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ISSN: 1594-6517
INDICE

PATRIZIA GIULIANO
The construction of textual cohesion in narrative texts:
evidence from different tasks by Italian children
from 4 to 10 years old .................................................... pag. 7

FEDERICA GUERINI
Uso dei dialetti nella segnaletica stradale con nomi di località:
una panoramica sui comuni della Provincia di Bergamo .......... » 51

ADA VALENTINI
Per una tipologia della struttura informativa:
il caso delle frasi scisse in un dialetto italo-romanzo ............ » 75

ANDREA DROCCO
Eternal Sanskrit and the meaning of the tripartite
Prakrit terminology tatsama, tadbhava and desî ................. » 119

MAGDALENA ADAMCZYK
Linguistic humour in Polish media:
A study into wordplay mechanisms in TV news headlines ...... » 137

LUCIA AVALLONE
Scelte linguistiche e stile nella narrativa di ’Aḥmad al-‘Āydi . » 161

PAMELA BREA
Il ciclo di Tristano e Isotta a Castel Roncolo ....................... » 193
RECENSIONI

BREMMER JR, Rolf H. / DEKKER, Kees (eds.),
Practice in learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages. Storehouses of Wholesome Learning I, 2010 (Matthias Ammon) .................................................................  » 225

CONTE, Maria-Elisabeth,
Vettori del testo. Pragmatica e Semantica tra storia e innovazione, a cura di Federica Venier e Domenico Proietti, Carocci, Roma 2010 (Gabriella Carobbio) ..................................................  » 228

HEIZMANN, Wilhelm / AXBOE, Morten (Hrsg.),
Die Goldbrakteaten der Völkerwanderungszeit. Auswertung und Neufunde. Herausgegeben von Wilhelm Heizmann und Marten Axboe = Ergänzungsbande zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde Band 40 (Rudolf Simek) ...............................................  » 231

MACDONALD, M.C.A. (ed.),
The Development of Arabic as a Written Language, Archaepress, Oxford 2010 [Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies 40], (Giuliano Mion) .........................  » 235

MEVES, Uwe (Hg.),

ZIRONI, Alessandro,
L'eredità dei Goti. Testi barbarici in età carolingia, Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto 2009 [Istituzioni e Società 11], (Marusca Francini) ...............  » 244
Andrea Drocco  
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Eternal Sanskrit and the meaning of the tripartite Prakrit terminology tatsama, tadbhava and deśī. *

The majority of scholars have used the well-known traditional classification of Prakrit words in tatsama, tadbhava, deśī in the context of historical linguistics. Therefore they have the tendency to identify tadbhava words with words inherited from Old-Indo-Aryan by Middle-Indo-Aryan and/or New-Indo-Aryan and deśī words with non-Indo-Aryan element in Indo-Aryan. The aim of this contribution is to explain that they are not completely correct through the study of the meaning of the term deśī according to ancient Indian grammarians, in particular according to Hemacandra in his deśī-kośa, the Deśīnāmālā. From the analysis of the typology of words covered by the definition of deśīśabda provided by this author, it is possible to assert that deśī words are not all non-Indo-Aryan. Hemacandra wanted to teach Prakrits on the basis of knowledge of Sanskrit. Thus, with his Prakrit grammar, the Sīḍhā-hema-śabdānuśāsana, he offers a set of rules to “convert” Sanskrit into Prakrits, whereas for all Prakrit neologisms he offers his Deśīnāmālā.

1. Even if early Jains and Buddhists used Middle-Indo-Aryan (MIA) languages to draw up their canonical texts and even if starting from the reign of Aśoka Maurya we have a vast amount of inscriptive records in MIA, it is possible to find the first grammatical descriptions of Prakrits, as these languages are sometimes known, only from the beginning of the first millennium and in a particular kind of works, that is Sanskrit works on poetics (Scharfe 1977: 191). According to these works Prakrits had to be learnt through formal instructions, and thus manuals of Prakrit grammar were periodically composed (Bhayani 1988c: 155) 1.

