡirasam (i. 71. 6), paryāvavṛte' śramāya (iii. 113. 5), te' stike (i. 53. 18), etc. render such an explanation highly implausible.

(d) *Miscellaneous*

A sporadic instance of irregular sandhi between -i+a is found in the word Triyambaka, vii. 46. 21. This is probably a phonetic spelling for

the regular Tryambaka. This irregular form is sometimes found in Classical Sanskrit also (cf. Kālidāsa: Triyambakam saṁyaminam dadarśa) and the regular form is found already once in the RV., vii. 59. 12, where, however, it should *metri causa* be pronounced as Triambaka. The regular form Tryambaka is found elsewhere in the Rā. also, e.g. i. 75. 12, vi. 94. 38. The irregular form Triyambaka is found for the first time in the Kapisthala, viii. 10.

## 2. IRREGULAR CONSONANT SANDHI

As already mentioned above, there are only two definite and one uncertain cases of irregular consonant sandhi in the Rā. In two instances the final sound is -n; in one case, final -n of the first member of the combination has been irregularly doubled, while in another case it has not been doubled, although it should have been so. The first instance seems to be copyist's slip and the second one is *metri causa*. In the third instance there is irregular sandhi with 'ahar' not only for avoiding a hypermetrical foot in the verse, but also for avoiding three consecutive short syllables. (See also Great Epic of India, page 256.)

M., By., i. 63. 21 . . . yadi me bhagavānnāha (variant: bhagavān āha in T. R. Krishnācārya's, Śrīraṅgam and an old Grantha editions).  
 vii. 36. 44 (M., 45) . . . grantham mahad dhārāyan aprameyah.  
 M., By., iv. 35. 7 . . . aho' manyata dharmātmā (for ahar amanyata).

## 3. IRREGULAR VISARJANIYA SANDHI

Irregular visarjaniya sandhi in the Rā. can broadly be classified under three heads, viz. (a) double erasis, (b) combination of -as+ā resulting in o, and (c) miscellaneous.

### (a) Double Crasis after Elision of Visarjaniya

The most elementary rule of visarga-sandhi is that a visarjaniya (-s) preceded by a is dropped if it is followed by any vowel other than a (in which case the whole combination is changed to o); it is also dropped when it is preceded by ā and followed by any vowel whatsoever; the two vowels thus brought together by the elision of -s do not, however, coalesce and the resultant hiatus remains in tact. But in quite a large number of cases in the Rā., as also in the Mbh., we find that the hiatus is avoided by the un-Pāṇinian double sandhi. Dr. Michelson (*op. cit.*) regarded this type of double sandhi as 'true Vedic archaism'. If by the term 'Vedic archaism' he means, as he probably does, that such forms were current only in the Vedic language, and died out in the epic period, but nonetheless were incorporated in the epics by mere imitation of the older language, he is palpably wrong. Instances of double sandhi after elision of -s are found in the RV. in which sah almost invariably coalesces with the following vowel; the tendency to double sandhi increased already in the AV. period, the Kāshmir recension of the AV. showing a great number of such cases, and it continued to be so in the living and popular Sanskrit of the later (epic) period—as also in Pāli—until it was finally prohibited for Classical Sanskrit for all times to come by Pāṇini. (See also Keith, JRAS, 1910, pp. 132ff.)

Double sandhi on many occasions occurs no doubt *metri causa*, but it could have been easily avoided in many other cases, e.g. i. 58. 4, ii. 51. 8, vi. 84. 6, vi. 96. 9, etc., and this non-avoidance conclusively proves that double sandhi was not only a Vedic feature, but an epic characteristic as

well. Attempts, however, were made later on to regularize these, as also the cases of irregular hiatus (see below), by many ingenious devices, e.g. change of syntactical order, substitutions by synonyms, insertion of particles, etc.

Instances of double sandhi after elision of visarga in the Rā. are:—

(i) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by ā.—Four such cases occur in the Rā., whereas in the Mbh. such combination either results in o or shows the regular form. All the examples in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- |                         |    |  |
|-------------------------|----|--|
| i. 29. 12 ..            | .. | tapomūrtim tapātmakam (M., °tapodhanam). |
| M., By., i. 62. 13 ..   | .. | Madhucchandādayah sutāḥ.                 |
| vii. 3. 33 (M., 34) ..  | .. | Lankāyām Viśravātmajah.                  |
| vii. 11. 29 (M., 30) .. | .. | sāmpratam Viśravātmajah.                 |

(ii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *i*.—Only nine cases of this type of double sandhi are found in the Rā., whereas the Mbh. contains quite a large number of similar cases of sandhi. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa*.

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|-------------------------|----|--|
| M., By., iii. 42. 1 ..  | .. | gacchāvēty abravid dino. (This may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.)                                      |
| M., By., iii. 47. 11 .. | .. | Rāmēti prathito loke.  |
| iv. 52. 13 ..           | .. | sādhv altra praviśāmēti. (This may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.)                                      |
| vii. 5. 14 (M., 15) ..  | .. | prabhavisnvo bhavāmēti. (This also may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one; variant: bhavema prabhaviṣṇavah.) |
| vii. 36. 47 (M., 49) .. | .. | esēvā cānye ca manākapindrāḥ.  |
| vii. 66. 8 ..           | .. | Lavēti ca sa nāmataḥ (M., Lava ity eva).   |
| M., By., vii. 79. 15 .. | .. | nāma tasya ca Dāndēti.   |
| vii. 93. 17 (M., 18) .. | .. | tathaiva karavāvēti. (This also may be a case of secondary ending used for the primary one.) And also                            |
| vii. 36. 42 ..          | .. | simhāḥ kuñjararuddhēva (a variant cited by Rāma for °ruddho vā).   |

Cases like hā Rāmamātēti (ii. 40. 38), hā bhartēti (ii. 65. 23) do not seem to be cases of double sandhi, but of irregular inflexion, and will be treated under Morphology.

(iii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *u*.—Under this head falls the largest number of cases of double crasis and in most of the instances the second member is a conjugated form of the root brū or vac. Such cases in the Mbh., however, are surprisingly rare. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

- |               |    |  |
|---------------|----|--|
| i. 9. 21 ..   | .. | yenopāyena sōcyatām (vistarena tvayocyatām—variant of the commentary Śiromāṇi).      |
| i. 19. 21 ..  | .. | labdhāsaṁjñas tatōtthāya (K. and Śiraṅgam—śokam abhyāgamat tīvram; M. °tathotthāya). |
| i. 39. 11 ..  | .. | sōpādhyāyavacah śrutvā (M., upādhyāyavacah).   |
| i. 58. 4 ..   | .. | āśakyam iti sōvāca (M., iti covāca).   |
| ii. 4. 17 ..  | .. | sanirghātā divōlkāś ca (M., maholkāś ca).  |
| ii. 16. 31 .. | .. | Rāghavōjjvalitah śriyā (variant cited by Rāma for Rāghavo jvalitah).                 |
| ii. 51. 8 ..  | .. | Lakṣmaṇas tu tatōvāca (M., tadovāca).  |
| ii. 67. 26 .. | .. | sāmavadantōpatiṣṭhante (M., °vadanto' vatis-<br>thante).                             |

ii. 87. 15 ..	..	bahuśōpahṛtam mayā (M., bahu copahṛtam mayā).
iii. 66. 17 ..	..	tvam eva bahuśōktavān (M., bahuśo' nvasāḥ).
v. 10. 12 ..	..	sōpāsarpat subhitavat (M., so' pāsarpat). (The M.-reading seems to be the correct one.)
v. 51. 40 ..	..	yakṣaraksōrageṣu ca. (This may be a case of transfer of stem after the analogy of the preceding word yakṣa; variant in M.: rakṣo-ganeṣu ca.)
v. 54. 36 (M., 38)	..	rakṣopasāṁhārakaraḥ prakopāḥ. (This also may be a case of transfer of stem.)
vi. 4. 96 ..	..	toyaughais sarasotthitaiḥ (M., 99, sahasotthitaiḥ).
vi. 62. 9 ..	..	punaḥ sa muditōtpatyā (M., utpatyā caivam mudito).
M., By., vi. 84. 6	..	Lakṣmaṇōvāca mandārtham.
vi. 96. 9 ..	..	tatōvāca prahasyaitān (M., athovāca).
vi. 98. 18 ..	..	sōpaplutya mahārathāt (M., so' vaplutyā).
M., By., vii. 4. 31	..	sadyōpalabdhir garbhasya.
vii. 5. 8 (M., 9)	..	vyādhayōpēkṣitā ivā.
vii. 11. 37 (M., 38)	..	bahuśōktāḥ sudurmatiḥ.
vii. 15. 34 (M., 38)	..	Dhanadōcchvāsitas tais tu.
vii. 32. 69 ..	..	sōtsasarja tada rane (M., 70, °hy utsasarja).
vii. 33. 13 (M., 14)	..	Pulastyōvāca rājānam.
M., By., vii. 35. 43	..	śrutv endrōvāca mā bhaisiḥ.
vii. 42. 21 ..	..	apsarōragasāmgaḥ ca. (This also may be a case of transfer of stem, for apsaras on many occasions is treated as apsarā.)

(iv) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *e*.—Only two words, saḥ and eṣaḥ, enter into double sandhi with *e* following. The instances are:—

vi. 26. 23 (M., 24)	..	esaivāśāṁsate <sup>^</sup> Laṅkām.
vi. 26. 28 ..	..	Do. (M., 30, eso' py <sup>^</sup> āśāṁsate).
vi. 26. 48 ..	..	Do.
vi. 27. 24 (M., 25)	..	Do.
vi. 27. 45 (M., 46)	..	Do.
vi. 28. 25 (M., 26)	..	esaivāśāṁsate yuddhe.
vi. 61. 9 ..	..	saiṣa Viśravasaḥ putrah.

A rather peculiar feature of the above instances is that all of them occur in Book vi alone and the sentence, esaivāśāṁsate Laṅkām, is repeated five times.

M., By., vi. 24. 21, śikharair vikirāmainām is perhaps an instance of the use of secondary ending -ma for the primary -mas.

(v) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *a* and followed by *o*.—Only two cases of this type of sandhi occur in the Rāmāyaṇa:—

v. 60. 10 ..	..	jītvā Laṅkām sarakṣaughām.
vii. 36. 35 (M., 36)	..	tatas tu hṛtatejaujāḥ.

(vi) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by *ā* and followed by *a*.—It is to be noted here that in six cases out of a total of 19, the second member

of the combination is abhavan (<sup>o</sup>t). The ratio of the occurrences of abhavan (<sup>o</sup>t) is much higher in the Mbh. (23 : 16 in the first five books).

M., By., i. 14. 24	..	kāñcanālāmkr̥tābhavan.
i. 20. 3	..	yasyāham (< yasyā + ahām)
M., By., ii. 20. 37	..	aprajāsmiti santāpo. (It may be that in this case the samāsānta suffix -as has not been added to the word prajā.)
M., By., ii. 46. 17	..	Tamasāyāvidūrataḥ (for <sup>o</sup> sāyā avidūrataḥ).
iii. 56. 27	..	darpam asyāpanesyantu (for asyā apanesyantu, M. reads : asyā vineṣyadhvam).
iii. 69. 11	..	daryās tasyāvidūrataḥ (for <sup>o</sup> tasyā avidūrataḥ).
M., By., iv. 60. 8	..	yasminn ugratāpābhavat.
M., By., iv. 66. 8	..	apsarāpsarasām śresthā. (This may be a case of transfer of stem.)
v. 14. 12	..	diśah sarvābhidhāvantam (M., sarvāḥ pradhāvantam).
v. 38. 13	..	Mandākinyāvidūrataḥ (for <sup>o</sup> nyā avi <sup>o</sup> ; M., <sup>o</sup> nyā hy adūrataḥ).
M., By., v. 45. 2	..	kṛtāstrāstravidām śresthā (for kṛtāstrā astra <sup>o</sup> ).
v. 57. 41 (M., 40)	..	muditā vānarābhavan.
vi. 71. 20	..	tūṇāsyā ratham āsthitāḥ (for tūṇā asya; M., tūṇo'sya).
vi. 93. 19 (M., 21)	..	Vaidehyārocayad vadham. (This may be explained otherwise by taking rocayad as an augmentless impf. form.)
vi. 96. 40	..	te tu hr̥ṣṭābhinardanto (M., vi. 96. 37, hr̥ṣṭā vinārdanto).
M., By., vii. 7. 12	..	vimadāḥ kunjarābhavan.
M., By., vii. 23. 6	..	<sup>o</sup> labdhavarāvasan. (vasan may be unaugmented impf.)
M., By., vii. 36. 6	..	tāḥ prajā muditābhavan.
vii. 87. 13	..	te sarve strijanābhavan (M., te' bhavaṁs strijanās tadā).

All the cases of sandhi with abhavan (<sup>o</sup>t) may otherwise be explained by taking this word as an augmentless impf. form, i.e. bhavan (<sup>o</sup>t).

(vii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by ā and followed by ā.—There is only one instance under this head, e.g.

ii. 74. 13	..	Kausalyāyātmasambhavam (M., Kausalyātanu-sambhavam).
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(viii) Double sandhi of visarga preceded by ā and followed by ṛ.—Only one such case is found in the Rā., whereas no such case is found in the first five books of the Mbh.

vi. 41. 51	..	pṛtanāṛksavanaukasām (for pṛtanā ṛkṣa <sup>o</sup> ; M. reads : pṛthag ṛkṣa <sup>o</sup> ).
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There is no instance of double sandhi of -as with any other vowel than those cited above, and there is no instance of double sandhi of -s preceded by ī, ū, e, etc.

There are, however, a few instances, e.g. girīva (vii. 7. 2), yajñavibhāti-yam (vii. 65. 8), kālārātrīva (vi. 44. 16), which at first seem to be cases of double sandhi after irregular loss of visarga; but probably we find here cases of transfer of stem; and rātri, be it noted, is grammatically correct.

## (b) Combination of -as+ā resulting in o

There are a few cases in the Rā. in which the combination -as+ā results in o as if the second member of the combination were a and not ā. The same phenomenon occurs in the Upaniṣads (cf. gūdho' tmā—Kaṭha, i. 3. 12) and in the Mbh. where it is much more common, the first five books alone containing not less than 12 such cases. All the instances in the Rā. are *metri causa* for avoiding hypermetrical foot.

ii. 34. 11	..	āryo' hvayati vo rājā (M., āryā hvayati).
M., By., iv. 12. 15	..	Vālīno' hvānakāraṇāt.
vi. 111. 23 (M., 112. 24)	..	eso' hitāgnīś ca.
vii. 36. 35 (M., 37)	..	eso' śramāṇī tānyeva. (Cf. Mbh., bhavanto' śramāṇī, iii. 117. 7°; saṁbhṛto' śramavāsinā, v. 164. 6 <sup>b</sup> , etc.).
M., By., vii. 81. 12	..	so' śramāvasatho janāḥ.

## (c) Miscellaneous

Visarga has irregularly been dropped in a few cases, e.g.

M., By., ii. 20. 37	..	na hy anyāḥ putra vidyate (for putro vidyate).
vii. 110. 7	..	gandharvāpsarasānkule (for ḥapsarāḥsaṅkule).

Both the cases are *metri causa* for giving a di-iambic close in the posterior pāda of a half-śloka.

Irregular loss of visarjanīya in such cases as sārcimāli (i. 28. 7), arcimāli (v. 54. 48), jyotimukha (vii. 36. 48, etc.), chandagatau (vii. 36. 45, etc.) are perhaps due to transfer of stems and not genuine cases of irregular visarga sandhi.

esāḥ irregularly becomes eso'

vi. 28. 23	..	eso hi Laksmaṇo nāma (M., eso' sya).
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This is for making the prior pāda of a half-śloka conform to the first pathyā and avoiding the seventh (i.e.  $\text{˘} - \text{˘} - \text{˘} - \text{˘}$  instead of  $\text{˘} - \text{˘} - \text{˘} - \text{˘} - \text{˘}$ ).

Another irregular visarga sandhi is found at

M., By., iv. 46. 15	..	mityam apsarasālayam (for apsaraālayam).
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This also may not be a genuine case of irregular visarga sandhi, but of transfer of stem wherein apsaras has been treated as apsarasā after the analogy of vāc: vācā, diś: diśā, tamas: tamasā, probably for avoiding an internal hiatus, unpleasant to the ear.

*Postscript.*—Keith (*op. cit.*) is inclined to explain the contraction in sarasīva (Rā., vi. 98. 1) by taking the second member as va<iva, as in Pāli. This explanation does not seem to be acceptable for the following reasons:—

- (i) va<iva as an independent word is nowhere found in the Rāmāyaṇa (excepting NW. Recension).
- (ii) Keith's theory fails to explain other similar definite cases of contraction of the Pragṛhya vowels, both in the Rā. and the Mbh. (e.g. Rā., vii. 102. 15, jajñātē' tidhārmikau; Mbh., i. 14. 5, samupetē' dbhutē' naghe; i. 19. 16, té' gādham; i. 57. 88, jajñātē' straviśāradau; v. 45. 3, śiśriyātē' ntarikṣe, etc. etc.). But as no such case occurs even in the metrical Upaniṣads, the contraction of Pragṛhya vowels in the epics should be regarded as genuine cases of archaism.

Similarly, it will be futile to try to explain such cases as *kariṣyēti*, *hā Sitēti*, etc. by regarding the second member as *ti<iti*, as in Pāli and Prākrit (for this theory will fail to explain such cases as *Rāmēti*, *Lavēti*, etc. for *Rāma iti*, *Lava iti* respectively). The process of sandhi in such cases is as follows: First the vowel -e becomes -a (i.e. *kariṣye+iti* becomes *kariṣya iti*) as sanctioned by Pāṇini in viii. 3. 19, and then by double sandhi it again becomes -e.

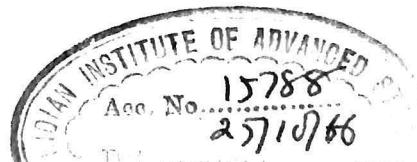
#### 4. HIATUS

Though avoidance of hiatus is one of the basic principles of euphonic combination, still it seems that hiatus is one of the main characteristics of the epic, as of the Vedic, language. The RV. shows a particular preference for maintaining the hiatus. -as before a is changed to o (through I.I. \*-az) and the resultant hiatus, though not shown in about 75% of its occurrences in the written text of the RV., almost always remains; in innumerable cases y and v are to be pronounced as ia and ua respectively; sometimes a long vowel, oftenest ā, is to be resolved into two short syllables; the hiatus caused by a regular loss of visarga is generally retained. The written text, no doubt, sometimes shows avoidance of hiatus, but almost always, especially between two pādas, the hiatus is to be restored *metri causa*, and this fact simply proves that the sāmhitās assumed their present form in an age, probably about 400 B.C., when hiatus came to be generally avoided as far as practicable.

The practice of maintaining the hiatus no doubt continued for a pretty long time from the Vedic period downwards and it is not surprising that both the Rā. and the Mbh. contain a large number of cases of external hiatus. This is particularly more common between two pādas, but at the same time is quite frequent in two words in the same pāda as well.

Chronologically the metrical Upaniṣads can be regarded as almost immediate predecessors of the genuine portions of the epics and as such it would be interesting and profitable to make a comparative study of the treatment of hiatus in the Upanisads and in the epics. Irregular hiatus between two pādas occurs three times in the Īśa (vv. 6, 7, 10), seven times in the Kāṭha (i. 7; ii. 8, 16, 25; iv. 5; v. 6, 12), and three times in the Mundaka (i. 2. 10; iii. 1. 1; iii. 2. 2), while the Kena does not contain a single such case. Irregular hiatus between two words in the same pāda occurs twice in the Īśa (vv. 9, 18) and six times in the Muṇḍaka (i. 2. 7; ii. 1. 8; iii. 1. 1; iii. 2. 5, 6, 7), and is unknown in others. Internal hiatus (excepting those cases which occur after the regular loss of -s) is found only once, e.g. in the Mundaka (iii. 2. 11). Hiatus, whether regular or irregular, between two pādas has been avoided only once in the Mundaka (ii. 1. 2) and the same between two words within a pāda has been avoided three times in the Kāṭha (i. 25; ii. 10; iii. 10) and sixteen times in the Mundaka (i. 2. 2, 5, 7, 11 [twice]; ii. 1. 2 [three times], 4, 9; ii. 2. 4, 7; iii. 1. 4, 5, 6; iii. 2. 1). Coalescence of vowels between two pādas occurs once in the Īśa (v. 14), thrice in the Mundaka (ii. 1. 9; iii. 1. 2; iii. 2. 8), and eleven times in the Kāṭha (i. 9, 20; ii. 2; iii. 5, 7; iv. 7, 9; v. 3, 14; vi. 14, 15), while the same within a pāda is very frequent in all the Upanisads.

From the above analysis it becomes evident that although hiatus between two pādas was quite common in the Upaniṣads, there was a marked tendency to avoid the same within a pāda, mostly by the insertion of the particle *hi*. Similarly, we find that hiatus between two pādas is quite common in the epics, but is comparatively rare between words in the same pāda, whereas avoidance of hiatus between words within a pāda is much more frequent than that between two pādas (in the By. edition of the



Rā. hiatus between two words within a pāda has been avoided, mostly by the insertion of hi, not less than 22 times in the First Book, 13 times in the Fourth Book, 11 times in the Fifth Book, 63 times in the Sixth Book, and 71 times in the Seventh Book; hiatus between two pādas has been avoided not less than 10 times in the Second Book, 4 times in the Third Book, 10 times in the Fourth Book, 3 times in the Fifth Book, 13 times in the Sixth Book, and 17 times in the Seventh Book, but not even once in the First Book); some of them, however, show variants in different editions and recensions.