Regarding the vocabulary of Prakrits, Sanskrit works on poetics and

* I thank all participants of the workshop “The Indian Traditions of Language Studies”. In particular I thank Professor Ashok Aklijkar for calling my attention to the appropriate use of the concept of “eternal Sanskrit”. I also wish to thank Professor Johannes Bronkhorst and Binda Paranjape for the discussion which I could have on some points of my presentation.

1 On the works of the prākṛta grammarians see, especially, Nitti-Dolci (1972).

Prakrit grammars made a three-fold classification of the words of the dialects that they described (Pischel 1965: 7):

i) samśkyrtasama, or tatsama, ‘the same as Sanskrit’ or ‘the same as that’,

ii) samśkrtabhava, or tadbhava, ‘of the nature of Sanskrit’ or ‘of the nature of that’, and,

iii) deśī, deśaja, ‘country-born’, i.e. ‘local’.

Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra, in chapter XVII, gives us, perhaps, the oldest pieces of Prakrit grammar dealing, in the first fragment, with phonemic rules for the conversion of Sanskrit words into Prakrits (Pischel 1965: 40-41; Nitti-Dolci 1972: 61; Scharfe 1977: 191). From the sources already available it is possible to say that Bharata is the first to divide Prakrit words into three classes, but the terms employed are slightly different from those given above². In fact, the earliest mention of the subdivision of Prakrit words in tatsama, tadbhava and deśī seems to be in Daṇḍin’s Kāvyādārśa (Kahrs 1992: 227; Pollock 2006: 93, 93 note n. 46)³, that is nearly in the end of VIIth century⁴.

2. What is the meaning of the tripartite Prakrit terminology in tatsama, tadbhava and deśī? Although it is not easy to answer this question, because there is not general consensus, also in the indigenous context, the prevailing interpretation of the term tadbhava, for example, among modern scholars is that of “derived from Sanskrit”⁵. This sense, as Kahrs (1992: 255-227) and other authors pointed out (e.g. Masica 1991: 65-67), has been interpreted from a Western framework and thus the process of “derivation” of Prakrit tadbhava words from Sanskrit has

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² trividham tac ca viśye yam nātyayoge samāsatah / samānāsabdam vibhrāstam desīgatam athāpi ca // Nātyaśāstra 17.3 (ed. K. L. Joshi 1984).
³ samśkṛtam nāma daivī vāg anvākhyātā dhanārṣihī / tadbhavas tatsama deśī anekāḥ prākṛtyakramah // Kāvyādārśa 1.33 (ed. O. Böhtlingk 1890).
⁴ For a discussion on the use of the different terms concerning the threefold division of Prakrit words that, as Pollock says, “[...] emerge as a cornerstone of Indian philological thought [...]” (2006: 93), see Kahrs (1992), but also Pischel (1965: 7). On the different conceptual schemes used to organize difference among the Prakrits in Bhāja’s Śrīgāṇapratikāśa see Pollock (2006: 107-108).
⁵ See, for example, Nitti-Dolci (1972: viii), Macdonell (1893: sub voce) in his Sanskrit-English dictionary, Scharfe (1977: 186) and, recently, Pollock (2006: 108, 368-369, 401). Pischel’s translation of the term tadbhava is “originated from that” (1965: 7, Subhadra Jha’s English translation from the original German), whereas Beames (1872-79: 11) and Kellogg (1893: 42) translated this term with “of the nature of it”.