Dr. Sukthankar, while editing the Mbh., was in favour of restoring the hiatus wherever variants were found in the MSS. and it is held that the oldest Nepalese MS. of the Mbh. has confirmed his views (ABORI, xix, pp. 211-15). But this fact only proves that the scribes even at an early date made attempts to avoid the hiatus and regularize the un-Pāninian sandhi; and for this purpose different MSS., and even the same MS. at different places, betray many ingenious devices of the scribes and the redactors, e.g. change of syntactical order, upasarga and tense, insertion of indeclinables like hi, ca, tu, vā, api, nu, etc., substitution by synonyms (e.g. muni for ṛsi), or cognate words, etc., and these variations in the different MSS. prove that hiatus, mostly between two pādas, is a genuine characteristic of the epic language as well.

Internal hiatus, however, was very rare even in the Vedic language, there being only three irregular (e.g. titāū, prātīga, and the compound sūti) and a few more regular (e.g. namaūkti, septarsi, etc.) cases of internal hiatus in the entire Vedic literature. It is, therefore, only natural that internal hiatus is very rare in the epics and is found only in compound words. All the cases of internal hiatus in the Rā. are between a and r̥ (cf. the fact that the combination a+r̥ remains as such in the RV., though metrically it should sometimes be pronounced as ar) which is sometimes found in Classical Sanskrit also; but the Mbh. sometimes show other types as well (e.g. Mbh., i. 76. 33, Nārāyanāūrogata).

The most interesting types of hiatus found in the Rā. are those between (i) a [<-as] and a; (ii) o [<-as] and a; and (iii) o [<-as] and r̥. (ii) is normal sandhi of -as+a in the Sāṃhitās and although the written texts of the Sāṃhitās frequently show the elision of a, it must *metri causa* be restored in about 99% cases of its occurrences in the RV. and 80% cases of its occurrences in the AV. and metrical portions of the YV. This type of sandhi and resultant hiatus is found only once in the Upaniṣads (Mundaka, iii. 1. 1, anyo abhicākaśiti) and is rare in the Rā., although a bit more frequent in the Mbh. (i) and (iii) are unknown both in earlier and later literature and as such may be regarded as truly epic.

From the grammatical point of view, hiatus may broadly be divided into two classes: (i) regular, i.e. hiatus with a Pragṛhya vowel or hiatus caused by the regular loss of -s or -y or -v, and (ii) irregular. As regular hiatus is quite common in later Sanskrit as well, instances of this type of hiatus in the Rā. will not be shown in our present treatment of the subject.

#### (A) Internal Hiatus

There are only 5 cases of internal hiatus in compound words in the Rā.; of them, one is doubtful, as the metre shows; two more show variants, and only 2 seem to be certain.

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| i. 8. 59 ..    | .. paramaṛṣīḥ  |
| iii. 75. 26 .. | .. harikṣarajonāmnah (M., harer Rksarajonāmnah).<br>(By.-reading seems to be corrupt.) |

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| vii. 35. 65 ..       | .. sadevagandharvarṣiyakṣarāksasaiḥ (M., °gan-<br>dharvasayakṣa; K., °gandharvarṣiyakṣa). |
| vii. 40. 31 (M., 30) | .. rākṣasārkṣavānarāh.  |
| vii. 98. 22 ..       | .. paramaṛśinām vīra (M., paramam ṛśinā).   |

(B) *Hiatus between two pādas*

(a) Between -a and a-

- |                     |    |   |
|---------------------|----|---|
| M., By., i. 1. 42   | .. | Sutikṣṇām cāpy Agastyām ca Agastyabhrātaraṁ tathā.  |
| M., Bṛy., i. 3. 18  | .. | Anasūyāsamasyām ca aṅgarāgasya cārpaṇam<br>(Rāma: °cāpy aṅga°).   |
| i. 10. 26 ..        | .. | ehy āśramapadām saumya asmākam iti cābruvan<br>(M., °saumya hy asmākam).  |
| i. 25. 10 ..        | .. | Sunde tu nihate Rāma Agastyam ṛṣisattamam<br>(M., Rāma sāgastyam).  |
| M., By., i. 32. 3   | .. | Kuśāmbām Kuśānābhām ca Asūrtarajasam<br>Vasum (Kriṣṇācārya and Śrīraṅgam: °ca<br>Ādhūrtarajasam).   |
| M., By., i. 38. 22  | .. | tasya putro' mīśumān nāma Asamañjasya<br>vīryavān.  |
| i. 45. 32 ..        | .. | atha Dhanvantarir nāma apsarāś ca suvarcasah<br>(M., 20, °Rāma apsarāśca).  |
| M., By., i. 56. 10  | .. | vāyavyam mathanām caiva astraṁ hayaśiras<br>tathā.  |
| M., By., i. 67. 11  | .. | darśayaitān mahābhāga anayo rājaputryoh.  |
| i. 67. 21 ..        | .. | atyadbhutam acintyām ca atarkitam idam<br>mayā (M., °ca na tarkitam).   |
| i. 70. 40 (M., 41)  | .. | Sudarśanaḥ Śaṅkhaṇasya Agnivarṇaḥ Sudar-<br>śanāt.  |
| ii. 53. 29 ..       | .. | dhruvam adya purī Rāma Ayodhyā yudhinām<br>vara (M., °rājam Ayodhyā).   |
| M., By., ii. 59. 16 | .. | Kausalyā putrahineva Ayodhyā pratibhāti me.   |
| ii. 70. 9 ..        | .. | Śatrughnasya ca vīrasya arogā cāpi madhyamā<br>(M., vīrasya sārogā).  |
| M., By., ii. 76. 13 | .. | ye tv agnayo narendrasya agnyagārād bahi-<br>kṛtāḥ.   |
| iv. 25. 52 ..       | .. | tatas te sahitās tatra Āṅgadam sthāpya cāgrataḥ<br>(M., tatra hy Āṅgadam).  |
| M., By., iv. 27. 17 | .. | padmakaiḥ saralaīs caiva aśokaiś caiva śobhitam.  |
| iv. 36. 6 ..        | .. | tādrśam pratikurvīta amśenāpi nrpātmaja (M.,<br>tādrśam vikramam vira pratikartum arin-<br>dama). (From the M.-reading it becomes<br>evident that the last word in this half-śloka<br>was probably arindama and thus this half-<br>śloka contained another hiatus in amśenāpi<br>arindama, which, however, was avoided even<br>in the By. edition by substituting nrpātmaja<br>for arindama.) |
| v. 38. 38 ..        | .. | tvayā nāthavatī nātha anāthā° (M., nātha hy<br>anāthā).   |
| v. 55. 28 (M., 29)  | .. | tapasā satyavākyena ananyatvāc ca bhartari.   |
| vi. 19. 12 ..       | .. | baddhagodhāngulitraś ca avadhyakavaco yudhi<br>(M., °trānas tv avadhyā°).   |

vi. 32. 31 ..	.. amoghah kriyatām Rāma ayam tatra śarottamaḥ (M., 34, Rāma tatra teṣu).
vi. 22. 36 ..	.. tasmād tadbāṇapātena apah kuksīṣv aśoṣayat (M., °bāṇena tv apah°).
M., vi. 22. 78	.. tad acintyam asaḥyam ca adbhutaṁ romahaṛṣa- nam (By., 73, °ca hy adbhutam).
vi. 22. 78 (M., 82)	.. Hanūmantām tvam āroha Āṅgadaṁ tvatha (M., cāpi) Lakṣmaṇaḥ.
vi. 32. 36 ..	.. tena darsanakāmena aham prasthāpitah prabho (M., °kāmena vayam).
vi. 36. 5 ..	.. hīnam mām manyase kena ahīnam sarvavikra- maiḥ (M., °kena hy ahīnam).
M., By., vi. 54. 1	.. svabalasya ca ghātena Āṅgadasya balena ca.
M., By., vi. 54. 33	.. nimesāntaramātrena Āṅgadaḥ kapikuñjaraḥ.
M., By., vi. 60. 8	.. Ikṣvākukulajātena (M., -nāthena) Anaranyaśya yat purā.
vi. 76. 22 (M., 21)	.. Prajanīgo Vāliputrāya abhidudrāva vegitah.
vi. 83. 24 ..	.. adrṣṭapratikāreṇa avyaktenāsatā satā (M., °kāreṇa tv avyaktena).
vi. 93. 50 (M., 53)	.. athavā putraśokena ahatvā Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau.
vi. 93. 58 (M., 61)	.. etasminn antare tasya amātyaḥ silavāñ (M., buddhimāñ) śueḥ.
vi. 100. 5 ..	.. Dvividāś caiva Maīdaś ca Āṅgada Gandha- mādaṇaḥ (M., Maīdaś ca Dvividāś caiva hy Āṅgada°).
vi. 119. 30 ..	.. amogham darśanam Rāma amoghas tava saṁstavah (M., 120. 30, °Rāma na ca moghas).
vii. 11. 42 ..	.. kumudair utpalaiś caiva anyaiś caiva sugandhi- bhiḥ (M., 43, °caiva tathānyaiś ca).
vii. 33. 5 ..	.. tatas te pratyabhijñāya Arjunāya nyavedayan (M., °jñāya cārjunāya).
M., By., vii. 33. 11	.. adya me kuśalam deva adya me kuśalam vrataṁ adya me saphalaṁ janma adya me saphalaṁ tapah.
vii. 36. 18 ..	.. matto madāyudhānām ca avadhyo' yam bha- viṣyati (M., °ca na vadhyo' yam).
vii. 36. 39 (M., 40)	.. Sugrīveṇa samām tasya advaidhaṁ chidravarji- tam.
M., By., vii. 48. 13	.. ahaṁ tyaktā ca te vīra ayaśobhīruṇā Jane.
M., By., vii. 55. 10	.. vīto' ham pūrvam Indreṇa antaram pratipālaya.
M., vii. 56. 7	.. lokanātha Mahādeva andajo' pi tvam abjajah (By., Mahādeva vāyubhūto' ham).
vii. 56. 11 ..	.. evam uktas tu devena abhivādyā pradakṣiṇam (M., °devena cābhivādyā).
vii. 57. 5 ..	.. pūrvam samabhavat tatra Agastyo bhagavān ṛsiḥ (M., °tatra hy Agastyo).
vii. 62. 13 ..	.. duḥkhāni ca bahūniha anubhūtāni pārthiva (M., °bahūniha hy anubhūtāni).
vii. 63. 2 ..	.. adharmam vidma Kākutstha asminn arthe nareśvara (M., °Kākutstha hy asminn).
vii. 65. 36 ..	.. matprasādāc ca rājendra atitaṁ na smariṣyasi (M., °rājendra vyatitam).
M., By., vii. 67. 22	.. śūlaśya tu balaṁ saumya aprameyam anu- tamam.

- vii. 72. 15 .. .. kāle kāle tu mām vīra Ayodhyām avalokitum  
(M., vīra hy Ayodhyām).
- vii. 75. 19 .. .. ity evam uktah sa narādhipena avākchirā  
Dāśarathāya tasmai (M., °narādhipena hy  
avākśirā).
- vii. 76. 23 .. .. tato' bhivādayāmāsa Agastyam ṛṣisattamam  
(M., °māsa hy Agastyam).
- vii. 78. 18 (M., 19) .. .. tadā tu tad vanam Śveta Agastyah sumahān ṛṣih.

## (b) Between -a and ā-

- i. 45. 31 (M., 19)  
M., By., i. 48. 11 .. .. atha varsasahasrena Āyur vedamayaḥ pumān.  
Mithilopavane tatra āśramam dr̄ṣya Rāghavam.
- i. 49. 12 .. .. Viśvāmitram puraskṛtya āśramam praviveśa ha  
(M. 14, puraskṛtya tam āśramam).
- i. 58. 11 .. .. cityāmālāyāgarāgaś ca āyasābharaṇo' bhavat  
(M., °lepaś ca āyasā°).
- M., By., i. 70. 8 .. .. ājñayā tu narendrasya ājagāma Kuśadhvajah.
- iii. 12. 26 .. .. kuśalapraśnam uktvā ca āsyatām iti so' bravīt  
(M., °ca hy āsyatām).
- iv. 43. 31 (M., 33) .. .. tam deśam samatikramya āśramam siddha-  
sevitam.
- M., By., iv. 46. 6 .. .. tataḥ kṣatajavegena āpupūre tadā bilam.
- v. 35. 37 (M., 38) .. .. tāni sarvāṇi Rāmāya āniya hariyūthapāḥ.
- v. 55. 13 (M., 14) .. .. kim agnau nipatāmy adya āhosvid vadavā-  
mukhe.
- v. 57. 34 .. .. hr̄ṣṭāḥ pādapaśākhāś ca āminyur vānararsabhāḥ.
- v. 62. 24 .. .. bālān nivārayantaś ca āsedur harayo harin.
- vi. 4. 22 (M., 23)  
M., By., vi. 21. 14 .. .. guhābhyaḥ śikharebhyāś ca āśu pupluvire tadā.
- vi. 63. 20 .. .. prasannaś ca kṣamā caiva ārjavam priyavāditā.  
yo hi śatrum avajñāya ātmānam nābhirkṛṣṭi  
(M., °abhi�nāya nātmānam).
- M., By., vi. 91. 6 .. .. ahaṁ tu ratham āsthāya āgamisyaṁ samyugam.
- vii. 29. 31 (M., 33) .. .. Rāvaṇas tu samāśādyā Ādityāṁś ca Vasūṁś  
tathā.
- vii. 30. 30 .. .. dṛṣṭas tvāṁ sa tadā tena āśramam paramarṣiṇā  
(M., 32, tena hy āśramam).
- vii. 30. 49 (M., 51) .. .. nītaḥ sannihitaś caiva āryakeṇa mahodadhanu.
- vii. 32. 50 .. .. nṛparākṣasayos tatra ārabdhāṁ romaharṣanam  
(M., °tatra cārabdhām).
- M., By., vii. 41. 14 .. .. gamyatām iti covāca āgaccha tvāṁ smare yadā.
- M., By., vii. 59. 17 .. .. abhisēkena saṁpūjya āśramam saṁviveśa ha.
- M., By., vii. 63. 10 .. .. saṁbhārān abhiṣekasya ānayadhvām samāhitāḥ.
- M., vii. 71. 19 .. .. avānmukhāś ca dīnāś ca āścaryam iti cābruvan  
(By., °ca hy āścaryam).
- M., By., vii. 81. 22 .. .. kṛtodakā naravyāghra Ādityam paryupāsitā.

## (c) Between -a and ī-

- M., By., i. 26. 33 .. .. mūrdhni Rāmam upāghrāya idam vacanam  
abравit.
- M., By., i. 63. 22 .. .. yatasva munisārdūla ity uktvā tridivāṁ gataḥ.
- M., By., i. 67. 1 .. .. dhanur darśaya Rāmasya iti hovāca pārthivam.
- M., By., i. 67. 12 .. .. vatsa Rāma dhanuh paśya iti Rāghavam  
abравит.

- M., By., i. 70. 16 .. viditar̄m te mahārāja Ikṣvākukuladaivatam.  
 M., By., iii. 13. 4 .. yathaisā ramate Rāma iha Sītā tathā kuru.  
 iii. 31. 12 .. nāgendra iva niḥśvasya idam vacanam abravīt  
     (M., °niḥśvasya vacanam̄ cedam).  
 M., By., iii. 66. 5 .. prākṛtaś cālpasattvaś ca itaraḥ kah sahisyate.  
 M., By., iv. 40. 10 .. bāhubhyām sāmpariṣvajya idam vacanam  
     abravīt.  
 M., By., iv. 56. 16 .. Kaikeyyā varadanena idam ca vikṛtam kṛtam.  
 iv. 59. 21 .. esa kālātyayas tāta iti vākyavidām vara  
     (M., °tāvad iti).  
 M., By., v. 3. 23 .. kas tvam̄ kena ca kāryena iha prapto vanālaya.  
 vi. 7. 18 .. ayam eko mahārāja Indrajit kṣapayiṣyati (M.,  
     19, °mahābāhur Indrajit).  
 M., By., vi. 14. 12 .. dharmapradhānasya mahārathasya Ikṣvāku-  
     vam̄sāpravarasya rājñāḥ.  
 M., By., vi. 17. 8 .. sālān ud�amyā śailām̄ ca idam vacanam  
     abruvan.  
 M., By., vi. 23. 31 .. Saumitram sāmpariṣvajya idam vacanam  
     abravīt.  
 M., By., vi. 91. 4 .. stunvāno (M., stuvāno) harṣamāṇaś ca idam  
     vacanam abravīt.  
 M., vi. 117. 32 (By., vi.  
     116. addl. 1 after 32). .. kalaṭanirapekṣaś ca īngitair asya dāruṇaiḥ.  
 vii. 19. 20 (M., 21) .. tasya rākṣasarājasya Ikṣvākukulanandanaḥ.  
 M., By., vii. 34. 19 .. prayatnavantau tat karma īhatur baladarpitau.  
 vii. 35. 27 .. yadi tāvac chiṣor asya īdriṣo gativikramāḥ  
     (M., °asya tv īdriṣo).  
 M., By., vii. 35. 59 .. putras tasyāmareśena Indreṇādyā nipātitāḥ.  
 vii. 51. 22 (M., 23) .. samṛddhaiś caśvamedhaiś ca iṣṭvā paramadur-  
     jayah.  
 M., By., vii. 55. 4 .. āśid rājā Nimir nāma Ikṣvākūṇām mahāt-  
     manām.  
 M., By., vii. 55. 8 .. tataḥ pitaram āmantrya Ikṣvākūm hi Manoh  
     sutam.  
 M., By., vii. 83. 7 .. Somaś ca rājasūyena iṣṭvā dharmena dharmavit.  
 vii. 89. 24 .. Budhasya samavarnam̄ ca Ilāputram mahā-  
     balam (M., °samavarṇābhām Ilāputram).

## (d) Between -a and ū-

- i. 24. 32 (M., 31) .. yaksinyā ghorayā Rāma utsāditam asahayayā.  
 i. 29. 18 (M., 19) .. siddhe karmani deveśa uttiṣṭha bhagavann itaḥ.  
 M., By., i. 35. 20 .. Rudrāyāpratirūpāya Umām̄ lokanamaskṛtām.  
 i. 73. 39 (M., 40) .. tri agnīm̄ te parikramya ūhur bhāryā mahau-  
     jasah.  
 M., By., iii. 49. 22 .. viceṣṭamānām ādāya utpapātātha Rāvanah.  
 M., By., iii. 68. 36 .. snātvā tau gṛdhra-rājāya udakām cakratus tadā.  
 M., By., vi. 3. 27 .. nyarbudām rakṣasām atra uttaradvāram  
     āśritam.  
 vi. 39. 24 (M., 26) .. nānādhātuvicitrais̄ ca udvānair upaśobhitam.  
 vi. 59. 45 (M., 46) .. tam̄ Lakṣmaṇaḥ prāñjalir abhyupetya uvāca  
     Rāmam paramārthayuktam.  
 M., By., vi. 70. 7 .. sa vrksām kṛttam alōkya utpapāta tadāṅgadah.  
 vii. 32. 30 .. kṣamasvādyā Daśagrīva uṣyatām rajani tvayā.

- M., By., vii. 36. 1 .. śiśukām tam samādāya uttasthau Dhātur agrataḥ.  
 vii. 51. 6 .. °phalamūlaiś ca uvāsa munibhiḥ saha  
 M., By., vii. 57. 6 .. tad dhi tejas tu Mitrasya Urvaśyāḥ pūrvam āhitam.  
 M., By., vii. 71. 11 .. sabhāyāṁ Vāsavasyātha upaviṣṭena Rāghava.  
 M., By., vii. 94. 5 .. svarāṇāṁ lakṣaṇajñāś ca utsukān dvijasattamān.  
 vii. 103. 4 (M., 5) .. jayasva rājadharmaṇa ubhau lokau mahādyute.  
 M., By., vii. 107. 11 .. Vaśiṣṭhasya tu vākyena utthāpya prakṛtijanam.

## (e) Between -a and ṛ-

- M., By., i. 3. 26 .. aṅgulīyakadānam ca ṛkṣasya biladarśanam.  
 i. 9. 13 .. °mahipāla Rṣyaśrīgaṇam susatkr̄tam  
 i. 17. 35 (M., 36) .. jugopa bhujaviryena ṛkṣa-gopuccha-vānarān.  
 M., By., i. 34. 7 .. nāmnā Satyavatī nāma R̄cīke pratipāditā.  
 i. 60. 22 .. daksinām diśam āsthāya ṛṣimadhye mahātapāḥ (M., āsthāya muni°).  
 M., By., ii. 92. 31 .. devānām dānavānām ca ṛṣīnām bhāvitātmanām.  
 M., By., iii. 69. 32 .. karābhyaṁ vividhān gr̄hya ṛkṣān pakṣīganān mr̄gān.  
 iv. 46. 23 (M., 24) .. tatra parvatam āśādyā Rṣyamūkaṁ nr̄pātmaja.  
 vi. 4. 34 (M., 35) .. Jāmbavāṁś caiva ṛkṣair bahubhir āvṛtaih.  
 M., vi. 38. 12 (By., addl. verse 2 after verse 7). .. Jāmbavāṁś ca Suṣenāś ca R̄ṣabhaś ca mahāmatih.  
 M., By., vii. 6. 1 .. tair bādhyaṁānā devāś ca ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ.  
 vii. 97. 9 .. pratyayo me naraśreṣṭha ṛṣivākyair akalmaśaiḥ (M., 11, suraśreṣṭhā ṛṣi°).