120
been understood as a process of "historical derivation" and explained as it will imply the concept of "change through time". Thus, in modern times, the terminology aforementioned has been used also in the context of Indo-Aryan (IA) historical linguistics. Perhaps it is for this reason that some authors like Beames (1872-79: 13-17) and Hoernle (1880: XXXVIII-XXXIX) distinguished between what they called "early/old" tadbhava(s), calling the latter semi-tatsama(s). We can suppose that the use of "early" and "old" made by these authors is another proof of the historical approach used discussing on the tripartite classification of Prakrit words. Moreover, probably starting from this approach, the entire tripartite terminology, originally made by ancient Indian grammarians for only Prakrit words, is used also discussing on modern IA languages (Masica 1991: 65). For example Kellogg in his *A grammar of the Hindi language* says that "The word Tadbhava [...] denotes [...] all corrupted Sanskrit words, which, by the addition, loss, or change of certain letters, have come to appear in Hindi in a form more or less modified, and often greatly disguised" (1893: 42) (cfr. also Chatterji 1926: 189-192; Hoernle 1880: XXXVIII-XL; Grierson 1927: 127-128; Caracchi 2002: 21; Tiwari 1960: xlv-xliv).

3. What about *desī*? Western and Indian scholars who have previously examined the problem of this category of words have expressed very different views, and thus there prevails a considerable amount of confusion regarding the nature and the character of this term (Tagare 1948: 7; Shriyan 1969: 9). At the moment we can say that starting from the aforesaid historical approach the majority of these scholars have the tendency to identify tadbhava words with words inherited from Old-Indo-Aryan (OIA) by MIA and/or New-Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages and *desī* words with words borrowed from non-IA languages by MIA and NIA languages (e.g. Chatterji 1983)\(^6\). It is not

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\(^6\) Chatterji speaks of "Words borrowed from the non-Aryan languages of India [...] (the *desī* element in MIA)" (1983: 102). Norman says that the third component part of the structure of MIA includes those forms which are to be regarded as innovations; these, according to the same author, "fall into two classes: (a) [...], and (b) those forms which have no affinity with anything else in OIA or MIA, and must therefore be regarded as borrowings from a known or unknown non-IA source. These constitute the so-called *desī* forms" (1992b: 115). Cfr. also Bryant who says "[...] the traditional grammarians of India [...] had noted the distinction between the Sanskrit words and the non-sanskritic desīya ones, thus alerting [...] linguists to the possibility of a non-Indo-Aryan family of languages in the subcontinent" (1999: 61).
easy to understand the different phases through which these two kinds of identifications have been made. However it seems that, in the majority of cases, the term Sanskrit, present in the term *saṁskṛtabhava* and implicit in the term *tadbhava*, has been understood as not only classical Sanskrit, but also Vedic⁷ and/or the whole OIA stage of the history of IA languages, including in this way old popular IA languages⁸, of which we have only some evidence, for example, in the Vedic and MIA texts still available (Burrow 1955: 45-47; Emeneau 1966; Witzel 1989; Norman 1992a: 225-243, 1992b: 115-125). Similarly the term Prakrit has been used to mean the whole MIA stage⁹. So, if a Prakrit *tadbhava* word is a MIA word derived from Sanskrit and, moreover, Sanskrit is equal to OIA, it is a natural consequence that a Prakrit *desī* word is a MIA word not derived from OIA, i.e. a non-IA word. This is truer if all those MIA words created or built up with roots and affixes derived from OIA are also included in the category of *tadbhava* (as done by Chatterji 1983: 101). So we can understand why Chatterji in his *Indo-Aryan and Hindi* clearly said “The *desī* element in MIA is another absorbing and frequently baffling topic. A good many *desī* words are just inherited Aryan words in MIA [...]” (1960: 97).

If this is the position of the majority of modern scholars, we could now ask what is the meaning of the tripartite terminology, and in particular of the term *desī*, according to ancient Indian grammarians.

4. Two of the basic and most important sources of our knowledge concerning the Prakrit words specified by the classification in *tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *desī*, and thus of the *desī* element in Prakrit vocabulary, are the Prakrit grammar and the *Deśināmāmālā* both by the jaina monk and polymath Hemacandra Sūri (Bhayani 1988a: 3-9, 1988b: 104-105; Pischel 1965: 47-50; Shriyan 1969: 26) who lived in Gujarāt under the Cālukya king Jayasimha-Siddharāja between the XIth and XIIth century.