## (f) Between -a and e-

- M., By., i. 3. 29 .. rātrau Lankāpraveśāś ca ekasyāpi vicintanam.  
 i. 42. 20 .. Ikṣvākūnām kule deva eṣa me' stu varah paraḥ.  
 ii. 64. 43 .. bhūmidasāhītāgneś ca ekapatnīvratasya ca (M., °āhitāgner eka).  
 iii. 31. 33 .. bādhām kalya gamiṣyāmi ekaḥ sārathinā saha (M., °gamiṣyāmi hy ekaḥ).  
 iv. 18. 54 (M., 53) .. bālaś cākṛtabuddhiś ca ekaputraś ca me priyah.  
 M., By., vi. 41. 4 .. idānim mā kṛthā vīra evamvidham acintitam (arindama).  
 M., By., vii. 19. 3 .. nirjitat̄ smeti vā brūta eṣa me hi suniścayah.  
 vii. 35. 6 .. ete Hanūmatā tatra ekena vinipātitāḥ (M., tatra hy ekena).

## (g) Between -a and ai-

- M., By., i. 27. 6 .. astram Brahmasiraś caiva Aisikam api Rāghava.  
 M., By., i. 56. 6 .. Vāruṇām caiva Raudram ca Aindram Paśupatām tathā.  
 ii. 14. 1 .. viceṣṭamānam utprekṣya Aikṣvākam idam abravīt (M., °udvīkṣya saikṣvākam).  
 vii. 6. 40 .. svādhītām dattam iṣṭam ca aiśvaryam pratipālitam (M., 36, °cāpy aiśvaryam).

## (h) Between -a (&lt;-as) and a-

- i. 70. 43 .. Nābhāgasya babhūvāja Ajād Daśaratho' bhavat  
(M., °Ajāh Ajād).
- ii. 110. 31 .. Sudarśanasyāgnīvarṇa Agnivarnasya Śighragah.
- ii. 113. 23 .. Śringaverapurād bhūya Ayodhyām sandadarśa  
ha (M., °bhūyas tv Ayodhyām).
- iii. 47. 2 .. brāhmaṇaś cātithiś caisa anukto hi śapeta mām  
(M., °cāyam anukto).
- iv. 53. 7 (M., 20) .. yuvarājō mahaprājña Āṅgada vākyam abravīt.
- vi. 35. 13 .. dharmo hi śrūyate pakṣa amarāṇām mahāt-  
manām (M., pakṣo hy amarāṇām). (Hiatus in  
the next half-śloka of the same verse has,  
however, been avoided even in the By.  
edition; thus: pakṣo hy asurāṇām.)
- vi. 71. 97 (M., 103) .. Brahmadattavaro hy eṣa avadhyakavacāvṛtaḥ.
- vi. 83. 29 .. yadi dharmo bhaved bhūta adharmo vā paran-  
tapa (M., °bhūtah adharmo).
- vii. 32. 67 .. sahasā rākṣasaḥ kruddha abhidudrāva Haihayān  
(M., °kruddhaś cābhidudrāva).
- vii. 35. 63 .. mā vināśam gamiṣyāma aprasādyāditeḥ sutam.
- vii. 36. 16 (M., 17) .. varam dadāmi santuṣṭa aviṣādaṁ ca saṁyuge.

## (i) Between -ā and a-

- M., By., i. 25. 11 .. āpatantīm tu tām drṣṭvā Agastyo bñagavān  
ṛṣih.
- i. 48. 17 .. munivesadharo bhūtvā Ahalyām idam abravīt  
(M., °dharo' halyām).
- M., By., i. 71. 20 .. kaniyān eṣa me bhrātā ahaṁ jyeṣṭho mahāmune.
- i. 73. 32 (M., 33) .. Śatruघnam cāpi dharmātmā abravīn Mithi-  
leśvaraḥ (M., Janakeśvaraḥ).
- ii. 113. 24 .. sārathe paśya vidhvastā Ayodhyā na prakāsate  
(M., vidhvastā sāyodhyā).
- ii. 118. 3 .. yady apy eṣa bhaved bhartā anāryo vṛttavar-  
jitaḥ (M., bhartā mamāryē).
- iv. 43. 22 .. haṁsakāraṇḍavākīrṇā apsarogaṇasevitā (M.,  
°kīrṇā hy apsaro).
- v. 24. 31 .. Rāyanasya gṛhe ruddhā asmābhīs tv abhira-  
ksitā (M., °ruddhām asmābhīs).
- v. 58. 96 .. tasya tad vacanām śrutvā aham apy abruvam  
vacah (M., °śrutvā hy aham).
- M., By., vi. 34. 10 .. tadbhāyāc cāham udvignā Aśokavanikām gatā.
- M., By., vi. 48. 28 .. sā tvam bhava suviśrabdhā anumanaiḥ sukho-  
dayaiḥ.
- vi. 113. 69 .. ānītā Rāmapatnī sā apanīya ca Lakṣmaṇam  
(M., 114. 69, °sā tat te kātaryalakṣaṇam).
- vi. 120. 10 .. na kiñcid abhidhātavyā aham ājñāpayāmi te  
(M., °abhidhātavyam aham).
- vii. 4. 9 .. Prajāpatiḥ purā srṣṭvā apah salilasambhavaḥ  
(M., °srṣṭvā hy apah).
- M., By., vii. 24. 12 .. kācid dadhyau suduḥkhārtā api mām mārayed  
ayam.
- vii. 31. 5 .. Rāghavasya vacah śrutvā Agastyo bhagavān  
ṛṣih (M., °śrutvā hy Agastyo°).

- M., By., vii. 52. 15 .. yadartham Maithili tyaktā apavādabhayān nrpa.  
 M., By., vii. 55. 5 .. niveśayāmāsa tadā abhyāse Gautamasya tu.  
 M., By., vii. 75. 7 .. so' bravīt prāṇato bhūtvā ayam asmi naṛādhīpa.  
 vii. 96. 10 .. tam r̄sim prsthataḥ Sītā anvagacchad avānmukhī<sup>(M., 11, "Sītā tv anvagacchad).</sup>  
 vii. 96. 22 (M., 23) .. iyām śuddhasamācārā apāpā patidevatā.  
 vii. 105. 10 (M., 11) .. niḥṣṛtya tvaritām rājā Atreḥ putram dadarśa ha.

## (j) Between -ā and ā-

- i. 10. 13 .. hārdāt tasya matir jātā ākhyātum pitaram svakam (M., "jātā hy ākhyātum).  
 ii. 32. 39 .. tam pariṣvajya dharmātmā āvāpya Sarayūtaṭāt (M., "dharmātmā ā tasmāt).  
 ii. 71. 3 .. śilām ākurvatām tīrvā āgneyam śalyakarṣanam (M., "tīrvā hy āgneyam).  
 vii. 36. 42 (M., 43) .. simhah kuñjararuddho vā (pañjararuddho vā) āsthitaḥ sahitō rāṇe.  
 M., By., vii. 62. 12 .. santāpām hr̄daye kṛtvā āryasyāgamanāni prati.  
 M., By., vii. 80. 18 .. arajāpi rudantī sā āśramasyāvidūrataḥ.

## (k) Between -ā and i-

- M., By., i. 6. 5 .. pālitā sā puriśreṣṭhā Indreṇevāmarāvati.  
 ii. 12. 56 .. dināyatutrayā vācā iti hovāca Kaikayim (M., "rājā iti).  
 ii. 15. 25 (M., 26) .. pratibudhya tato rājā idam vacanam abravit.  
 v. 60. 8 .. dr̄stā devī na cānitā iti tatra niveditum.  
 vi. 35. 6 (M., 7) .. Rāvaṇasya vacah śrutvā iti mātāmahō'bravit.  
 vi. 84. 7 .. "Sītā iti śrutvaiva Rāghavaḥ (M., "Sītām iha).  
 vi. 113. 40 (M., 114. 40) .. putro me Śakranirjetā ity ahaṁ garvitā bhr̄sām.  
 M., By., vii. 33. 4 .. praviveśa purim Brahmā Indrasyevāmarāvati.

## (l) Between -ā and u-

- M., By., i. 35. 21 .. Gaṅgā ca saritām śreṣṭhā Umā devī ca Rāghava.  
 v. i. 63 .. khe yathā nipataty ulkā uttarāntād viniḥṣṛtā (M., ulkā hy uttarā°).  
 v. 37. 46 .. °āsaktā upary upari° (M., °āsannā hy upary°).  
 vi. 17. 19 (M., 28) .. nihanyād antaram labdhvā ulūko vāyasān iva (M., iva vāyasān). (For the closing part M., reading seems to be the better of the two.)  
 vi. 77. 12 (M., 13) .. vikiryamāṇaḥ sahasā ulkāśatam ivāmbare.  
 vii. 35. 36 .. utpapatāsanām hitvā udvahan kāñcanīm srajam (M., "hitvā codvahan).  
 M., By., vii. 48. 2 .. Lakṣmaṇām dīnayā vācā uvāca Janakātmajā.

## (m) Between -ā and ṛ-

- M., By., i. 45. 7 .. naur eṣā hi sukhāstīrṇā ṛṣīnām punyakarmanām.  
 M., By., i. 69. 13 .. tasya tad vacanām śrutvā ṛṣimadhye narādhīpah.  
 M., By., v. 9. 9 .. tādr̄si tad viśiṣṭā vā ṛddhi rakṣoganeś iha.

- vii. 36. 58 (M., 59) .. Agastyādayas tu tac chrutvā ṛṣayah saṁśita-vratāḥ.  
 vii. 40. 13 (M., 14) .. Rāmasya bhāṣitam̄ śrutvā ṛkṣa-vānara-rākṣasāḥ.  
 M., By., vii. 62. 2 .. Rāghavasya vacaḥ śrutvā ṛṣayah sarva eva te.  
 M., vii. 76. 47 (By., addl. 13.) .. tasya tad vacanam̄ śrutvā ṛṣeh paramadharma-kam.