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⁷ On the usage of some scholars of the name “Sanskrit” also for various forms of Vedic see Thieme (1994) and Wezler (1996: 346, note n. 73). Not all scholars agree with this usage, for example Mayrhofer (1986). Cfr. also Akhujkar (1996: 70, note n. 18).

⁸ See, for example, the following statements of Chatterji: “The great fact of the presence of Sanskrit or OIA [...]” (1983: 99), “We generally have our main or basic references to OIA or Sanskrit [...]” (idem), “Taking Sanskrit as being loosely the equivalent of OIA, [...]” (idem).

A. Drocco, *Eternal Sanskrit and the meaning of the tripartite Prakrit terminology tadbhava, tadbdhava and desī*

(Scharfe 1977: 193; Vogel 1979: 335-336; Pischel 1965: 47). The Prakrit grammar of Hemacandra constitutes the eighth section of his grammar *Siddha-hema-sabdānuṣāsana* whereof the first seven sections are devoted to the Sanskrit language (Nitti-Dolci 1972: chapter 5; Scharfe 1977: 169; Pischel 1965: 47-48). The *Deśīnāmamālā*, instead, is only one of the four *kośa(s)*, dictionaries, written by this author. The other three are: (i) the *Abhidhānacintāmanīnāmamāla* and (ii) the *Anekārthasaṅgṛaha* dealing with Sanskrit synonyms and Sanskrit homonyms respectively, and, finally, (iii) the *Nighantuṣeṣa* on botanical terms (Vogel 1979: 336-345).

4.1 Hemacandra’s *Deśīnāmamālā* was first brought to public notice by Bühler (1873: 17-21) in the second number of *Indian Antiquary* and published, for the first time, by Pischel (1880), then by Banerjee (1931), and in a revised edition of Pischel’s one by Ramanujaswamy (1938). The text is divided into eight *varga(s)* (chapters) and each *varga* is subdivided into many paragraphs. Each paragraph is once more subdivided into two parts regarding *ekārtha* words, words with only one meaning, and *anekārtha* words, words with more than one meaning. All the material collected by Hemacandra amounts to about 4000 words.

Considering what we have said about how modern scholars, Western and Indian, interpreted the meaning of the tripartite terminology and in particular the meaning of the terms *tadbhava* and *desī*, it is perfectly natural that the same scholars have accused Hemacandra of including many *tadbhava* words in *Deśīnāmamālā* through ignorance, because in this lexicon it is possible to find words that are clearly of OIA origin. For example Bühler (1879: 12-13) and Pischel (1965: 48) say that this author has mistaken *tadbhava(s)* and *tatsama(s)* for *desī* forms. Chatterji (1926: 191) says that the *Deśīnāmamālā* has scores of “tadbhavas desī words”. Similar opinions are made by other scholars

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10 On the life of Hemacandra see Bühler 1889 (English translation from the original German by Patel 1936).
like Vaidya (1926-27), Upadhye (1931), Gune (1918: 221) and so on. But to try to understand if these strictures it must be asked “What is a deśī word for Indian grammarians?” “How can we decide whether a Prakrit word is classifiable under the tadbhava or deśī category?” “And can the exact meaning of the term deśī help us to understand the background under which the Prakrit grammarians wrote their texts?” At the verses three and four of chapter one of his Deśināmamālā, Hemacandra explains what he considers to be deśī words:

je lakkhane ṇa siddhā ṇa pasiddhā sakayāhīhānesu /
na ya gauṇalakkhanaśattisaṃbhavā te iha niḥbaddhā //
desavisesapasiddhā bhāṇamāṇā aṇantāyā ṇunti /
tamāḥ anāḍpāiāpaṭabhaśāvīsesao deśī // Deśināmamālā I, 3-4
(ed. P. V. Ramanujaswamy 1938)

Those words are included here which are not explained in (my) grammar, not known from the Sanskrit lexicons, nor owe their origin to the power called gauṇī laksanā (i.e. are not common words used in a metaphorical sense). Endless are the forms that are used in the various provincial dialects. Therefore the term deśī is (used here) to denote those words only which have been used since immemorial times in Prakrit. (Bühler 1873: 18-19)

As we can see according to Hemacandra a deśī word is:
i) a word which is not explained in his grammar Siddha-hema-śabdānuṣasana, that is a word to which it is not possible to apply the rules of origin from Sanskrit explained in his grammar and
ii) a word which, even though it originates in the Sanskrit language by application of rules of his grammar it is not current in Sanskrit lexicons in the same sense of Prakrit and thus is a word which has changed in Prakrit its original Sanskrit meaning, the change not being due to secondary or metaphorical use.