## (n) Between -ī and ā.

- i. 38. 8 .. ṣaṣṭim̄ putrasahasrāni aparā janayisyati (M., °sahasrāni hy aparā).  
 ii. 71. 39 .. apetamālyāśobhāni asaṁmr̄stājirāni ca (M., 40, °śobhany apy asaṁmr̄stā°).  
 M., By., iv. 12. 34 .. tvayi vīra vīpanne hi ajñānāl lāghavān mayā.  
 iv. 59. 18 .. diṣṭyā jivati Siteti abruvan mām maharṣayah (M., °Siteti hy abruvan).  
 v. 13. 38 .. vānaprastho bhavisyāmi adṛṣṭvā Janākātma-jām (M., °bhavisyāmi hy adṛṣṭvā).  
 v. 59. 24 (M., 27) .. pativrataḥ ca suṣroni avaṣṭabdhaḥ ca Jānakī.  
 M., By., vi. 54. 29 .. tataḥ paramatejasvi Aṅgadaḥ plavagarṣabhaḥ.  
 vi. 113. 104 .. śakaṭān dārurūpāṇī agnīn vai yājakāṁs tathā.  
 vi. 113. 116 .. dārūpātrāṇī sarvāṇī arāṇīm cottarāraṇīm.  
 M., vi. 129. 30 .. acintayanti Vaidehi Aśokavanikāṁ gatā (By., 128. 32, °Vaidehi hy Aśoka°).  
 vii. 2. 23 .. dhyānam̄ viveśa tac cāpi apaśyad Ṭṣikarmajam (M., °cāpi hy apaśyad).  
 vii. 96. 4 .. Bharadvājaś ca tejasvī Agniputraś ca suprabhaḥ (M., °tejasvi hy Agniputraś ca).  
 vii. 96. 20 (M., 21) .. tasyāham phalam aśnāmi apāpā Maithili yadi (K., tasyāḥ phalam upāśnīyām apāpā°).  
 M., By., i. 44. 23 .. sarve pāpāḥ praṇāsyanti āyuḥ kīrtiḥ ca vardhate.  
 i. 64. 18. .. ahaṁ hi śoṣayisyāmi ātmānam vijitendriyah (M., °ṣyāmi hy ātmānam).  
 M., By., i. 72. 15 .. imānyāśanamukhyāni āsyatām (āsatām) munipungavau.  
 vii. 6. 5. .. śaraṇānyāśaranyāni āśramāṇi kṛtāni naḥ (M., °āśraṇyāni hy āśramāṇi).  
 vii. 34. 28 .. paścimām sāgarām Vālī ājagāma-sa-Rāvaṇāḥ (M., °Vālī hy ājagāma).  
 vii. 85. 6 .. tredhābhūtaṁ karisyāmi ātmānam surasattamaḥ (M., °karisyāmi hy ātmānam).

## (o) Between -ī and vowels other than ā.

- i. 46. 7 .. tām ālabhya tataḥ svasti ity uktvā tapase yayau (M., °tataḥ svastity uktvā sa).  
 vii. 89. 23 .. tataḥ sā navame māsi Ilā Somasutāt sutam.  
 i. 21. 8 .. °karisyeti uktām vākyam akurvataḥ  
 M., By., ii. 118. 53 .. mama caivānujā sādhvī Īrmilā ūbhadrāśanā.  
 M., By., vi. 13. 19 .. Rāmam ādīpayisyāmi ulkābhīr iva kuñjaram.  
 vi. 24. 38 .. śarair ādīpayisyāmi ulkābhīr iva kuñjaram (M., 39, °ādīpayāmi enam ulkābhīr).  
 M., By., vi. 71. 57 .. sa sañcukopātibalo manasvī uvāca vākyam ca tato bṛhacchriḥ.

- M., By., v. 11. 76 .. vicintayan na muñcāmi Ṛṣymūkam aham tv  
imam.
- vi. 106. 13 (M., 107. 13) .. vyomanāthas tamobhedi Ṛg-Yajuh-Sāma-  
pāragah.
- M., By., vii. 39. 7 .. svāni rājyāni mukhyāni ṛddhāni muditāni ca.
- M., By., vii. 46. 8 .. Gaṅgātire mayā devi ṛṣīnām āśramān śubhān.
- M., By., vii. 69. 16 .. Śatruघno vai puradvāri ṛṣibhiḥ samprapūjitah-
- vi. 67. 11 .. tāni cānyāni rakṣāinsi evam cānyad gireh  
śirah (M., 12, °rakṣāmsi punaś cānyad).
- vii. 107. 18 .. daśa cāśvasahasrāni ekaikasya dhanāṁ dadau  
(M., 19, °cāśvānām ekaikasya).

## (p) Between -u and ā-.

- M., By., i. 65. 5 .. etasmīnna eva kāle tu Ayodhyādhipatir mahān.
- M., By., i. 70. 38 .. Sagarasyāsamañjas tu Asamañjād athāmśu-  
mān.
- ii. 30. 15 .. patram mūlam phalam yat tu alpaṁ vā yadi  
vā bahu (M., °tvam alpam).
- iv. 21. 11 .. sañskāryo harirājās tu Āṅgadaś cābhīṣicyatām  
(M., °rājas ca Āngadaś cā°).
- M., By., vi. 28. 12 .. triyojanasahasram tu adhvānam avatīrya hi.
- M., By., vii. 32. 10 .. aprāptāny eva tāny āśu asambhrāntas tadār-  
junāḥ.
- M., By., vii. 63. 30 .. anyathā kriyamāne tu avadhyāḥ sa bhaviṣyati.
- M., By., iii. 31. 17 .. taṁ svayam pūjayitvā tu āśanenodakena tu.
- vii. 93. 7 .. jātāni parvatāgreṣu āśvādyāśvādyā gāyatām  
(M., °āgreṣu cāśvādyā°).

## (q) Between -u and vowels other than ā-.

- M., By., ii. 10. 39 .. kim āyāsena te bhīru uttiṣṭhottiṣṭha śobhane.
- M., By., vii. 56. 13 .. etasmīnna eva kāle tu Urvaśī paramāpsarā.
- i. 17. 5 (M., 6) .. yakṣapannagakanyāsu ḫksavīdyādhareṣu ca.
- M., By., i. 18. 8 .. tato yajñe samāpte tu ṛtūṇāṁ ṣaṭ samatyayuḥ

## (r) Between -e and ā-.

- i. 40. 9 .. na ca paśyāmahe' śvām te aśvahartāram eva  
ca (M., °tam aśvā°).
- i. 45. 41 .. etekātām agaman sarve asurā rāksasaiḥ saha.
- i. 52. 23 .. tat sarvām kāmadhug divye abhivarṣa kṛte  
mama (M., °ksipram abhivarṣa).
- M., By., i. 67. 24 .. mama Kauśika bhadram te Ayodhyām tvaritā  
rathaiḥ.
- ii. 22. 4 .. upaklṛptām yad etan me abhiṣekārtham  
uttamam (M., upaklṛptām hi yat kiñcid  
abhiṣekārtham adya me).
- ii. 87. 17 .. iti tena vayām sarve anunitā mahātmanā (M.,  
16, °rājann anunitāḥ).
- iv. 62. 6 .. rāksasendro janasthāne avadhyāḥ suradānavaiḥ  
(M., °janasthānād avadhyāḥ).
- v. 1. 124 .. tvarate kāryakālo me ahaś cāpy ativartate  
(M., 131, °me hy ahaś°).
- M., By., vii. 46. 9 .. aranye munibhir juṣṭe adya neyā (M., apaneyā)  
bhaviṣyati.

M., By., vii. 46. 15	..	hrdayam caiva Saumitre asvastham iva lakṣaye.
vii. 78. 9 ..	..	bhrātarām Surathaṁ rājye abhiṣicya mahī- patim (M., °rājye hy abhiṣicya).
vii. 91. 10 ..	..	sārdham āgaccha bhadram te anubhoktum mahotsavam (M., °te hy anubhoktum).
vii. 102. 13 ..	..	putre sthite durādharṣe Ayodhyām punarāga- mat (M., durādharṣe hy Ayodhyām).
vii. 109. 21 ..	..	sarvāṇi Rāmagamane anujagmur hitāny api (M., °gamane hy anujagmur).
iii. 43. 42 ..	..	sa kadācīc cirāl loke āsāsāda mahāmunim (M.; 40, °lobhād āsāsāda).
iii. 47. 48 ..	..	hṛtāpi te'ham jarām na gamisye ājyam yathā maksikayā vagīrṇam (M., °gamiṣye vajram yathā).
M., By., iii. 74. 30	..	praharsam atulam lebhe āścaryam iti cābravīt.
v. 62. 27 ..	..	madāndho na kṛpām cakre āryako'yam mameti ca (M., °vedainam āryako'yam).
vi. 4. 4 (M., 5)	..	Sitā śrutvā bhiyānam me āśām eṣyati jīvite.
M., By., vii. 1. 15	..	yathārham upaviṣṭā te āśramesv ṣisattamam.
vii. 44. 21 ..	..	tathā vadati Kākutsthe avadhānaparāyanāḥ (M., Kākutsthe hy avadhāna°).
M., By., vii. 74. 5	..	ete dvijarsabhāḥ sarve āśaneshūpaveśitāḥ.
M., By., vii. 81. 13	..	ihaiva vasa durmedhe āśrame susamāhite.

(s) Between -e and vowels other than ā-

i. 14. 17 ..	..	aho trptāḥ sma bhadram te iti śūrāva Rāghavāḥ (M., °ta iti).
M., By., i. 42. 22	..	evam bhavatu bhadram te Ikṣvākulavardhāna.
ii. 14. 65 ..	..	vyaktām Rāmābhisekārthe ihāyāsyati dharma- rāt (M., °abhiṣekārtham iha).
M., By., vii. 6. 20	..	Sukeśām rākṣasām jāne Iśānavaradarpitam.
vii. 76. 10 ..	..	diśantu varam etan me īpsitam paramam mama (M., °ma īpsitam).
M., By., i. 33. 12	..	Somadā nāma bhadram te Ürmilā tanayā tadā.
M., By., i. 71. 21	..	Sitām Rāmāya bhadram te Ürmilām Lakṣma- nāya vai.
i. 73. 30 (M., 31)	..	Laksmaṇāgaccha bhadram te Ürmilām udy- ātām mayā.
M., ii. 67. 17 ..	..	nārājake janapade udyānāni samāgatāḥ (By., janapade hy udyānāni).
M., By., vi. 6. 6	..	trividhāḥ puruṣā loke uttamādhamamadhyā- māḥ.
vii. 86. 4 ..	..	atha naste Sahasrākṣe udvignam abhavaj jagat (M., Sahasrāksa udvignam°).
vii. 36. 59 (M., 60)	..	evam uktvā gatāḥ sarve ṣasyas te yathāgatam.
i. 14. 25 ..	..	ekavimśati yūpāḥ te ekavimśaty aratnayah (M., ta eka°).
iv. 5. 17 ..	..	tvām vayasyo'pi hrdayo me ekām duḥkhām sukhām ca nau (M., °me hy ekam).
M., By., vii. 30. 15	..	tatsthāsyamaratā syām me esa me niścito varah.
vii. 104. 4 ..	..	vasa vā vira bhadram te evam āha pitāmahāḥ (M., ta evam).

## (t) Between -ai and a-

M., By., vii. 53. 10 .. sa naṣṭām gām kṣudhārto vai anviṣams tatra  
tatra ha.