14 In India the various schools of philosophy, including those of Sanskrit grammarians and rhetoricians, devoted much thought to the problems of the various aspects of meaning. Indian thinkers have classified the meaning (artha) of a word in three distinct categories: 1) abhidhā “significative power or primary meaning of a word”; 2) laksanā “the use of a word to denote a
In addition, in verse four Hemacandra says explicitly that in his work he includes those deśī words used in standard Prakrit literature and not all those words that are used in the various provincial dialects\textsuperscript{15}.

Thus if we consider the typology of the words covered by Hemacandra’s definition of deśīśabda, it is possible to assert that the terms deśi, or deśaja, with their literal meaning of “born in the country”, have been used by this author, with reference to literary Prakrits, to collect in his Deśīnāmamālā, first of all, i) words which can be related to words found in Sanskrit (with the same meaning), but only by postulating phonetic changes not described in his Prakrit grammar, then, ii) words which differ only in meaning from Prakrit words whose relation with correspondent Sanskrit words, according to him, is unquestioned, and which presumably represent some semantic change, and, finally, iii) any kind of word which cannot be traced back to a Sanskrit one. In this manner we are now in a better position to understand why Pischel (1965: 7-8) said that in the category of deśī words “the Indians include very heterogeneous elements” (cfr. also Shriyan 1969: 44; Norman 1990: 64-65). In fact, regarding particularly the last kind of words just mentioned, it must be assumed that in this category are included not only loan words from non-IA and foreign languages and inherited words which happened to descend from OIA dialects other than the one on which Sanskrit was based (Burrow 1955; Emeneau 1966; Masica 1991: 67; Norman 1992b), but also all those words that we can call pure neologisms (Norman 1990, 1992b),

\textsuperscript{15} In fact, according to Hemacandra:
generally complex, coined by putting together deśī and Sanskrit elements or which, although built up with elements regarded separately as pure tadbhava(s), never existed as such in Sanskrit, probably because they were created in Prakrits without following the rules of the Siddhāhema-śabdānusāsana (Bühler 1879: 11-12)\textsuperscript{16}. Thus we can notice that according to Hemacandra, deśī words are not all non-IA and this is true also because the terms deśī, deśaja have never been related to only non-IA languages by ancient Indian authors who instead spoke about sanskṛta, prākṛta, bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhramśa and deśabhāṣā (Grierson 1913, 1918; Pischel 1965: 1-3). Although it is not possible to talk at length here about the exact meaning of the last five terms, since the Indian grammarians differ from one another (Pischel 1965: 1), it seems that the lists of languages cited in the categories of vibhāṣā and deśabhāṣā include especially if not only, but this is still to be proved, IA languages\textsuperscript{17}.

5. So, from the analysis of Hemacandra’s Deśināmamālā regarding the nature of the tripartite terminology, in particular of the category of deśī words, we have further proof that the classification of Prakrit words in tatsama, tadbhava and deśī must not be read in historical terms. Following a suggestion made recently by some authors, for example Masica (1991: 65), the aforesaid descriptive terminology proposes in fact a comparison between the lexicons of two different varieties one of which is raised as a point of reference\textsuperscript{18}. But what does this consideration mean?

For example, we can postulate that the classification in tatsama or tadbhava of a specific Prakrit word does not mean that this word has

\textsuperscript{16} For some examples, with related analysis, of deśya words, their typology or their possible manners of classification see Vaidya (1926-27), Shriyan (1969), Norman (1990), Bhayani (1988b, 1988c, 1998e, 1998f) and Drocco (2000, 2006).

\textsuperscript{17} See, for example, the list of languages under the category of vibhāṣā mentioned in Mārkaṇḍeya’s Prakṛtaravāsa and discussed by Grierson (1913, 1918). See also the names of some of the famous eighteen deśabhāṣā mentioned in Śrādātānaya’s Bhāvyaprabhāṣā (cfr. Pollock 2006: 95, 299) or discussed and exemplified by the Mānasollāsa (cfr. Bhayani 1993b; Pollock 2006: 300-301), the great royal encyclopedia composed by King Someśvara in northern Kannataka in the first half of the XII\textsuperscript{10} century. It is possible to find some information about sixteen deśabhāṣā cited by name in Uddiyottama Sāri’s Kuvalayamālā and examined in part by Master (1950, 1951) and Upadhye (1965).

\textsuperscript{18} For the last remarks, see also Bubenik (1998: 22).
been borrowed or inherited respectively from Sanskrit in diachronic terms. It is possible that this specific word, if we want to study its history, is a pure new word in a Prakrit text, maybe borrowed from a non-IA language or created as a neologism being thus a *deśī* word, but then used also in Sanskrit in the same form and meaning of that Prakrit text or sometimes made more sanskritic with (hyper-)sanskritization, becoming in this way, as a consequence of its use in Sanskrit, a *tatsama* or *tadbhava* respectively.

In addition if the tripartite terminology proposes a comparison and not a history this means that a specific Prakrit word could be a *deśī* word for one author, but a *tadbhava* or *tatsama* for another one, depending on, for example,

i) the terms of the comparison, i.e. the rules described in the different Prakrit grammars,

ii) the knowledge of the Sanskrit lexicon and/or what must be considered as being part of the Sanskrit lexicon by the different Prakrit grammarians and, closely linked,

iii) the period in which the comparison is made between Sanskrit and Prakrit lexicons.

Regarding the second point we have to keep in mind that according to Hemacandra the words which constitute the Sanskrit lexicon are those discussed in his *Abhidhānacintāmaññinamāla*. Therefore a Prakrit word could be a *deśī* word for Hemacandra who died in the second half of the twelfth century, but not for the Prakrit grammarian Trivikrama who lived in the thirteenth century\(^ {19} \), because, as I have just noted, it can be assumed that this very same Prakrit word has been included in a Sanskrit text after Hemacandra’s death, thus becoming, but only from that moment, a *tadbhava* or *tatsama*.

6. We can notice that the category of *deśī* words is not only a heterogeneous category, but also a very fluid, dynamic and subjective category (cfr. Upadhye 1931). Surely understanding the nature of it, can help us to understand the background under which the Prakrit grammarians wrote their texts. As I have said at the beginning of this paper Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra* provides us with the earliest description of

\(^ {19} \) On the date of Trivikrama, see Nitti-Dolci (1972: 187-188).
Prakrit grammar. All the following Sanskrit works on Prakrits are written in a period in which Sanskrit was the language not only of brahmanical liturgical texts, but also of inscriptions (cfr. Salomon 1998) and other kinds of literary texts of the whole South-Asian sub-continent and the use of Sanskrit as a vehicle of literature was gradually true also for Buddhists and Jainas (Dundas 1996; Pollock 1996, 2006: part I). This is a significant point. Actually before this period, as is well-known, different literary forms of MIA languages were the languages of Buddhist and Jaina texts. What we can call Māgadhī, during the Mauryan period, was the administrative language of North India (Norman 1983: 14-15; Deshpande 2008: 187) and the high prestige of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, known afterwards as the best Prakrit and the Prakrit par excellence, was connected to the powerful dynasty of Sātavāhanas (Lienhard 1984: 80-83; Deshpande 1993c: 92, 2008: 187). The fact that during all the first millennium there was a shift from Prakrits to Sanskrit as the language of inscriptions and of the majority of literary works, also of Buddhist and Jainas, and that Prakrit dialects are included in Sanskrit works and explained by Sanskrit works testifies the situation in which Sanskrit and Prakrits coexisted but, in particular, the position of Sanskrit in that period (Houben 1996b; Pollock 1996, 2006; Bubenik 1998: chapter 2, 2001). Following Deshpande (1993b), it might be said that the model by which Prakrit grammars are made, and also the inclusion of Prakrit grammars in Sanskrit works, is typical of the brahmanical mentality. This model, describing Prakrits by means of successive degeneration of Sanskrit, is the result of the fact that, as is common knowledge, Sanskrit grammarians in ancient India believed, taught and grew up in the ideological framework, that the Vedic scriptures and the Sanskrit language are eternal entities (Deshpande 1993b: 53-54, 73-74)\(^2\). As a consequence of and within this descriptive model Prakrit languages, according to Indian grammarians, have no independent standing and their nature and origin are closely linked to the Sanskrit language. Surely there were some authors, especially jaina