## (u) Between -ai and u-

ii. 21. 14 .. dātum icchati Kaikeyyai upasthitam idam  
velā.

## (v) Between -o and other vowels

vi. 106. 17 (M., 107. 17) .. namo namaḥ sahasrāṁśo Ādityāya namo  
namaḥ.

vii. 91. 14 .. ṛṣayaś ca mahābāho āhūyatām tapodhanāḥ.

## (w) Between -o (&lt; -as) and other vowels

vii. 2. 33 .. piteva tapasā yukto abhavad Viśravā muniḥ  
(M., 34, °yukto hy abhavad).

vii. 21. 19 .. gorasaṁ gopradātāro annam̄ caivānnadāyināḥ  
(M., °dātāro hy annam).

i. 60. 34 .. tato devā mahātmāno ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ  
(M., mahātmāno munayaś ca).

K., iv. 11. 64 .. tataḥ śāpabhayād bhitō Ḗṣyamūkam mahā-  
girim (M., By., °bhita Ḗṣyamūkam).

(C) *Hiatus within a pāda*

## (a) Between -a and ā-

M., By., vii. 31. 10 .. Rāvaṇas tatra āgataḥ.  
vii. 109. 4 .. brahma āvartayan param (M., brahmam  
āvartayan).

## (b) Between -a and ī-

ii. 49. 13 (M., 14) .. sūta ityeva cābhāṣya.

iv. 40. 5 .. koṭyoghaś ca ime prāptāḥ (M., koṭyagraśa ime).

M., By., v. 47. 35 .. mahoragaṁ grhya ivāṇḍajeśvara.

vii. 5. 40 (M., 42) .. Kumbhinasi ca ity ete.

M., By., vii. 8. 1 .. velāṁ etya ivārṇavāḥ.

vii. 14. 7 .. vyavardhata ivodadheḥ (M., sāgarasyeva  
vardhataḥ).

vii. 28. 41 (M., 42) .. citrakarma ivābhāti.

M., By., vii. 35. 42 .. Indra Indreti.

vii. 61. 19 .. sa vihāya imāṁ lokam (M., 20, vihāya tv  
imam).

M., By., vii. 90. 7 .. Kardamasya Ilāḥ sutāḥ.

M., By., vii. 90. 17 .. uvāca Ilasannidhau.

M., By., vii. 107. 10 .. Vatsa Rāma imāḥ paśya.

M., By. vii. 107. 14 .. sarvān no naya iśvara.

## (c) Between -a and u-

iii. 49. 4 .. kāmarūpeṇa unmatte (M., kāmarūpiṇam un-  
matte).

- iv. 25. 3 .. . param karma upāsitum (M., karma śakyam upāsitum).  
 vii. 87. 22 .. . pranipatya Umām devīm (M., pranipatya hy Umām).  
 M., By., vii. 93. 2 .. . cakāra utajān śubhān.

## (d) Between -a and r-

- M., By., i. 2. 26 .. . Vālmikaye ca ṛṣaye.  
 M., By., i. 9. 17 .. . na gacchema ṛṣer bhītāḥ  
 i. 15. 22 .. . siddhāṁś ca ṛṣittamān (M., 21, °ca muni-)  
 i. 73. 18 (M., 19) .. . kārayasva ṛṣe sarvam.  
 ii. 116. 25 .. . Rāmāḥ saṁsādhya ṛṣigānam (M., saṁsādhya tv ṛṣigānam).  
 M., By., ii. 116. 25 .. . abhivādyā ṛṣim.  
 ii. 119. 6 .. . agnihotre ca ṛṣinā (M., ṛṣinām agnihotresu).  
 M., By., iii. 73. 8 .. . sarve ca ṛtavas tatra.  
 M., vii. 36. 39 .. . sa ca Rkṣarajā nāma (By., tatas tv arkṣarajā).  
 vii. 36. 48 .. . ete ca rkṣāḥ.  
 vii. 82. 15 .. . abhivādyā ṛṣiāresthām (M., abhivādyā muni°).  
 M., By., vii. 105. 2 .. . uvāca ṛṣitamahā.

## (e) Between -ā and other vowels

- vi. 79. 30 .. . hatvā aśvān apātayat (M., 38, rathāśvān samapātayat).  
 vii. 49. 5 .. . ekā dīnā anāthavat (M., dīnā hy anāthavat).  
 M., By., i. 21. 7 .. . dharmātmā iti.  
 v. 38. 38 (M., 40) .. . anāthā iva drṣyate.  
 M., By., vi. 12. 28 .. . khalu sā ihāhṛtā.  
 vi. 84. 7 .. . hatā Indrajitā (M., °tām Indra°)  
 M., By., vii. 31. 36 .. . Gaṅgā iva mahāgajaiḥ.  
 vii. 36. 36 .. . tejasā iva bhāskaraḥ (M., 38, tejasā bhāskara- prabhah).  
 vii. 67. 5 .. . Māndhātā iti vikhyātāḥ (M., Māndhāteti sa vikhyātāḥ).  
 vii. 88. 9 .. . dadarsā sā Ilā tasmin (M., sā tv Ilā).  
 iii. 40. 8 .. . apāyām vā upāyām vā (M., °vāpy upāyam vā).  
 M., By., vi. 60. 12 .. . na mithyā ṛṣibhāṣitam.  
 M., By., vii. 105. 5 .. . tac chrutvā ṛṣiārdūlah.  
 vii. 56. 21 .. . Urvaśyā evam uktas tu.  
 vii. 69. 28 (M., 29) .. . esā eva.

## (f) Between -i and other vowels

- v. 20. 8 .. . ekaveṇī adhaḥ śayyā (M., ekaveṇī dharā śayyā).  
 iv. 8. 5 .. . tvayi ātmagatān guṇān (M., svayam ātma- gatān).  
 M., By., iii. 46. 3 .. . śikhī chatrī upānahī.

## (g) Between -e and other vowels

- vi. 30. 8 .. . balamadhye amarṣaṇaiḥ (M., balavadbhiḥ amarṣaṇaiḥ).  
 vii. 57. 7 .. . jajñe Ikṣvākuḍaivatam (M., jajñe cekṣvāku°).  
 M., By., vii. 88. 7 .. . tasmin reme Ilā tadā.

- M., By., vii. 90. 23 .. Pratisthāne Ilo rājā.  
ii. 63. 2 .. āpede upasargas tam (M., āviveśopasargas tam).  
vii. 22. 2 .. ratho me upanīyatām (M., ratho'�am upanīyatām).  
i. 17. 31 (M., 32) .. anye Rkṣavataḥ prsthān.  
M., vii. 93. 2 .. ekānte ṛṣivatānām (By., ekānta ṛṣisamghātah).  
  
(h) Between -o (<-as) and ḥ  
v. 58. 138 (M., 135) .. vasato Ṛṣyamūke me.

(D) *Avoidance of hiatus between two pādas*

Hiatus even between two pādas has been avoided, almost invariably by the insertion of the particle *hi*, in quite a large number of cases even in the best preserved Southern recension of the Rā. But some of them show variants in the different editions of the same recension, and it seems that with a few probable exceptions (e.g. between 'o <-as and a' at i. 34. 21, ii. 2. 28, ii. 44. 15, iv. 32. 18, iv. 46. 22, vi. 18. 12, vi. 71. addl. 2 after 95, vii. 8. 29, vii. 25. 23, vii. 51. 17, vii. 92. 9, etc.), almost all of them contained hiatus in the original Rāmāyana. Such cases, collected from the By. edition of the Rā., are:—

- i. 24. 31 .. na hi kaścid imam śakto hy āgantum idṛśam.  
ii. 2. 28 .. Ikṣvākubhyo'pi sarvebhyo hy atirikto viśāmpate.  
ii. 13. 2 .. anartharūpā'siddhārthā hy abhitā bhayadarśinī.  
ii. 15. 8 .. rājñāḥ sampratibuddhasya cānāgamanakāraṇāt.  
ii. 16. 4 .. sahasotpatitāḥ sarve hy āsanebhyah sasambhramāḥ.  
ii. 44. 15 .. sūryasyāpi bhavet sūryo hy agner agnih prabhoh prabhuh.  
ii. 50. 42 .. diṣṭyā tvāṁ Guha paśyāmi hy arogāṁ saha bāndhavaiḥ.  
ii. 99. 42 .. vanaukasas te'bhisamikṣya sarve tv aśrūṇy amuñcan pravihāya harṣam.  
ii. 108. 2 .. prākṛtasyeva narasya hy āryabuddhes tapasvināḥ.  
ii. 109. 20 .. kṣātram dharmam aham tyakṣye hy adharmam dharmasamhitam.  
ii. 118. 1''' .. sā tv evam uktā Vaidehī tv anasūyānasūyayā.  
iii. 11. 71 .. bhrātarām tam Agastyaḥya hy āmantrayata Rāghavāḥ.  
iii. 63. 7 .. sā nūnam āryā mama rākṣasena hy abhyāhṛtā kham samupetya bhīruḥ.  
iii. 64. 59 .. asampātam kariṣyāmi hy adya trailokya-cāriṇam.  
iii. 70. 5 .. lokām hy atijitām kṛtvā hy āvām hantum ihecchatī.  
iv. 1. 7 .. nalinair api samchannā hy atyarthasubhadarśanā.  
iv. 2. 20 .. kasya na syād bhayaṁ drṣṭvā hy etau surasutopamau.

iv. 9. 10	..	.. tasmin dravati santraste <i>hy āvām</i> drutataram gatau.
iv. 12. 14	..	.. vṛkṣair ātmānam āvṛtya <i>hy</i> atiṣṭhan gahane vane.
iv. 14. 1	..	.. tām āsuvegena durāsadena <i>tv abhiplutām</i> śokamahārṇavenā.
iv. 15. 17	..	.. tvarā guṇavatī yuktā <i>hy</i> asmin kāle viśeṣataḥ.
iv. 32. 18	..	.. niyuktair mantribhir vācyo <i>hy</i> avaśyam pārthivo hi tam.
iv. 38. 33	..	.. nihatya Rāvaṇām yuddhe <i>hy ānayiṣyanti</i> Maithilim.
iv. 46. 22	..	.. Mataṅgena tadā śapto <i>hy</i> asminn āśrama- mandale.
iv. 58. 13	..	.. devāsuravimardām ca <i>hy</i> amṛtasya viman- thanam.
v. 13. 67	..	.. drakṣye tad āryāvadanaṁ kadā <i>nv</i> aham tārādhipatulyavarcasam.
v. 27. 14	..	.. tatas tasya nagasyāgre <i>hy</i> ākāśasthasya dan- tinah.
v. 51. 13	..	.. dikṣu sarvāsu mārgante <i>hy</i> adhaś copari cāmbare.
vi. 13. 16	..	.. naitad Dāśarathir veda <i>hy</i> āśādayati tena mām.
vi. 18. 12	..	.. yas tu doṣas tvayā prokto <i>hy</i> ādāne' ribalasya ca.
vi. 19. 18	..	.. ākhyātāni ca tattvena <i>hy</i> avagacchāmi tāny aham.
vi. 22. 58	..	.. sūtrāny anye pragṛhṇanti <i>hy</i> āyatām śata- yojanam.
vi. 22. 73	..	.. tam acintyam asahyām ca <i>hy</i> adbhutām lomaharsanām (M. 78, °ca adbhutam).
vi. 35. 13	..	.. adharmo rakṣasām pakṣo <i>hy</i> asurānām ca rākṣasa. (Similar hiatus has been preserved in the previous half-sloka of the same verse.)
vi. 47. 10	..	.. avekṣya vinivṛttā sā cānyām gatim apaśyati.
vi. 59. 4	..	.. saṃkampayan nāgasiro'bhupaiti <i>hy</i> Akampa- nām <i>tv</i> enam avehi rājan.
vi. 71. addl. verse 2 after 95.	..	.. muhūrtamātrām niḥsaṁjñō <i>hy</i> abhavac chatru- tāpanah.
vi. 94. 11	..	.. evam pravṛtte saṃgrāme <i>hy</i> adbhutām sumā- had rajah.
vi. 125. 18	..	.. stribhīḥ parivṛtāḥ sarve <i>hy</i> Ayodhyām yāntu Sītayā.
vi. 130. 39	..	.. vānarānām ca tat karma <i>hy</i> ācacakṣe'tha mantriṇām.
vii. 8. 26	..	.. rākṣasān hantum utpanno <i>hy</i> ajayyah prabhur avyayah.
vii. 21. 23	..	.. sukham āpur muhūrtām te <i>hy</i> atarkitam acintitam.
vii. 25. 23	..	.. pitā jyeṣṭho jananyā no <i>hy</i> asmākaṁ cāryako'- bhavat.
vii. 32. 11	..	.. savyetarakarāṅgulyā <i>hy</i> aśabdāsyo Daśānanaḥ.
vii. 35. 20	..	.. tasya bhāryā babhūveṣṭā <i>hy</i> Añjaneti pariśrutā.
vii. 35. 23	..	.. dadarśa phalalobhāc ca <i>hy</i> utpapāta ravim prati.

- vii. 47. 11 .. śrutvā pariṣado madhye *hy* apavādām sudā-runam.  
 vii. 51. 17 .. tapasārādhito devo *hy* abravid bhaktavatsalah.  
 vii. 62. 12 .. āryeṇa hi purā śūnyā *tv* Ayodhyā paripālitā.  
 vii. 92. 9 .. evam suvihito yajño *hy* aśvamedho *hy* avartata.  
 vii. 96. 5 (alt. rdg.) .. Kātyāyanah Suyajñaś ca *hy* Agastyas tapasām nīdhīḥ.  
 vii. 97. 22 .. evam bahuvidhā vaco *hy* antarikṣagatān surān.  
 vii. 99. 11 .. anurañjanti rājāno *hy* ahany ahani Rāghavam.  
 vii. 109. 10 .. tam yāntam anugacchanti *hy* antahpuracarāḥ striyah.

In a few cases, e.g. vii. 42. 24, vii. 51. 12, etc., hiatus has been avoided by the insertion of the preposition *ni* and it is difficult to determine whether this preposition formed a part of the original Rā. or not.

#### ADDENDA

A few more cases of irregular sandhi and hiatus found in the By. recension, but omitted in the main article through inadvertence, are given below:—

##### IRREGULAR SANDHI

- By., i. 32. 21 .. nāvamanya (for no' vamanya, a variant cited by the commentator Rāma and styled by him as 'apapāṭha').  
 By., iii. 13. 12 .. tatōvāca vacaḥ śubham (Govindarāja, followed by M., reads: dhiro dhīrataram vacaḥ).  
 By., iii. 71. 20 .. mitraṁ ca vōpadekṣyāmi (M., °caivopadekṣyāmi).

##### IRREGULAR HIATUS

*Between two pādas*

*Between a and ā*

- By., iii. 36. 4 .. vasanti manniyogena adhivāsām ca rākṣasāḥ (Govinda, followed by M., °niyogena nityavāsam).  
 By., iv. 65. 2 .. Maindaś ca Dvividāś caiva Āngado Jāmbavāṁś tathā (M., °caivā Suṣeṇo).  
 By., iv. 19. 28 (M., 27) .. supteva punar ut्थāya āryaputreti vādini.  
 By., v. 13. 30 .. °duḥkhena abhibhūtā (M., 32, duḥkhena *hy* abhi°).  
 By., v. 50. 18 .. °kāryeṇa āgato'smi (M., kāryeṇa samprāpto'smi).

*Between ā and other vowels*

- By., ii. 63. 34 .. tasyāhaṁ karuṇām śrutiṁ ṛser vilapato niśi (M., °śrutiṁ lālapato bahu). (From the two readings it seems that originally the second half of the verse was probably 'ṛser lālapato niśi'.)  
 By., iv. 20. 26 .. vyavasyata prāyam anindyavarṇā upopaveṣṭum bhūvi yatra Vālī (M., °prāyam upopaveṣṭum anindyavarṇā).  
 By., v. 13. 49 (M. 51) .. athavaināni samutkṣipyā uparyupari sāgarām.  
 M., vii. 76. 40 .. °vinā rājñā esa me niścayāḥ paraḥ

## Between e and other vowels

- By., ii. 14. 65 .. vyaktam Rāmābhisekārthe ihāyāsyati dharmarāt  
(M., 66, °sekārtham ihāyāsyati).  
By., ii. 54. 1 .. te tu tasmin mahāvṛkṣe uśitvā rajanīm śubhām  
(M., vṛkṣa uśitvā).  
M., By., vii. 100. 18.. ḥiveśya te puravare ātmajau sanniveśya ca.

## Between ai and ā

- By., iii. 43. 3 .. āgacchāgaccha śīghram vai āryaputra sahānuja.  
(This verse is not found in M.)

## Within a pāda

- i. 70. 19; ii. 110. 5 .. śāśvato nitya avyayah  
By., iii. 35. 41 .. tūrṇam eva ihāgataḥ.  
By., v. 54. 25 (M. 26) kapirūpeṇa hā iti.

IRREGULAR SANDHI IN THE BENGALI RECENSION (Bl.) OF THE  
RĀMĀYAÑA (CALCUTTA SANSKRIT SERIES EDITION)

*Note.*—Gorresio's edition is indicated by Bl. Ka and MSS. by Bl. Kha, Ga, Gha, Na, Ca, etc.

Northern India has always remained a great centre of Classical Sanskrit poetry and, as such, every attempt was made there to regularize, as far as practicable, the un-Pāṇinian forms found in the epics. As a result of this tampering with the original epic language of the Rā, the Bl. recension shows only a few cases of irregular sandhi, including the variants found in the MSS. As against about 90 cases of irregular sandhi in the By. recension, the Bl. recension shows only about 38 cases. Of them Bl. ii. 17. 27 (aprajāsmīti), iii. 54. 14 (Rāmēti), iv. 5. 15 (hā priyēti), iv. 52. 40 (pravisāmēti—twice in Bl. and M., but once in By.), iv. 60. 8 (ugratapābhavat), v. 2. 14 (apsarāpasarasām), v. 15. 12 (sōpāsarpat), v. 34. 20 (hā priyēty evam), v. 59. 20 (saraksāughām), vi. 78. 1 (sarasañva), vii. 35. 7 (ahō'tibalavad), vii. 38. 3 (ahō'sya), and vii. 40. 18 (dhārayan aprameyah) correspond to By., ii. 20. 37, iii. 47. 11, iv. 6. 17, iv. 52. 13, iv. 60. 8, iv. 68. 8, v. 10. 12, v. 36. 45, v. 60. 10, vi. 98. 1, vii. 27. 7, vii. 30. 3 and vii. 36. 44 respectively. Those cases of irregular sandhi, which have no corresponding forms in the By. recension, are given below:—

## 1. Irregular vowel sandhi

## (a) Double sandhi

- Bl., iii. 79. 10 .. kaccit tēndriyasaṁyamah.  
Bl., v. 32. 51 .. dhriyatēti Rāmam.  
Bl., v. 34. 23 .. priyēti hā.  
Bl. Cha, vii. 103. 12 sādhu Sītēti (variant: Sīte sādhv iti).

## (b) Sandhi with Pragrhya vowels

- Bl., ii. 12. 29 .. ahō'dyānugṛhitāḥ.  
Bl., vi. 41. 12 .. ahō'sya sadṛśam sakhyam.  
Bl., vi. 111. 24 .. ahō'ḍbhutam.

## (c) Miscellaneous

Bl. Ka, Gha, Ṇa, Cha, abhyupetum (variant: abhyupaitum).  
Jha, Da, iii. 53. 7.

2. *Irregular consonant sandhi*

One rather remarkable case of irregular consonant sandhi, a resultant of haplogy or, more probably, of apocope, is found at

Bl., iv. 9. 99 .. Hanumādibhiḥ (for Hanumadādibhiḥ; cf. pr̄sodara for \*pr̄sadudara).

3. *Double sandhi of visarga*

## (a) Double sandhi of -as and ā

Bl., vii. 23. 9 .. idam Viśravasātmaja.

Bl., vii. 38. 47 .. (Com.'s reading) sō'ryakeṇa (for sa āryakeṇa; variant: svāryakeṇa).

## (b) Double sandhi of -as and i

Bl., iii. 56. 18 .. rākṣasēti samudvegam.

Bl., iv. 10. 32 .. gaccha rakṣeti.

Bl., vi. 40. 50; vii. 31. 42 .. raksēndro° (Cf. Bengali, tejendra, etc.)

Bl., vii. 64. 52 .. Brahmadattēti nāmnaisah.

## (c) Double sandhi between -as and u

Bl., iii. 81. 31 .. padmapusparajōnmiśrah (may be a case of transfer of rajas to raja).

Bl., iv. 10. 26 .. sōttare vāry upāspr̄sat.

Bl. Cha., vii. 64. 21 .. acakṣuṣottamam cakṣuh (variant: acakṣuso hi tvam).

## (d) Double sandhi between -ās and a

Bl. Gha., i. 12. 6 .. khanakāpi ca (variant: khanakā api).

Bl., iii. 32. 32 .. sahitābhyaadravan (ṭa, ḍa, sahitā hy adravan).

Bl., vi. 37. 79 .. hr̄ṣṭamanābhavat.

Bl., vi. 49. 35 .. vāryamānāpi harayah.

Bl., vi. 51. 104 .. trastābhavan.

Bl., vi. 77. 9 .. sarve yūthādhipābhavan.

## (e) Double sandhi between -ās and ā

Bl. Ṇa., i. 18. 11 .. narāsu samupāgaman (variant: narāstam).