\(^2\) Aklujkar (1996) explains the processes and developments which probably helped the continuation of Sanskrit as a dominant language from the composition of the Veda to the composition of the early texts of systematic philosophy and kāvyā. In particular he tries to understand the different steps through which has been created a continuity between Sanskrit, on the one hand, and the Veda language and/or the Language Principle, on the other. Cfr. also Deshpande (1993b).
authors, like the Śvetāmbara Jain Namisādhu\textsuperscript{21} or the poet Vākpāti\textsuperscript{22} (VIII\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.) that saw Prakrit as the language from which Sanskrit is derived. However, it is important to point out that the notion of Sanskrit to be the \textit{prakṛti}, that is the “base”, of Prakrit is adopted by the majority of Prakrit grammarians (Pischel 1965: 1; Kahrs 1992: 228-236), also by Hemacandra, a Jain monk, who explicitly says, at the beginning of his Prakrit grammar that \textit{prakṛtiḥ sanskr̥t̤am / tatra bhavaṁ tata āgatam va prākṛtam [...]} (Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana I, 1; ed. P. L. Vaidya 1980) “Sanskrit is the base; what originates in it or comes from it is base-derived”\textsuperscript{23}. It is possible that, on the basis of this principle, Prakrit, as Deshpande (1993b: 73) adds, could be studied only in relation to the eternal Sanskrit and for this reason Prakrit grammarians taught Prakrit starting from Sanskrit. But, even if Deshpande says that “[...] the underpinnings of the terminology are not purely the practical necessity of teaching languages” (1993b: 74), it is possible to assume that Prakrit grammarians taught Prakrit starting from Sanskrit, that is, considering their purpose of teaching Prakrit, from the previous/expected knowledge of Sanskrit (cfr. Nitti-Dolci 1972: viii). In fact it seems that, using Prakrit grammars and \textit{deśikoṣa(s)}, the tripartite classification was useful to the Indian authors of the first millennium to write in Prakrits, but also to understand old Prakrit works. By the application of the “converting rules” as those explained in Prakrit grammars, a specific Sanskrit word, perhaps the only one known by the author (Dundas 1996: 148, note n. 9; Pollock 2006: 104-105, 105, note n. 69) and, according to the philosophy of Sanskrit grammar (Deshpande 1993b: 73; Granoff 1991: 17; Houben 1996b: 186, note n.

\textsuperscript{21} prākṛtī / sakalajagaṣaṇanīṃm vaṭkaraṇādibhir anāhitasaṁskāraḥ sohaśo vacanavyāpāraḥ prakṛtī / tatra bhavaṁ saiva v prākṛtām / 'ārisavayaṇe siddhaṁ devānam addhamāgahā bānti' iyādvacanaṇā v prāk pūrvam kṛtam prākṛtām bālamahālādīsubodhām sakalabhādyānbandhanaḥbhūtām vacanaṇa ucyate / meghanirmuktaṇām ivalkarūpam / tad eva ca deśavīśeṣaṁ sanskārakaranaḥ ca samādāntaviṣeṣaṁ sat sanskārādyuttaraśubhādān āpnoti / ata eva śāstraḥ prākṛtām ādua nirdhātām tad anu sanskṛtādini // Namisādhu on Rudraṭa’s Kāvyālaṁkāra 2.12 (ed. Durgāprasāda and Parāba 1886).

\textsuperscript{22} sayalādo imaṁ váyāḥ viṣanti etto ya nenti váyāo enti saṁuddhām cīya nenti sāyāndoccīya jālīm / Gauḍāvahā 93 (ed. Suru, N. G. 1975)

32, 192, note n. 40; Dundas 1996: 143; Pollock 2006: 102-103, 365), the only one that is able to convey meaning directly, was transformed into a Prakrit word. For all Prakrit neologisms, not attested in Sanskrit as prakritisms, there were desī-kośa(s), like Deśīnāmamālā. In this context it is interesting to point out that even if in the Deśīnāmamālā every desī word is referred to a Prakrit tadbhava one, Hemacandra considered that it was important, and perhaps necessary, to accompany his work by a Sanskrit self-commentary in which every desī word is linked to a Sanskrit one.

7. In conclusion we can look at the traditional analysis as a device at the disposal of the various authors to learn Prakrits, giving them a very efficient tool to convert one variety into another. All this, besides being founded, as we have seen, on the eternity of Sanskrit and on its predominance as a literary language of India (Pollock 2006: 102-104), has been done however in a period in which Sanskrit was not the only literary language of India, because alongside it there were Prakrits. I think it is on this basis that the vast amount of desī material collected by Hemacandra in his Deśīnāmamālā and used in many Prakrit literary texts must be examined. This material presents a complex, multifaceted area of study and, despite the suggestions by Bhayani (1988a, 1988b,

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24 As noted by Vaidya (1926-27: 63) and Bhayani (1988b: 3, 1988e: 156-162) the Deśīnāmamālā is not an original work, but based upon a large number of desī lexicons to which Hemacandra has often referred. In fact from this author we know that a dozen or more desī lexicographers preceded him, but their works are lost to us (Bhayani 1988e: 156). Among the earlier works on desī words cited by Hemacandra it is possible to find a desīśāstra attributed to an author mentioned in Hāla’s Sattasat, the anthology produced at the Sātavāhana court (Pischel 1965: 11). In this context it is important to point out that in the field of Prakrit lexicography the only extant work prior to Hemacandra’s Deśīnāmamālā is Dhanapāla’s Pañcālacchānāmamālā, composed in 973 A.D. (ed. G. Bühler 1879).

25 With regard to this topic Pollock makes the following statements: “At a relatively early date, literary works in both Prakrit and Abhirakmshas were equipped with chāyās, Sanskrit translations, and in some cases they were eventually displaced by their Sanskrit renderings” (2006: 104), “Sanskrit translation of Prakrit texts are especially prominent in the Jain tradition; a notable instance is the Kuṭalayamālākathā, Ratnaprabhasūrī’s fourteenth-century version of Uddhotana’s work.” (2006: 105, note n. 69).

26 Pollock (2006: 90-99, 108) mentions several primaries sources to show that according the majority of Indian authors of the first millennium A.D. the languages of literature are three: Sanskrit, Prakrit and Abhiraka (e.g. Bhāmaha’s Kavyālaśikā, 1, 16). Daṇḍin adds the language called bhātabhāṣā ‘the language of the demons’, elsewhere known as Pāśā (the speech of Bhūta/Piṣaca) (Pollock 2006: 92). Cfr. also Bubenik (1998: 16-31, 2001).
1988c, 1998b, 1998c, 1998d, 1998f) and some others (cfr. note n. 16 above), in part still unexplored (Bhayani 1988a, 1998e: 143). Certainly it can help us to understand the principles on which different ancient Indian grammarians classified, in their linguistic milieu and within the Indian literary context of the middle and late stage of MIA period, the various linguistic material in one category rather than in another one.

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